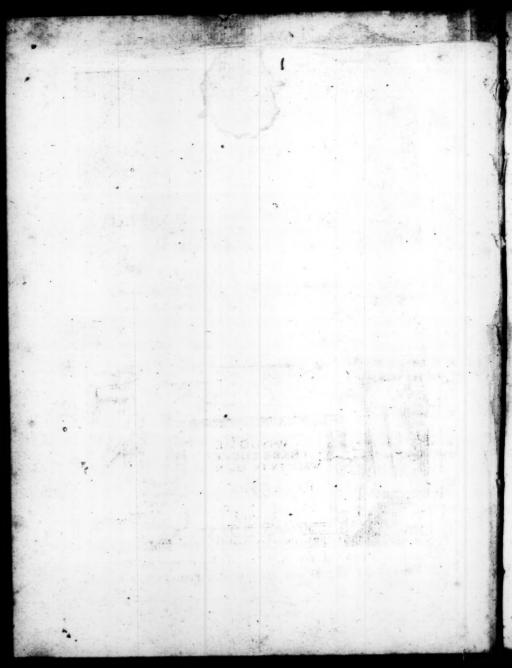


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TO THE

READER.

Emle Reader, when I first fam this Book in French divided into three parts, and all three carrying the title of Wisdom, and having read the Preface, I conceived some excellency in it beyond the reach of common endeawours; The first part teaching us the knowledg of our selves, and our humane condition, with the inward and outward parts of man, his thoughts, words, actions, and all bis motions, as a preparative unto Wisdom; The -Second part instructing a civil life, and forming a man for the world; shewing the priviledges and proper qualities of a wife man, and how every man ought to live, and how to die; The third part ecaching the way how to attain to wisdom, and instructing man universally in all things, and that by a discourse of the four moral virtues; and findg ing the matter penned with so great gravity and wisdom (as a great and learned Doctor faid unte me.

854757

To the Reader.

me, after I had shewed him some part thereof in English) that it was a work (as he thought) beyond the capacity of man; He gave me encouragement to go forward in the translation of it, both for the great worth thereof, and the general good; In which I must acknowledg, that not without advice I have partly omitted, and partly altered the discourse upon some points which I conceived not sit to pass the Press. For the main work I think it needless to say much in commendation of it, for it hath already sufficiently commended it self to the world by four former Impressions; And for this sixth, though it be the last, I hope this new labour will not make it less esteemed.

Samson Lennard.

A

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An exhautation to the study and knowledg of our selves.

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OF

WISDOM

Three Books.

The PREFACE.

Where the Name, Subject, Purpose, and Method of this Work is set down, with an Advertisement to the Reader.

T is required at the first entry into this Work, that r. we know what this wisdom is; and since it bear-of the word wisdom. eth that name and title, how we purpose to speak thereof. All men in general at the first view of the simple word it felf, do easily conceive and imagine it to be some quality, sufficiency or habit, not common or vulgar, but excellent, fingular, and elevated above that which is common and ordinary, be it good or evil: For it is taken and used (though perhaps improperly) in Hierom, both kinds: Sapientes funt ut faciant mals: They are wife Arift. lib. 53. to do evil: and fignifieth not properly a good and lauda-Meraphy. ble quality, but exquisite, singular, excellent in whatsoever it be. And therefore we do as well fay a wife Tyrant, Pirat, Thief, as a wife King, Pilot, Captain: that is to fay, Sufficient, prudent, advised; not fimply and vulgarly, but excellently: For there is opposite unto Wisdom not only folly, which is an irregularity or loofness of life, and Wisdom a regularity or moderation, well measured and proportioned; but also common baseness and vulgar Simplicity: For Wildom is high, strong, and excellent; yea, whe--

whether it be in good or evil, it containeth two things: Sufficiency, that is, Provision or furniture for whatfoever is required & necessary; and that it be in some high degree of excellency. So that you fee what the simpler fort imagine Wisdom to be at the first view and the simple sound of the word; whereby they conclude, that there are few wife, men, that they are rare as every excellency is; and that to them by right it appertaineth to command and govern others; that they are as Oracles: from whence is that faving. Believe others, and refer thy felf to the wife. But well to define this thing, and according to truth, and to distinguish it into his true parts, all men know not, neither are they of one accord, nor is it easie, for otherwise do the common people, othewise the Philosophers, otherwise the Divines speak thereof. These are the three floors and degrees of the world. The two latter proceed by order, and rules, and precepts, the former very confusedly and imperfectly.

The division of Wildom, Now then we may fay, That there are three forts & degrees of Wisdom, Divine, Humane, Mundane, which correspond unto God; Nature pure and entire; Nature vitiated and corrupted. Of all these forts and every of them do all these three orders of the world, which before we speak of, write and discourse, every one according to his own manner and fashion: but properly and formally the common fort, that is to say, the world of worldly wisdom, the Philosopher of humane, the Divine of divine wisdom.

Worldly wif-

Worldly wisdom, and of the three the more base, which is divers according to the three great Captains and Leaders of this inferiour world, Opulency, Pleasure, Glory, or rather Avarice, Luxury, Ambition: Quicquidest in

I John 2. 16. mundo est concupi scentia oculorum, concupi scentia carnis, superbia vita; All that is in the world is the lust of the eyes, the concupi scence of the flesh, and the pride of life: For which

James 3. 15. cause it is called by S. James, Terrena, Animalis, Diabolica:

Earthly, Senfual, Devillift,) is proved by Philosophy and Divinity, which pronounceth its folly before God; stultam fecit Dens fapientiam bujus mundi : God bath made the 1 Cor. 1. 20 wildom of this world fooliffinefs. Of this wildom therefore we fpeak not in this Book except it be to difpraise and

condemn it.

Divine Wisdom, and of the three the highest, is defined and handled by Philosophers and Divines, but Divine wife fomewhat diverily. As for the common or worldly Wife dom, I disdain it, and pass by whatsoever may be spoken thereof as prophane, and too unworthy in this Treatife to be read. The Philosophers make it altogether Speculative, faying, That it is the knowledge of the principles, first causes, and highest power to judg of all things; even of the most Soveraign which is God himself; and this Wisdom is Metaphysical; and resideth wholly in the understanding, as being the chief good and perfection Thom. 1. 2. thereof: it is the first and highest of the five intellectual quest. 57.2. virtues, which may be without either honefty, action, or 1.7.19. other moral virtue. The Divines make it not altogether fo speculative, but that it is likewise in some fort Practick; for they fay That it is the knowledge of divine things, from which there ariseth a judgment and rule of humane actions; and they make it two fold. The one acquired by study, and comes near to that of the Philosophers; which I am to speak of: The other infused and given by God, De fur fum descendens, Coming from above. This is the first of the feven gifts of the holy Ghoft, Spiritis Domini Spiritus fapienties The Strit of God is the Spirit of wisdom. Which is not found but only in those that are just and free from Sin, In malevolum unimam non introibit sapientia: Wisdom cannot enter into a wicked heart. Of this Divine san ... wildom likewile our purpole is not here to fpeak, it is after some fort and measure handled in my first Verity, and m my discourses of Divinity.

· Humane.

wildom ac-

dhy Philosophiad It followeth therefore, that it is Humane Wildom which in this Book we are to deliver unto you, and whereof it takes the name, and of which in this place we mult give some brief and general view, which may be as an Argument and Summary of this whole Work. The common descriptions are diverse and insufficient : Some cording to the and the preatest part think that it is only a wildom, difcommon fort. cretion and advised carriage in a man affairs and converfation. This may be well called common, as respecting nothing but that which is outward and in action, and considereth not at all any other thing then that which outward appeareth. It is altogether in the eyes and ears of men, without any respect or very little of the inward motions of the mind: fo that according to their opinion wisdom may be without effential piety or probity, that is, a beautiful cunning, a sweet and modest subtilty. Others think that it is a rude, unreasonable, rough singularity, a

kind of fullen frowning and frampole authority in opinions, manners, words, actions and fashion of life; and therefore they call them that are wounded and touched with that humour. Philosophers, that is to say, in their counterfeit language, fantaftical, divers, different and declin-

ing from the cultoms of other men. Now this kind of wisdom according to the doctrine of our Book, is rather a folly and extravagancy. You must therefore know, that this wildom whereof we fpeak, is not that of the common people, but of Philosophers and Divines, whereof both have written in their Moral According to learnings. The Philosophers more at large, and more professedly, as being their true and proper dish they feed on, and formal subject they write of, because they apply themselves to that which concerneth Nature and Action. A competition Divinity mounteth much higher, and is occupied about

Philosophers and Divines.

betwixt Divi- virtues infused, Contemplative and Divine, that is to pity and Phifay, about Divine Wifdom and Belief. So that Philosolofophy.

phers

phers are more stayed, dispersed more certain, and more common, ruling and instructing not only the particular knowledge or actions of men, but the common and publick, teaching that which is good and profitable to Families, Corporations, Common-weals, Empires. Divinity is more sparing and silent in this point, looking principally into the eternal good and salvation of every one. Again, the Philosopher handleth this subject more sweetly and pleasingly, the Divine more austerely and drily. Again, Philosophy which is the elder (for Nature is more ancient then Grace, and the Natural than the Supernatural) seemeth to perswade graciously, as being willing toplease in profiting, as the Poet speaketh:

Simul & jucunda & idonea divere vitu, Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo:

It is enriched with discourses, reasons, inventions, examples, fimilitudes, decked with fpeeches, Apothegmes, fententious mots, adorned with Eloquence and Art. Theologie, which came after, altogether austere, it feemeth to command, and imperionly like a Maffer to enjoyn. And to conclude, the virtue and honesty of Divines is too anxious, serupulous, deject, sad, fearful and vulgar. Philosophy, such as this Book teacheth, is altogether pleasant, free, bucksome, and if I may so fay, wanton too; and yet notwithstanding, puissant, noble, generous, and rare. Doubtless the Philosophers have herein been excellent, not only in writing and teaching, but in the rich and lively representation thereof in their honourable and heroical lives. I understand here by Philosophers and Wisemen, not only those that have carried the name of Wifemen, fuch as Tholes, Solon, and the rest of that rank, that lived in the time of Cyrus; Crashes, Pilistratus; northose that came afterwards, and have publickly taught it, as Pythugoras, Socrates, Plato, Ariftotle, Aristippus, Zenon, Antiftbenes, all chief Profesiours apart,

and many other their Disciples different and divided in Sects but alfo all those great men who have made fingular and exemplary profession of virtue and wisdom, as Phocion, Arifides, Pericles, Alexander, whom Plutarch called as well a Philosopher as a King, Epaminondas, and divers other Greeks: The Fabricii, Fabii, Camilli, Catones, Torquati, Reguli, Lelii, Scipiones, Romans, who for the most part have been Generals in Armies. And these are the reasons why in this my Book I do more willingly and ordinarily follow the advice and fayings of Philosophers, not in the mean time omitting or rejecting those of the Divines: For both in Substance they do all agree, and are very feldom different, and Divinity doth nothing difdain to employ, and to make good use of these wise sayings of Philosophy. If I had undertaken to instruct the cloister, and the retired life, that is, that profession which attendeth the secrets Evangelical, I must necessarily have followed ad amussim the advice of the Divines: but our Book instructeth acivil life, formeth a man for the world, that is to fay, to humane wisdom, not divine.

A general defcription of humane wifdom.

We say then naturally and generally both with the Philosopher and the Divine, and this humane wisdom is a kind of law or reason, a beautiful and noble composition of the entire man, both in his inward part and his outward, his thoughts, his words, his actions, and all his motions. It is the excellency and perfection of man as he is a man, that is to say, according to that which the first fundamental and natural law doth require; as we say, That that work is well wrought and excellent, that is compleat and perfect in all the parts thereof; and wherein all the rules of Art have been observed; that man is accounted a wise man, that best knoweth after the best and most excellent manner to play the man, that is to say, (to give a more particular picture thereof) that knowing himself and the condition of men, doth keep and preserve himself from all

vices, errours, passions and defects as well inward and proper to himself, as outward and common to other men, maintaining his spirit pure, free, universal, considering and judging of all things without band or affection, ale ways ruling and directing himself in all things according to nature, that is to fay, that first reason and univerfallaw and light inspired by God, and which shineth in us, unto which he doth apply and accommodate his own proper and particular light, living in the outward view of the world, and with all men according to their laws, customs, and ceremonies of the country where he is without the offence of any, carrying himself wisely and discreetly in all affairs, walking always uprightly, constant, comfortable, and content in himself, attending peaceably whatfoever may happen, and at the last, death it felf. All these parts or qualities, which are many, for our better ease and facility may be drawn to four principal heads; Knowledge of our felves, Liberty of spirit pure and generous, Imitation of Nature, (this hath a very large field, and alone might almost suffice) True content-These can no where be found but in him that is wife: and he that wanteth any of these cannot be wife. He that hath an erroneous knowledg of himself, that Subjecteth his mind to any kind of servitude, either of passions or popular opinions, makes himself partial, and by enthralling himself to some particular opinion, is deprived of the liberty and jurisdiction of discerning, judging and examining all things. He that striveth against Nature, under what pretence soever it be, following rather opinion or passion, then reason; he that carrieth himfelf troubledly, disquietly, male-content, fearing death, is not wife. Behold here in a few words the picture of humane Wildom and folly, and the fum of that which I purpose to handle in this Work, especially in the second Book, which expresly containeth the rules, treatife, and

offices of Wisdom, which is more mine then the other two, and which I once thought to have published by it This verbal description of Wisdom is represented ento the eye even at the entrance or threshold of this Book by a woman all naked, in a place void and empty, resting her self upon nothing, in her pure and simple nature, beholding her self in a glass, her countenance cheerful, merry, & manly, upright, her feet close joynted, upon a square pillar, and imbracing her self, having under her feet inchained four other women as flaves unto her, that is to fay, Paffion, with a changed and hideous countenance; Opinion, with wandring eyes, inconstant, giddy, born upon the heads of the People; superstition, astonished and in a trance, and her hands fastned the one to the other; Virtue, or Honesty and pedantical Science with a fullen vifage, her eye-lids elevated reading in a Book, where was written, Tea, No. All this needs no other application, then that which hereafter followeth: but hereof more at large in the second Book.

Two ways to attain this wildom,

To attain unto this wisdom, there are two means: the first is in the original forming and first temper, that is to fay, in the temperature of the feed of the Parents, the milk of the Nurse, and the first education; whereby a man is faid to be either well born, or ill born, that is to fay, either well or ill formed and disposed unto wisdom. A man would little think of what power and importance this beginning is; for if men did know it, there would be more caretaken, and diligence used therein then there is. It is a strange and lamentable thing, that so wretchless a carelesness should be in us, of the life and good life of those whom we defire to make our other felves; when in matters of less importance we take more care, use more diligence, more counsel then we should, never thinking of our greatest affairs and most honourable, but by hazard and peradventure. Who is he that taketh counsel with himfelf,

felf, or endeavoureth to do that which is required for the preserving and preparing of himself as he ought to the generation of male-children, healthful of spirit, and apt for wisdom? for that which serveth for the one, serveth for the other, and Nature after one manner attendeth them all. This is that which men think of least, yea little or not at all (in the act of generation) doth it enter into their thoughts to frame a new creature like themselves, but only like beafts to fatisfie their luftful pleasures. This is one of the most important faults and of greatest note in a Common-weal, whereof there is not one that thinketh or complaineth, neither is there concerning it either law or rule, or publick advice. It is most certain, that if men did herein carry themselves as they ought, we should have other men of more excellent spirit and condition, then we have amongstus. What is required herein, and to the first nourishment and education is briefly set down in our third Book, Chap. 14.

The fecond means to attain wisdom is the study of Philosophy, I mean not of all the parts thereof, but Moral (yet not forgetting the Natural) which is the light, the guide, the rule of our life, which explaineth & representeth unto us the law of Nature, instructeth man univerfally in all things, both publick and private, alone and in company, in all domestical and civil conversation, taketh away all that favage nature that is in us, sweetneth and tameth our natural rudeness, cruelty and wildness, and worketh and fashioneth it to wisdom. To be brief, it is the true science of man; all the rest in respect of it, is but vanity, or at leastwise not necessary, or little profitable: for it giveth instructions to live and die well, which is all in all, it teacheth us perfect wisdom, an apt, judicious, well-advised honesty. But this second mean is almost as little practifed, and as ill employed as the first: for no man careth greatly for this wisdom, so much are all given to

that which is worldly. Thus you fee the two principal! means to attain to wisdom, the Natural, and Acquired. He that hath been fortunate in the first, that is to say, that hath been favourably formed by Nature, that is, of a good! and sweet temperature, which bringeth forth a great goodness in Nature, and sweetness in manners, hath made afair march without great pain to the second: But that man with whom it is otherwise, must, with great and painful fludy of the second, beautific and supply that which is wanting; as socrates one of the wifelt faid of himself, That by the study of Philosophy he had corrected and reformed his natural infirmities.

The lets to wildom, and are two.

Matural.

There are contrariwife two formal lets or hinderances to wisdom, and two counter-means or powerful ways means to folly unto folly, Natural, and Acquired. The first, which is Natural, proceedeth from the original temper and temperature, which maketh the brain either too foft, moift, and the parts thereof gross and material, whereby the spirits remain fortish, feeble, less capable, plain diminished, obscure, such as that is, for the most part, of the common fort of people; or too hot, ardent, and dry, which maketh the spirits foolish, audacious, vicious. These are the two extreams, Sottifines and Folly: Water and Fire, Lead and Mercury, altogether improper or unapt to wildom, which requireth a spirit full of vigour and generous, and yet fweet, pliant, and modeft: but the fecond is more eafily amended by discipline then the former.

Aguired.

The fecond, which is Acquired, proceedeth either from no culture or instruction, or from that which is evil, which amongst other things consisteth in an obstinate and fworn prejudicate prevention of opinions, wherewith the mind is made drunken, and taketh fo ftrong a tincture, that it is made unapt and uncapable to fee or to find hetter whereby to raise and inrich it self. It is said of these kind of men. That show are wounded and stricken, that

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they have a first or blow in the head: unto which wound if likewise learning be joyned, because that pusseth up, it bringeth with it presumption and temerity, and sometimes arms to maintain and defend those anticipated opinions: it altogether perfecteth the form and frame of folly, and maketh it incurable. So that natural weakness, and acquired prevention, are two great hinderances; but science, if it do not wholly cure them, which seldom it doth, strengthneth them and maketh them invincible, which turneth not any way to the dishonour of learning (as a man may well think) but to the greater honour thereos.

Science or Learning is a very good and profitable staff or waster, but which will not be handled with all hands; of Learning. and he that knows not how well to rule it, receiveth thereby more hurt then profit. It befotteth and maketh foolish (faith a great learned Writer) the weak and fick spirit; it polisheth and perfecteth the naturally strong and good. The feeble spirit knows not how to possess science, how to handleit, and how to make use thereof as he should: but contrariwise is possessed and ruled by it, whereby he fubmits himself, and remains a flave to it, like a weak stomach overcharged with more victuals then it can digeft. A weak arm wanting power and skill well to wield a wafter or staff that is somewhat too heavy for it, wearieth it felf and fainteth. A wife and couragious spirit overmastereth his wisdom, enjoyeth it, useth it, and employeth it to his best advantage, informeth his own judgment, rectifieth his will, helpeth and fortifyeth his natural light, and maketh himself more quick and active; whereas the other is made thereby more fortish, more unapt, and therewithal more prefumptuous; so that the fault or reproach is not in learning, no more then that Wine or other good drug is faulty which a man knoweth not how to

apply and accomplanate to his own needs. Non est culpa vini, sed culpations the fault is not in the Wine, but in

of the word Pedant, or School-mafter.

the infirmity of him that drinks it. Now then against such spirits, weak by nature, preoccupated, puffed up, and hindered by acquired wildom, I make open war in this Book, and that oftentimes under the word Pedant, not finding any other more proper, and which by many good Authors is used in this sense. In its own Greek Original it was taken in the better sense, but in other later Languages, by reason of the abuse, and bad carriage of such men in the profession of their learning, it is accounted base, vile, questuous, contentious, opinative, vain-glorious and presumptuous; by too many practised, and used but by way of injury and derision, and is in the number of those words that by continuance of time have changed their fignification, as Tyrant, Sophister, and diversother. Le sieur de Bellay, after the reherfal of many notorious vices, concludeth as with the greatest, But of all the rest, Knowledge pedantical I detest. And in another place.

> Said I thou didst live but to eat and drink, Then poor were my revenge, thy faults scanty: But that which most doth make thy name to stink, Is, to be short, thou art a Pedanty.

An Advertife-

It may be, some will take offence at this word, thinking it likewise toucheth them, and that I thereby have a will to tax or scoff the Professours and Teachers of Learning; but let them be pleased to content themselves with this free and open declaration which here I make; That it is no part of my meaning to note by this word any Gown-men or learned profession whatsoever: yea I am so far from it, that Philosophers are in so high esteem with me, that I should oppose my self against my self, because I account my self one of them, and profess the same learning: only I touch a certain degree and quality of spirits, before deciphered, that is, such as have natural capacity and sufficiency

ciency after a common and indifferent manner, but afterwards not well tilled, preoccupated, possessed with certain opinions: and these are men of all fortunes, all-conditions, and go as well in short garments as in long gowns: Vulgum tam chlamydatos, quam coronam veco: I reckon among ft the vulgar fort, as well Kings and Crowns, as Pedants and Clowns. If any man can furnish me with any other word as fignificant as this to express these kind of spirits, I will willingly forgo this. After this my declaration, he that findeth himself aggrieved, shall but accuse and shew himself too scrupulous. It is true that a man may find other opposites to a wife man besides a Pedant, but it is in some particular sense, as the common, profane, vulgar fort of people; and oftentimes I use these opposites; but this is, as the low is opposite to the high, the weak to the strong, the valley to the hill, the common to the rare, the fervant to the mafter, the prophane to the holy; as also a fool, which indeed according to the true found of the word, is his truest opposite: but this is a moderate man to an immoderate, a glorious opinative man to a modest. the part to the whole, the prejudicate and tainted to the neat and free, the fick to the found: but this word Pedant in that sense we take it, comprehendeth all these and more too, for it noteth and fignifieth him that is not only unlike and contrary to a wife man, as those before mentioned, but such a one as arrogantly and insolently resisteth it to the face, and as being armed on all sides, raiseth himself against it, speaking out of resolution and authority. And foralmuch as after a fort he feareth it, by reason that he feeth himself discovered even from the top to the bottom, and his sport troubled by it, he prosecuteth it with a certain intestine hatred, he taketh upon him to censure it, to defame it, to condemn it, accounting and carrying himself as the truly wife, though he be a fool without peer, and an ignorant self-conceited Gull.

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The method of this Book.

After the purpose and argument of this Work, we come to the order and method thereof. There are three Books: The first is wholly in the knowledge of our selves and humane condition, as a preparative unto wifdom, which is handled at large by five main and principal confiderations, each one including in it divers others. The second Book containeth in it the treatises, offices, and general and principal rules of wisdom. The third, the particular rules and instructions of wisdom, and that by the order and discourse of four principal and moral virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance; under which four is comprised the whole instruction of the life of man, and all the parts of duty and honesty. Finally, I here handle this matter, not Scholar-like or Pedantically, not with enlarged discourse, and furniture of Eloquence or other Art; (For wisdom (que si oculis ipsis cerneretur mirabiles excitaret amores sui, If it could be seen with our corporal eyes, would stir up in us an admirable desire thereof) needs no fuch helps to commend it felf, being of it felf fo noble and glorious) but rudely, openly, and ingenuoufly, which perhaps will not please all. The propositions and verities are compact, but many times dry and fowr, like Aphorisms, overtures, and seeds of discourse.

Some think this Book too fool-hardy and free to contract and wound the common opinions, and are offended therewith, whom in four or five words I thus answer: First, that wisdom which is neither common nor vulgar hath properly this liberty and authority, Jure suo singulari, to judg of all, (it is the priviledg of a wise and spiritual man, spiritualis omnia dijudicat, & a nemine judicatur, The spiritual man judgeth all, and is judged of none) and in judging to censure and condemn (as for the most part erroneous) common and vulgar opinions. What then should she do? for the case standing thus, it cannot be, but she must incur the disgrace and envy of the world. In an-

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otherplace I complain of these kind of men, and reprove their popular weakness and feminine daintiness, as unworthy, being over tender and delicate, to understand any thing of worth, and altogether uncapable of wisdom. The hardest and hardiest propositions are best besitting an hardy and elevated spirit, and there can nothing seem strange unto him that doth but know what the world is. It is weakness to be astonished at any thing; we must rouze up our hearts, confirm and strengthen our minds, harden & inure our felves to hear, to know, to understand, to judge of all things, feem they never fo strange. things are agreeing and well befitting the palate of the spirit, so a man be not wanting to himself, and neither do any thing, or yield his confent to what soever is not good and truly fair, no, though the whole world perswade him unto it. A wife mansheweth equally in them both his courage, his delicates are not capable of the one or the other, there being a weakness in them both.

Thirdly, in all that I shall propose, my meaning is not to bind any man unto it, I only present things, and lay them out as it were upon a stall, I grow not into choler with many that gives me no credit, or diflikes my ware, that were to play the Pedant. Passion witnesseth that it is not reason so to do, and he that out of passion doth any thing, out of reason cannot do it. But why are they angry with me? Is it because I am not altogether of their opinion? Why, I am not angry with them because they are not of mine. Is it because I speak something which is not pleafing to their taste, or to the palate of the vulgar fort? Why, therefore I speak it. Ispeak nothing without reason, if they knew how to understandit, how to relish it. If they can bring better reason to disprove mine, I will! hearken unto it with delight and thanks to him that shall shew it me. But yet let them not think to beat me down with authorities, multitudes, and allegations of other

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men, for these have but small credit in my jurisdiction. fave in matter of Religion, where only authority prevails without reason: This is authorities true Empire, reafon only bearing sway in all other Arts without it, as S. Angustine doth very well acknowledge. For it is an unjust tyranny and an inraged folly to subject and enthral our spirits to believe and to follow whatsoever our Ancestours have said, and what the vulgar fort hold to be true, who know neither what they fay, nor what they do. There are none but fools that suffer themselves to be thus led by the nofes: and this Book is not for fuch, which if it should popularly be received and accepted of the common fort of people, it should fail much in its first purpose and defignment. We must hear, consider, make account of our ancient Writers; not captivate our selves unto them And if a man would follow them, what but with reason. should he do? for they agree not among themselves. Ari-Rotle, who would feem to be the most sufficient amongst them, and hath adventured to challenge and to censure all that went before him, hath uttered more groß abfurdities then them all, and is at no agreement with himself. neither doth he know many times where he is; witness his Treatifes of the Soul of man, of the Eternity of the world, of the Generation of the winds and waters, and fo forth. It is no cause of wonder or astonishment, that all men are not of one opinion; but it were rather strange and wonderful that all men were of one opinion: for there is nothing more befitting nature and the fpirit of man then variety. That wife Divine Saint Paul giveth us this liberty, in that he willeth every man to abound in his own understanding, not judging or condemning that man that doth otherwise, or think otherwise. And he speaketh it in a matter of greater moment or more ticklish, not in that which confifteth in outward action and observation, wherein we fay we are to conform our felves to the com-

mon fort, and to that which is prescribed and accustomed to be done, but also in that which concerneth Religion, that is the religious observance of viands and dayes: whereas all that liberty and boldness of speech which I challenge to my self, is but in thoughts, judgments, opinions, in which no man is quarter-master, but he that hath them every man about himself.

Notwithstanding all this, many things which may seem too harsh and brief, too rude and difficult for the simpler fort (for the stronger and wiser have stomachs warm enough to concost and digest all) I have for the love of them explicated, enlightned and sweetned in this third E-

dition, reviewed, and much augmented.

I would willingly advertise the Reader that shall undertake to judg of this Work, to take heed that he fall not into any of these seven over-fights, as some others have done; that is: To refer that unto law and duty, which is proper unto action; that unto action, which is only to be cenfured; that to resolution and determination, which is only proposed, consulted of, and problematically and academically disputed; that to me and mine opinions, which I deliver from report, and is the opinion of another man; that to the outward state, profession and condition, which is proper to the spirit and inward sufficiency; that to Religion and Faith, which is but the opinion of man; that to grace and supernatural inspiration, which is proper to natural and moral virtue and action. All passion and preoccupation being taken away, he shall find in these seven points well understood, how to resolve himself in his doubts, how to answer all objections, made by himself or by others, and inform himself touching my intention in this Work. And if nevertheless after all this, he will neither rest satisfyed and contented, nor approve what I have written, let him boldly and speedily disprove it (for only to speak ill, to bite,

to flander the name of another man, though it be easie enough, yet it is base and pedantical) and he shall speedily receive either a free consession and aftent (for this Book doth glory and feast it self in the truth and ingenuity thereof) or an examination of the impertinencies and follies thereof.

The subject and order of these three Books.

The first Book teacheth the knowledg of our selves and our humane condition, which is the foundation of Wisdom by five great and principal considerations of man, and containeth 62 Chapters.

The second containeth the principal rules of Wisdom, the priviledges and proper qualities of a wise man, and hath 12 Chapters.

The third, in a Discourse of the four moral virtues, Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, Temperance, setteth down the particular instructions of Wisdom, in 43 Chapters.

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WISDOM,

THE FIRST BOOK.

Which is

The knowledg of our selves, and our humane:

An exhortation to the study and knowledg of our SELVES.

The Preface to the first Book.

HE most excellent and divine counsel, the best and most prositable advertisement of all others, but The knowledge least practised, is to study and learn how to know the first things our selves: This is the soundation of Wisdom, and the high way to whatsoever is good; and there is no folly comparable to this, To be painful and diligent, to know all things else whatsoever, rather then our selves: For the true science and study of man, is man himself.

GOD, Nature, the wife, the world, preach man, and exhort him both by word and deed to the fludy and knowledg of him-Engined to all felfs. GOD eternally and without intermission beholdeth, consi-by all reason.

detects, knoweth himself. The World hath all the lights thereof

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An exhortation to the fludy

contracted and united within it felf, and the eyes open to fee and behold it felf. . It is as necessary for Man to learn how to know himfelf, as it is natural unto him to think, or to be near unto himfelf: Nature hath enjoyned this work unto all. To meditate and to entertain our thoughts therein, is a thing above all things cafie, ordinary, natural; it is the food, fullentation, life of the spirit, cujus vivere est cogitare: Whose life is cogitation. Now where can a man begin or continue his meditation more truly, more naturally then with himself? is there any thing that toucheth him more nearly? Doubtless, to study other learnings, and to forget our selves is a thing both unnatural and unjust. The true and principal vocation of every man, is to employ his thoughts upon himself, and to tie himself unto himself: for so doth every thing else, setting bounds and limits to their other business and desires. And thou man, which wilt feem to contain the whole universe, to know all things, to controll, to judge, neither knowest nor endeavourest the knowledge of thy felf; and so going about to make thy felf skilful, and a Judge of Nature, thou provet the only fool of the world; thou art of all other the most beggerly, the most vain and miserable; and yet most proud and arrogant. Look therefore into thy felf, know thy felf, hold thy felf to thy felf; thy spirit and will which is elsewhere employed, reduce it unto thy felf. Thou forgettest thy felf and losest thy self about outward things; thou betravest and disrobest thy felf; thou lookest always before thee : gather thy felf to thy felf and thut up thy felf within thy felf: examine, fearch, know thy felf

Nosce te ipsum; nec te quasiveris extra;

Respice quod non es.

Tecum babita, & noris quàm sit tibi curta supellex,

Tu te confule,

Te ipsum concute, nunquid vitiorum

Inseverit olim natura, aut etiam consuctudo mala.

Know well thy self, and seek to know no more;

And what thou art not, shame the same therefore:

Look truly to thy self, then shalt thou see

How short abode thou bast, advised therefore be.

Ex mine still thy conscience, which doth witness bear,

By the knowledg of himfelf man arriveth fooner and better to the knowledg of God, then by sujiother means, both because he findeth

What vice or evil is (by nature) fowed there.

findeth in himself better helps, more marks and footsteps of the divine nature, then in whatfoever befides he can any way know, To ladder to and because he can better understand and know that which is in the bornel de himself then in another thing. Formasti me & possisti Super me nature. manum tuam, ideo mirabilis facta eft scientia tua, id eft, tui ex me : Pfalm. Thou bast formed me, and put thy bands upon me, therefore thy science is become marvellous in me, that is, scientia tui, ex me : the science of thee in me. And therefore there was engraven in letters of gold over the porch of the Temple of Apollo the god (according to the Panims) of Knowledg and Light, this fentence, Know thy felf, as a falutation and advertisement of God unto all; fignifying unto them, that he that would have accels unto that Dis vinity, and entrance into that Temple, must first know himself, and could not otherwise be admitted. Si te ignoras, ô pulcberrima, egredere, & abi post bados tuos. If thou know not who thou Cantic. art, O thou the fairest among women, get thee forth, and follow thy kid:

To become truly wise, and to lead a life more regular and pleasant, there needs no other instruction but from our selves; and Dissolition undoubtless, if we were good Scholars, there are no Books could bet-to wisdom. ter instruct us, then we teach our selves. He that shall call to mind, and consider the excess of his passed choler, even how far this sever and frensie hath carried him, shall better be perswaded

this fever and frensie hath carried him, shall better be perswaded of the foul deformity of this passion, then by all the reason that Aristotle or Plato can alledg against it: and so of all other passions and motions of the foul what foever. He that shall call to mind how often he hath miscarried in his judgment, and been deceived by his memory, thall learn thereby to trust it no more. He that shall note how often he hath held an opinion, and in such fort understood a thing even to the engaging of his own credit, and the fatisfying of himfelf and any other therein, and that afterwards time hath made him fee the truth, even the contrary to that he formerly held, may learn to diffrust his own judgment, and to shake off that importunate arrogancy and querulous presumption; a capital enemy to discipline and truth. He that shall well note and confider all those evils that he hath run into, that have threatned him; the light occasions that have altered his courses and turned him from one estate to another: how often repentances and millikes have come into his head, will prepare himself, against fu-

ture changes, learn to know his own condition; will preferre his modefly.

modely, contain himself within his own rank, offend no man, trouble nothing, nor enterprise any thing that may pass his own forces: And what were this, but to see Justice and Peace in every thing? To be brief, we have no clearer looking-glass, no better book then our selves, if as we ought we do study our selves, always keeping our eyes open over us, and prying more narrowly into our selves.

Against such as mis-know shemselves.

But this is that which we think least of, Nemo in fe tent at defcendere: No man endeavours to descend directly into himself: whereby it cometh to pals that we fall many times to the ground, and tumble headlong into the fame fault, neither perceiving it, nor knowing to what course to betake us: we make our selves fools at our own charges. Difficulties in every thing are not differned. but by those that know them : and some degree of understanding is neceffary even in the marking of our own ignorance. We must knock at the door to know whether the door be flut; for when men fee themselves resolved and satisfied of a thing, and think they fufficiently understand it, it is a token they understand nothing at all: for if we knew our felves well, we would provide far better for our felves and our affairs; may, we should be ashamed of our felves and our estate, and frame our selves to be others then we are. He that knows not his own infirmities, takes no care to amend them, he that is ignorant of his own wants, takes as little care to provide for them, he that feels not his own evils and miferies, adviteth not with himfelf of helps, nor feeks for remedy. Deprebendate oportet, prinfquamemendas: fanitatis initium. fentire fibi opus effe remedio. Thou must of necessity know thy felf, before shou amend thy felf: it is the very first beginning of heatth, to acknow lede thy fickness, and that show but need of remedy. And here behold our unhappiness: for we think all things go well with us, and we are in fafety, and we live in content with our felves, and fo double our miferies. Socrates was accounted the wifest man of the world, not because his knowledg was more compleat, or his fufficiency greater then others, but because his knowledg of himfelf was better then others; in that he held himfelf within his own rank, and knew better how to play the man. He was the King of mon, as it is faid, that he that hath but one ove is a king in respect of him that hath never an eye, that is to fay, doubly deprived of his fente: for they are by nature weak and miterable, and therewithal proud, and feel not their mifery. Serrates was but purblind &

blind; for being a man as others were, weak and miserable, he knew it, and ingenuously acknowledged his condition, and lived, and governed himself according unto it. This is that which the Truth it self spake unto those which were full of presumption, and by way of mockery faid unto him, Are me blind also? If ye were blind, faith he, that is, if ye thought your selves blind, you should fee, but because ve think ve fee, therefore you are blind; therefore your fin remaineth. For they that in their own opinion fee John o. much, are in truth stark blind; and they that are blind in their own opinion, see best. It is a miserable thing in a man, to make himfelf a beaft by forgetting himfelf to be a man. Homo enim cum fis, id fac semper intelligas: seeing thou art a man, see thou always remember it. Many great personages, as a rule or bridle to themselves, have ordained that one or other should ever buzze into their ears that they were men. O what an excellent thing was this, if it entred as well into their hearts, as it founded in their ears! That Mot of the Athenians to Pompey the Great. Thou art so much a God, as thou acknowledgeft thy felf to be a man, was no ill faying: for at the least to be an excellent man, is to confess himself to be a man.

The knowledg of our felves (a thing as difficult and rare, as to misdeem and deceive our selves easie) is not obtained by any other, False means to that is to fay, by the comparison, rule, or example of another.

know our felves

Plus alis de te quam tu tibi credere noli: Do not believe others more of thy felf, then thou thy felf knowest of thy felf. Much less also by our speech and judgment, which oftentimes commeth short to discern, and we disloyal and fearful to speak: not by any fingular act, which fometimes unawares hath escaped a man, pricked forward by some new, rare and accidental occasion, and is rather a trick of Fortune, or an eruption of some extraordinary. lunacy, than any production of fruit truly ours. A man judgeth not of the greatuess or depth of a River, by that water which by reason of some sudden inundation of neighbour rivers overfloweth the banks. One valiant act makes not a valiant man; nor one just, a just man. The circumstances and source of occasions doth import much and alter us, and oftentimes, a man is provoked to do good by vice it felf: so hard a thing is it, for man to know man. Nor likewise by all those outward things, that are outwardly adjacent unto us, as offices, dignities, riches, nobility, grace, and applause of the greatest Peers and common people. Nor by the

carriages

carriages of a man in publick places is a man known; for as a king at Cheffe, so he standeth upon his guard, he bridleth and contracteth himself; fear, and shame, and ambition, and other passions. make him play that part that you fee: But truly toknow him, we must look into his inward part, his privy chamber, and there not how to day, but every day he carrieth himself. He is many times a different man in his house, from that he is in the Country, in the Palace. in the Market-place; another man amongst his domestical friends. from that he is amongst strangers: when he goeth forth of his house into some publick place, he goeth to play a Comedy, and therefore flay not thou there, for it is not himfelf that playeth, but another man, and thou knowest him not.

True means.

The knowledge of a mans felf, is not acquired by all these four means, neither must we trust them, but by a true, long, and daily fludy of himself, a serious and attentive examination, not only of his words, and actions, but of his most secret thoughts (their birth, progress, continuance, repetition) and whatsoever is in him, even his nightly dreams prying narrowly into him, trying him often and at all hours, preffing and pinching him even to the quick, For there are many vices hid in us, and are not felt for want of force and means; fo that the venemous serpent that is benummed with cold. fuffereth himfelf to be handled without danger: neither doth it fuffice afterwards to acknowledge the fault by tale or piece-meal, and so think to mend it by marring it; but he must in general re-acknowledge his weakness, his misery, and come to an universal amendment and reformation.

this Book .

Now if we will know man, we must take more than ordinary The proposition pains in this first Book, taking him in all senses, beholding him with and division of all visages, seeling his pulse, sounding him to the quick, entring into him with a candle and a fnuffer, fearthing and creeping into every hole, corner, turning, closet, and secret place: and not without cause; for this is the most subtle and hypocritical covert and counterfeit of all the rest, and almost not to be known. Let us then confider him after five manners, let down in this Table, which is the fum of the Book.

The first, Natural, of all the parts whereof he is composed and their appurtenances. The second, Natural and Moral, by comparison of man with beafts.

The third, of bis life in declining state.

There are five confiderations . of man & bumane condition:

I Vanitie. The fourth, Moral, of his manners, bu-2 Weakness. mours, conditions, which are referred 2 Inconstancy. to five things. 4 Mifery. 5 Prefumption.

I Natures. The fift , Natu-2 Spirits and Sufficiencies. ral and Mo-3 Charges and degrees of Superiority, ral, of the difinferiority. 4 Profession and conditions of life, adferences that 6 Natural. are between vantages and men in their Acquireddisadvantages Cafual.

The first consideration of Man, which is Natural, by all the parts and members whereof he is composed.

CHAPTER I.

Of the frame or formation of Man.

T is twofold, and to be confidered after a twofold manner: the first and original, once immediately by God in his supernatural creation; the second and ordinary, in his natural generation. According to that description which Moses setteth down touching the

workmanship and creation of the world (the rich-est piece of work, that ever man brought unto light: I mean the Gen. 1, 2. &c. History of the nine first Chapters of Genesis, which is of the world newly born and reborn) man was made of God, not only after all creatures, as the most perfect, but the master and superintendent of all, Ut prefit piscibus maris, volatilibus cali, bestiu

terre :

terra: That be might rule over the fifth of the Sea, the Fowls of the air, and the beafts of the earth. And in the felf fame day, wherein the four-footed beafts of the earth that come nearest unto him were created (although those two that resemble him most are, for the inward parts the Swine, for the outward the Ape) but also after all was done and ended, as the closing up, feal, and fign of his works, he hath also there imprinted his arms, and his pourtrait, Exemplumque Dei quisque est in imagine parva. Signatum est Super nos lumen vultus tui. Every man is a short compendious image of The light of his countenance is sealed upon us, as a summary. recapitulation of all things, and an epitome of the world, which is all in man, but gathered into a small volume, whereby he is called, The little world; as the whole Universe may be called, The great man: as the tie and ligament of Angels and beafts, things heavenly and earthly, spiritual and corporal; and in one word, as the last hand, the accomplishment, the perfection of the work, the The reason is because God having honour and miracle of Nature. made him with deliberation, counsel, and preparation, & dixit, Faciamus bominem ad imaginem & similitudinem nostram : and be faid, Let us make man in our Image, according to our likeness, he rested. And this rest also was made for man: Sabbathum propter bominem, non contra. The Sabbath is for man, not man for it. And afterwards he had nothing to make new, but make himself man; and that he did likewise for the love of man: Propter nos homines & propter nostram salutem: For us men and our salvation. Whereby we see, that in all things God hath aimed at man, finally in him, and by him, brevi manu; in a short sum, or summarily, to accommodate all unto himfelf, the beginning and end of all.

Naked.

Pariele.

Secondly, he was created all naked, because more beautiful than the rest, being pure, neat, and delicate, by reason of his thin humours: well tempered and seasoned.

Thirdly, upright, but little touching the earth, his head directly tending unto heaven, whereon he gazeth and fees and knows himfelf as in a glass, quite opposite unto the plant, which hath its head and root within the earth: so that man is a divine plant, that flourisheth and grows up unto heaven: A beast as in the middle betwixt a man and a plant, goes as it were athwart, having his two extreams towards the bounds or extremities of the Horizon more or less. The cause of this uprightness in man, besides the will of his Masterworkman, is not properly the reasonable soul; as we see in

those

those that are crook-backed, crump-shouldred, lame; nor in the ftraight line of the backbone, which is likewife in Serpents, nor in the natural or vital heat, which is equalled, or rather greater in divers beafts, although all these may (perhaps) serve to some purpose; but this upright gate is due and belonging to man, both as he is man, the holieft and divineft creature.

. Sanclius bis animal mentisque capacius alta: Apofrophe from thefe, in making man He made a facred Creature, beafts profane, Who (though they were not made enough to fee't) Was made the means, where they and God do meet. Dumb works for man; but God made made man we find To contemplate these works, and know his mind:

and as King in this lower region. To small and particular royalties, there belong certain marks of Majesty, as we see in the crowned Dolphin, the Crocodile, the Lion with his collar, the colour of his hair, and his eyes; in the Eagle; the King of the Bees: fo man the universal King of these lower parts, walketh with an upright countenance as a Master in his house ruling, and by love or force taming every thing.

His body was first framed of virgin-earth, and red, from whence he took his proper name Adam, for the appellative was Ish: and How framed. that being not yet moissued with rain but with the water of the Gen. 2.

fountain.

- Mixtam fluvialibus undis

Finxit in effigiem-Of running water and of settled earth Did God build man, (the Poet knew not breath) Grace ran away, or rather be from that, Tet man stood still, or rather nature fate, But not in Paradise; Globe of earth and seas, Now only earth, past over Euphrates.

By reason the body is the sirst-born, or elder then the soul, as the matter then the form; the house must be made and trimmed before it be inhabited, the shop before the workman can use it. Afterwards the Soul was by divine inspiration infused, and so the body by the foul made a living creature, Infiravit in faciem ejus firaculum vite, &c. He breathed in bis face the breath of life.

In that ordinary and natural generation and formation, which is made of the feed in the womb of the woman, the felf-fame He is made in order the matrix,

order is observed: The body is first formed as well by the elementary force of the Energie, and forming virtue which is in the feed. aiding in some fort the heat of the matrix, as the celeftial, which is the influence and virtue of the Sun; Sol & homo generant bominem, the Sun and Man do engender man. In such order, that the

Conceived of

congulated feed leven first days the feed of the Father and Mother do mingle. unite and curdle together-like cream, and are made one body, which is the conception. Nonne ficut lac mulfifti me, & ficut caseum me coagulasti? hast thou not milked me like milk, and hast thou not coagulated, and curdled me as cheefe? The next seven days this seed is concocted, thickned, and changed into a mass of flesh, and indi-

Changed.

grofs.

Formed in

gested formless bloud which is the proper matter of an humane body. The third feven days following, of this mass or lump is made and fashioned the body in gross, so that about the twentieth day are brought forth the three noble and heroical parts, the Liver, Heart, Brain, distant an oval length, or, as the Hebrews fay, holding themselves by thin commissures or joynts, which afterwards fill themselves with slesh, after the fashion of an Ant, where there are three groffer parts joyned by two thin. The fourth feven days

which end near thirty, the whole body is ended, perfected, joynted, Foynted, organized.

organized; and so it begins to be more an Embrion, that is, unper-

Indowed with foul motion. Brought forth.

First furnished fect in shape, but capable, as a matter prepared to its form, to receive with fit infirm- the foul; which faileth not to infinuate and invest it felf into the ments for fense. body towards the seven and thirtieth or fortieth day after the five weeks ended. Doubling this term, that is to fay, at the thirdmonth this infant endowed with a foul, hath motion and fense, the hair and nayls begin to come. Tripling this term, which is at the ninth month, he cometh forth, and is brought into the light. These terms or times are not so justly prefixed, but that they may either be haftened, or prolonged, according to the force or feebleness of the heat both of the feed and of the matrix: for being strong it hasteneth, being weak it sloweth; whereby that seed that hath less heat and more moisture, whereof women for the most part are conceived, requireth longer time, and is not endowed with a foul, until the fortieth day or after; and moveth not till the fourth month, which is near by a quarter more late then that of the male children.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The first and general distinction of Man.

IAN, as a prodigious creature, is made of parts quite contrary, and enemies to themselves. The soul is a little God, The division of the body as a beaft, as a dunghil. Nevertheless, these two parts man in two are in such fort coupled together, have such need the one of the parts. other to perform their functions, Alterius fic altera poscit opem res, & conjurat amice: So one thing doth ask the fellowship and help of another, and doth as it were friendly conjure it; and do so with all their complaints embrace each other, that they neither can continue together without wars, nor separate themselves without grief and torment, and as holding the Wolf by the ears, each may fay to other, I can neither live with thee nor without thee, Nec tecum, ne fine te-

But again, forasmuch as there are in this soul two parts very different, the high, pure, intellectual, and divine, wherein the beaft hath no part; and the base, sensitive, and brutish, which hath body and matter, and is as an indifferent mean betwixt the intellectual part and body; a man may by a diftinction more moral and polilitick, note three parts and degrees in man: The Spirit, the Soul, the Flesh: where the Spirit and Flesh, hold the place of the two ex- Into three treams, as heaven and earth; the Soul the middle region, where parts. are ingendred the Meteors, tumult, and tempelts. The Spirit the highest and most heroical part, a diminutive, a spark, an image, and dew of the Divinity, is in a man as a King in his Commonweal, it breatheth nothing but good, and heaven to which it tendeth; the Flesh (contrarywise) as the dregs of a people besotted, and common fink of man, tendeth always to the matter, and to the earth; the Soul in the middle, as the principal of the people, betwixt the best and the worst, good and evil is continually solicited by the Spirit and the Flesh, and according unto that part towards which it applyeth it felf, it is either spiritual and good, or carnal and evil. Here are lodged all those natural affections, which are neither virtuous nor vicious, as the love of our Parents and friends, fear of shame, compassion toward the afflicted, desire of good reputation.

This distinction will help much to the knowledge of man, and to discern his actions, that he mistake not himself, as it is the manner to do, judging by the bark and outward appearance, thinking the will that to be of the Spirit which is of the Soul, nay, of the Flesh;

Inward and

many

attributing unto virtue that which is due unto nature, nay unto vice. How many good and excellent actions have been produced by paffion, or at least by a natural inclination, Ut serviant genio, & suo indulgeant animo? That they may serve their humour, and satusse their pleasure?

Of the Body, and first of all the parts thereof, and their places.

The division of outward, which are all for the most part round and orbicular,

or coming near unto that figure.

The inward are of two forts; the one in number and quantity spread through the hole body, as the bones, which are as the balis and upholding pillars of the whole building, and within them (for their nourishment) the marrow, the muscles for motion and strength; the veins issuing from the liver, as channels of the first and natural bloud; the arteries coming from the beart, as conduits of the fecond bloud, more fubtil and vital. These two mounting higher then the liver and the beart, their original fources are more strait then those that go downwards; to the end they should help to mount the bloud; for that narrowness more fraitned, serves to raise the bumours, the snews proceeding by couples, as instruments of fense, motion, and firength of body and conduits of the animal fpirits, whereof some are fost, of which there are seven pairs which ferve the fenfes of the head, Sight, Hearing, Tafte, Speech, the other are hard, whereof there are thirty couples proceeding from the reins of the back to the muscles; the Tendrels, Ligaments, Grifles; the fourth, Humours, Blond, Choler, which worketh, provoketh, penetrateth, hindereth obstructions, casteth forth the excrements, bringeth chearfulness; Melancholy, which provoketh an appetite to every thing, moderateth sudden motions; Phlegme, which sweetnesh the force of the two Cholers, and all other heats: The Spisits which are as it were the fumigations that aile from the natural heat and radical humour, and they are in three degrees of excellency, the Naturals

Vital, Animal, The Fat, which is the thickest and groffest part of

Singular, four The other are fingular (fave the kidneys and fiones, which are regions of the double) and assigned to a certain place. Now there are four places body.

or ..

T.

21

or regions, as degrees of the body, shops of nature, where she exercifeth her faculties and powers. The first and lowest is for generation, in which are the privy parts ferving thereunto. The fecond near unto that in which are the entrals, vifcera, that is to fay the flomach, yielding more to the left fide, round, ftraiter in the bottom than at top, having two orifices or mouths, the one above to receive, the other beneath, which answereth the bowels, to cast forth and discharge it self. It receiveth, gathereth together, mingleth, concocteth the victuals, and turns them into Chyle, that is to fay, a kind of white Suc, fit for the nourithment of the body, which is likewife wrought within the Meseraique veins, by which it passeth unto the Liver. The Liver hot and moist, inclining toward the right fide, the store-house of blood, the chief or rather fountain of the veins, the feat of the natural nourishing faculty, or vegetative foul, made and ingendered of the bloud of that Chyle, which it draweth from the Meseraique veins, and receiveth into its lap by the vena porta, which entreth into the concavities thereof, and afterwards is fent and distributed thorow the whole body by the help of the great Vena cava, which ariseth from the bunch and branches thereof, which are in great number as the rivers of a Fountain. The Splene towards the left fide, which receiveth the discharge and excrements of the Liver: The Reins, the Entrals, which though they are all in one, yet are distinguished by fix differences and names, equalling feven times the length of a man, as the length of a man is equalled by feven foot. In these two first parts or degrees, which some take to be but one (although there are two faculties very different, the one generative for the continuance of the kind, the other nutritive for every particular peafon, and they make it to answer to the lowest and elementary part of the world, the place of generation and corruption) is the concupifcible foul.

The third degree compared to the Atherian region, separated from the former by the Diaphragma or Midriff, and from that above by the narrowness of the throat; in which is the irascible soul, and the pectoral parts Pracordia, that is to say, the Heart, very hot, placed about the fift rib, having this point under the left pap or dug, the original fountain of Arteries, which are always moved, and cause the Pulse to beat, by which, as by channels, it sendeth and distributeth thorow the whole body the vital blood which it hath coucocted, and by it the spirit and virtue vital.

The

3: :

The Laurer, of fubstance very foft and spongeous, supple to draw to, and force forth, like a pair of bellows, instruments both of respiration, whereby the heart is refreshed, drawing unto it the blood, the spirits, the air, and disburthening it self of those sumes and excrements which oppress it and of the voice by means of the

rough Arterie.

The fourth and highest, which answereth to the celestial region, is the head, which containeth the Brain, cold and spongeous, wrapped within two skins, the one more hard and thick, which toucheth the brain-pan, Dura mater; the other more easie and thin, which includeth the Brain, Pia mater: from it do iffue, and are derived, the Sineps and marrow that descendeth and falleth down into the reins of the back. This Brain is the feat of the reasonable soul, the source of sense and motion, and of the most noble animal spirits, composed of the vital, which being raised from the heart by the Arteries unto the brain, are concocted and reconcocted, elaborated and made subtile by the help of the multiplicity of small Arteries, as fillets diverly woven and interlaced; by many turnings and windings, like a labyrinth or double net, Rete mirabile; within which this vital spirit being retained and sojourning, oftentimes passing and repassing, is refined and perfected, and becomes a creature, spiritual in an excellent degree.

The outward and visible parts, if they be single, are in the midcarward parts dle; as the Nofe, which serveth for respiration, smell, and the comfort of the brain, and the disburthening thereof, in such fort, that by it the air entreth, and iffueth both down into the lungs, and up into the brain. The Mouth, which serveth to eat and to fpeak, and therefore hath many parts serviceable thereunto; without, the lips; within, the tongue, foft and very fubtile, which judgeth of favours; the Teeth, which bruife and grind the victuals;

> If they be double and alike, they are all collaterals and equal, as the two eyes, planted in the highest stage, as sentinels, compofed of many and divers parts, three bumours, seven tunicles, seven muscles, divers colours of many fashions, and much art. These are the first, and most noble outward parts of the body in beauty, utility, mobility, activity, yea, in the action of love de ider de suarbi, they are to the vifage, that which the vilage is to the body, they are the face of the face: and because they are tender, delicate, and precious, they are fenced and rampired on all parts, with skins, lids.

> the Navel, the two finks or ways to ease and disburthen the body.

fingular.

Double and equal.

lids, brows, ears. The ears, in the felf fame height that the eyes are, as the scouts of the body, Porters of the spirit, the Receivers, and Judgers of sounds which always ascend; they have their entrance oblique and erooked, to the end the air and the sound should not enter at once, whereby the sense of hearing might be hindred and judge the worse. The arms and bands, the work-masters of all things, and universal instruments. The legs and fees, the props and pillars of the whole building.

CHAP. IV. Of the fingular properties of the body of man.

THE body of man hath many fingularities, and some peculiar and proper unto themselves, not common with other crea- Peculiar protures. The first and principal are speech, upright stature, the form perties in the or feature, the port or carriage, whereof the wife, yea, the Stoicks body of man. themselves made such account, that they were wont to say, That it was better to be a fool in a humane shape, then wise in the form of a beaft. The hand is a miracle (that of the Ape is not to be termed a hand) His natural nakedness, laughter, crying. The Sense of tickling, hair on the lower lid of the eye, a visible navel, the point of the heart on the left fide. The toes of the feet not fo long as the fingers of the hand. Bleeding at note, a ftrange thing, considering that he carrieth his head upright, and a beast downwards: To blush for shame, wax pale for fear. To be an ambidexter; disposed at all times to the sports of Venus. Not to move the ears, which bewrayeth in beafts the inward affections, but man doth fushciently make them known, by his blushing, paleness, motion of the eyes, and nofe.

The other properties are likewise peculiar unto man, but not wholly, but by way of excellency; for they are also in beasts, but in Peculiar praa less degree, that is to say, multitude of muscles and hair in the head. Perties by way
The pliant facility of the body, and the parts thereof to all motion of excellency.

The great abundance of the brain. The greatness of the bladder. The form of the foot, long forward, short backward. The quantity and pure subtility of the blood. The mobility and agility of the tongue. The multitude and variety of dreams, insomuch that he seemeth the oneby dreamer, Sneesing. And to be short, the many motions of the eyes, the nose, the lips.

There- .-

Of the goods of the body . Health, Beauty, &c.

r6 Divers habits.

There are also habits proper and peculiar, but different; some are gestures, motions, and artificial and affected countenances; others are so proper and natural, that they that have them, neither feel them nor know them in themselves; as to go stooping: but all have that which proceedeth not fo much from reason, as a pure, natural, and ready impulsion, that is, to put forth a mans hand before him when he falleth.

CHAP. V. Of the goods of the body: Health, Beauty, &c.

bealth.

THE goods of the body are, Health, Beauty, Chearfulness, Strength, Vigour, a prompt readiness and disposition: but of all these Health is the first, and passeth all the rest. Health is the most beautiful and rich present that Nature can bestow upon us, and above all other things to be preferred, not onely Science, No. bility, Riches, but Wisdom it self, which the austerest among the wife do affirm. It is the onely thing that deferveth our whole employment, yea, our life it felf to attain unto it: for without it life is no life, but a death, virtue and wisdom grow weak and faint. What comfort can all the wisdom of the world bring to the greatest man that is, if he be throughly stricken with an Apoplexie? Doubtless, there is nothing to be preferred before this bodily health but Honesty, which is the health of the Soul. Now it is common unto us with beafts, yea, many times it is greater, and far more excellent in them than in us: and notwithstanding it be a gift of nature, Gaudeant bene nati.

He that is gently born may well rejoyce,

To have by nature what he would by choice: given in the first formation, yet that which afterward followeth, The milk, Good government, which confifteth in fobriety and moderate exercises, lightness of heart, and a continual avoidance of all paffions, do preferve it much. Grief and ficknels are the contraries unto it; which are the greatest, if not the onely evils that follow man, whereof we shall speak hereafter. But in the preservation hereof, beafts likewise simply following nature, which hath given them health, do far exceed men; they oftentimes forgetting themfelves, though-afterwards they pay dearly for it.

Next followeth Beauty, a good of great account in the fociety of men. It is the first means of reconciling or uniting one to ano.

nother

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ther, and it is very likely, that the first distinction that hath been of one man from another; and the first consideration that giveth preheminence to one above another, hath been the advantage of beauty. It is likewise a powerful quality, there is none that surmounteth it in credit, or that hath to great a part in the fociety of men; for there are none so barbarous, none so resolute, that have not been beaten by it. It representeth it self unto the view, it seduceth and preoccupateth the judgment, it makes deep impressions, and presleth a man with great authority: and therefore Socrates called it, A (hort tyranny; and Plato, The priviledg of Nature: for it seemeth that he that carrieth in his countenance the favours of Nature, imprinted in a rare and excellent beauty, hath a kind of lawful power overus, and that we turning our eyes towards him, he likewise turneth our affections, and enthralleth them in despight of our selves. Aristotle saith, that it appertaineth to those that are beautiful, to command; that they are venerable next to the Gods themselves; that there are none, but fuch as are blind, but are touched with it. Cyrus, Alexander, Cafar, these great Commanders, have made great use thereof in their greatest affairs; yea, Scipio, the best of them all. Fair and Good are near neighbours, and are expressed by the selffame words, both in Greek, and in the Scriptures. Many great Philosophers, have attained to their wisdom, by the affistance of their beauty. It is likewise considerable, and much required in beasts themselves.

There are in Beauty divers things to be considered: That of The distinction men is properly the form and feature of the body; as for other of Beauty, beauties, they belong unto women. There are two sorts of beauties, the one settled which moveth not at all, and it consistent in the due proportion, and colour of the members, a body that is not swoln or pussed up, wherein the sinews and veins appear not from fat, nor the bones press not the skin, but full of blood and spirit, and in good state, having the muscles elevated, the skin smooth, the colour Vermillion: The other moveable, which is called a good grace, and is the true guiding, or carriage of the motion of the members, and above all, the eyes. The former beauty of it self is as it were dead, this active and full of life. There are beauties that are rude, sierce, sowre; others that are sweet, yea, though they be fading.

Beauty is properly to be confidered in the visage. There is no- of the Visage. thing more beautiful in man, than his soul; and in the body of man

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than his vlfage, which is as it were the foul abbreviated, that is, the pattern and image of the foul; that is, her Escutcheon, with many quarters, representing the collection of all her titles of honour, planted and placed in the gate and fore-front, to the end that men may know, that here is her abode and her palace. By the countenance it is that we know the person of a man; and therefore Art, which imitateth Nature, takes no care to represent the person of a man, but only to paint or carve the visage.

Seven singularities in the visage of man.

I.

There are many special singularities in the visage of man, which are not in beafts, (for to fay the truth, they have no vilage) nor in the rest of the body of man: as the number and diversity of the parts and forms of them, in beafts there is neither chin, nor cheeks, nor forehead, much less any form or fashion of them. Variety of colours, as in the eye only there is black, white, green, blue, red, chrystaline. Proportion for the senses are there double, answering the one to the other, and in such a manner, that the greatness of the eye is the greatness of the mouth, the largeness of the forehead, the length of the noie; the length of the noie, that of the chin and lips. An admirable divertity of countenances; and fuch, that there are hardly found two faces, in all respects, like one another: this is a chief point of workmanship, which in no other thing This variety is very profitable, yea necessary for humane fociety; first, to know one another: for infinite evils, yea, the diffipation of humane kind must needs follow, if a man should mistake himself by the semblance and similitude of divers visages; yea, it would be a confusion worse than that of Babel. A man would take his daughter for his fifter, for a stranger, his enemy for his friend. If our faces were alike, we should not discern a man from a beaft; and if they were not all unlike one another, we could not know how to differn a man from a man. Befides, it was an excellent art of Nature, to place in this part some secret that might give contentment to one another, through the whole world: for by reason of this variety of faces, there is not a person that in some part is not beautiful. The dignity and honour of it, round figure, form upright and elevated on high, naked and uncovered, without hair, feathers, scales, as in other creatures, looking up unto heaven. Grace, sweetness, a pleasant and decent comliness, even to the giving up of a mans Soul, and the ravishing of his will, as hath been shewed before. To be brief, the visage is the throne of beauty and love; the feat of laughter and kiffing, two things very proper and agreeable

agreeable unto man, the true and most significant symbols of amity and good discretion. Finally, it is apt for all alterations, to declare the inward motions and passions of the Soul, as Joy, Heaviness, Love, Hatred, Envy, Malice, Shame, Choler, Jealousie, and fo forth. It is as the hand of a Dial which noteth the hours and moments of time, the wheeles and motions themselves being hid within. And as the aire, which receiveth all the colours and changes of the time, sheweth what the weather is, so saith one, the aire of a mans countenance. Corpus animum tegit & detegit, in facie legitur bomo. The body covereth and discovereth the soul, and

man is known even by his face.

The beauty of the face confifteth in a large, square, well extended and cleer front, eye-brows well ranged, thin and fubtile, the Adefcription eye well divided, chearful, sparkling; as for the colour, I leave it of the beauty doubtful: the nose lean, the mouth little, the lips coraline, the of the face. chin short and dimpled, the cheeks formewhat rifing, and in the middle the pleasant gelasin, the eares round and well compact, the whole countenance with a lively tincture white and vermilion. Nevertheless, this description of Beauty is not generally received; the opinions of Beauty are different, according to the diversity of Nations. With the Indians the greatest Beauty consisteth in that, which we account the greatest deformity, that is, in a tawny colour, thick and fwollen lips, a flat and large nofe, teeth spotted with black or red, great eares and hanging, a little low forehead, dugs great and pendent, to the end they may give their little ones fuck over their shoulders: and to attain to this form of Beauty, they use all manner of Art. But not to wander so far, in Spain the chiefest Beauty is lean and neatly compt; in Italy fat, corpulent and folid: the foft, and delicate, and flattering please the one; the strong, vigorous, fierce, and commanding the other.

The beauty of the Body, especially the visage, should in all reafon demonstrate and witness the beauty of the foul, (which is a Tie beauty of quality and rule of opinions and judgements, with a certain sted-body. fastness and constancy) for there is nothing that hath a truer refemblance, than the conformity and relation of the body to the spirit: and when this is not, we must needs think, that there is some accident that hath interrupted the ordinary course, as it. comes to pass, that we oftentimes see it: for the milk of the Nurse, the first institution, conversation, bring great alterations to the original nature of the foul, whether in good or evil. So-

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crates confessed that the desormity of his body, did justly accuse the natural desormity of his soul, but that by industry and institution he had corrected that of the soul. This outward countenance is a weak and dangerous surety; but they that belye their own physiognomy, are rather to be punished then others, because they falsine and betray that good promise that Nature hath planted in their front, and deceive the world.

Of the vestments of the body.

Nakednefs is

There is great likelihood, that the cultom or fashion of going naked, as yet continued in a great part of the world, was the first and original amongst men, and that of covering and adorning the body with garments was artificial, and invented to help and enlarge Nature, as they which by artificial light go about to increase the light of the day: for Nature having sussiciently provided for all other creatures a covering, it is not to be believed, that the hath handled man worse than the rest, and left him onely indigent, and in such a state, that he could not help himself without forraign fuccours, and therefore those reproaches that are made against Nature as a step-mother, are unjust. If men from the beginning had been cloathed, it is not unlikely that they would ever have difrobed themselves, and gone naked, both in regard of their health, which could not but be much offended with that change, and shame it felf: and nevertheless, it is done and observed amongst many nations. Neither can it be alledged that we cloath our felves either to cover our nakedness or privy parts, or to defend us against cold (for these are the two reasons pretended; for against heat, there is no appearance of reason) because Nature hath not taught us, that there is any thing in our nakedness, that we should be ashamed of: it is we that by our own fault and fall, have told it our felves: Quis indicavit tibi quod nudus esses, nisi quod ex ligno quod praceperam tibi ne comederes comedisti? Who told thee that thou wast naked, unlest thou hast eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? And Nature hath already sufficiently hid them, put them far from our eyes, and covered them. And therefore it is less needful to cover those parts onely, as some do in those Countries where they go all naked, and ordinarily are not covered : for why should he that is Lord of all other creatures, not daring to **fhew**

thew himself naked unto the world, hide himself under the spoils of another, nay adorn himfelf? As for cold, and other particular and local necessities, we know that under the self-same air, the selffame heaven, one goes naked, another apparelled; and we have all the most delicate part uncovered: and therefore a wandring perfon being asked. How he could go fo naked in winter, answered, that our faces are always naked, and he was all face: Yea many great personages have ever gone with their heads uncovered, Massinisa, Cefar, Hannibal, Severus; and many Nations there are, which go to the warrs and fight all naked: and the counsel that Plate giveth for the continuance of health is, never to cover either head or feet. And Varro faith, that when it was first ordained, that men should uncover their heads in the presence of the gods, and of the magistrate, that it was rather for healths sake, and to harden themselves against the injuries of the times, than for reverence. Lastly, the invention of covers and houses against the injuries of heaven and men, is more ancient, more natural, more universal, then of garments, and common with many creatures, but an industrious search for victual more natural than either. Of the use Lib. 3. c. 43. of garments, and aliments hereafter.

Of the Soul in general.

Behold here a matter of all others most difficult, handled and discoursed by the wisest of all Nations, especially Egyptians, Greeks, Arabians, and Latines: by our later Writers more shallowly, as all other Philosophy, but with great diversity of opinions, according to the diversity of Nations, Religions, professions, without any certain accord or resolution: the general knowledge and discourse thereof, may be referred to these ten points: The definition, Essence or Nature, Faculties and Actions, Unity or Plurality, Source, Entrance into the body, Residence therein, Seat, Sufficiency to exercise her sunctions, the End, and Separation from the body.

It is first very hard to define, or truly to say what the Soul is, as generally all other forms, because they are things relative which sub-the definition in themselves, but are parts of a whole, and this is the rea-very difficult. fon, why there is such and so great diversity of definitions of them, whereof there is not any received without contradiction. Ari-

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Rotle hath confuted twelve that were before him, and could hardly

make good his own.

Easie to say what it is not.

It is easie to say what it is not: That it is not Fire, Aire, Water; Nor the temperature of the four Elements, or qualities or humours, which is always changeable, without which a creatute is and lives; and besides that, this is an accident, the Soul Again, Metals and things inanimate, have likewife a temperature of the four Elements, and first qualities. Neither is it blood, (for there are many things animate and living without blood, and many creatures die without the shedding of a drop of blood.) Nor the beginning and cause of motion (for divers things inanimate move, as the Adamant moves the Iron; Amber or let, Straw; Medicines and Roots of Trees being cut and dried, draw and move,) Neither is it the act, or life, or Energie, or perfection, for that word Entelechia is diversly taken and interpreted) of a living body: for all this is but the effect or action of the Soul, and not the Soul it felf, as to live, to fee, to understand is the action of the Soul. And it would likewise follow, that the Soul should be an accident, not a substance, and could not subsift without that body whereof it is the act and perfection, no more than the cover of an house may be without the house, and a relative without his correlative: To be brief, it is to fav what the Soul doth and is to another, not what it is in it felf.

Hard to fay

But to fay what the Soul is, is very difficult; A man may fimply fay, That it is an effential quickning form, which giveth to the plant the vegetative or growing life; to a beaft, a sensible life, which comprehendeth the vegetative; to a man, an intellectual life, which comprehendeth the other two, as in number the greater contains the less, and in figures the Pentagone contains the Tetragone, and this the Trigone. I call it the intellectual foul, rather than the reasonable, which is comprehended in the intellective as the less in the great: for the reasonable in some sense and measure, according to the opinion of the greatest Philosophers and experience it felf, is likewise in beasts, but not the intellective, as being more high. Sicut equus & mulus in quibus non est intellectus: Like a borse and mule in whom there is no understanding. The Soul then is not the beginning or source, that word doth properly belong to the loveraign first author, but an inward cause of life, motion, sense, understanding. It moveth the body,

and it self is not moved; as contrarily, the body is moved, and moveth not at all: it moveth I say the body, and not it self, for nothing but God moveth it self; and whatsoever moveth it self, is Eternal Lord of it self: and that it moveth the body, it hath it

not of it felf, but from an higher caule.

Concerning the Nature and Effence of the Soul, I mean an humane Soul (for the Soul of a beaft is without all doubt corporal, mate- The Wature and rial, bred and born with the matter, and with it corruptible) feace of the there is a question of greater importance than it seemeth: for some foul. affirm it to be corporal, some incorporal: and this is very agreeable to reason, if a man be not opinative. That it is corporal, see what the grounds are; Spirits and Devils, good and ill, which are wholly separated from all matter, are corporal, according to the opinion of all Philosophers, and our greatest Divines, Tertulian, In homil 1. de Origen, S. Bafil, Gregory, Augustine, Damascene, how much spir. 1.3.de lib. more the Soul of man, which hath fociety, and is united to a mat- arb. Hom, de ter? Their resolution is, that whatsoever is created, being compa-Epiph. red unto God, is groß, corporal, material, and only God is incorporal; that every spirit is a body, and hath a bodily Nature. Next unto authority almost universal, the reason is irrefragable. Whatfoever is included in this finite world, is finite, limited both in virtue and fubstance, bounded with a superficies, inclosed and circumscribed in a place, which are the true and natural conditions of a body: for there is nothing but a body which hath a superficiall part, and is barred and fastned in a place. God only is wholly infinite, incorporal; the ordinary diffinctions, circumscriptive, definitive, effective, are but verbal, and in nothing either help or hurt the cause: for it always stands good that, spirits are in such fort in a place, that at the felf-same time that they are in a place. they cannot be elsewhere; and they are not in a place either infinite, or very great, or very little, but equal to their limited and finited substance and superficies. And if it were not so, spirits could not change their place, nor ascend or descend, as the Scripture affirmeth that they do: and so they should be immoveable, indivisible, indifferently in all. Now if they appear that they change their place, the change convicteth that they are moveable, divisible, subject unto time, and to the succession thereof, required in the motion and paffage from one place to another, which are all the qualities of a body. But because many simple men under this word corporal, do imagine visible, palpable, and think not that the pure .

pure air, or fire without the flame or coal are bodies, have therefore likewise affirmed, That spirits both separated and humane are not corporal, as in truth they are not in that sense: for they are of an invitible substance, whether airy, as the greatest part of Philosophers and Divines affirm; or celeftial, as some Hebrews and Arabicks teach, calling by the felf-fame name both the heaven and the spirit, an effence proper to immortality; or whether (if they will have it fo) of a substance more subtile and delicate, yet they are always corporal, fince limited by place, moveable, subject to motion and to times. Finally, if they were not corporal, they should not be passible and capable of suffering as they are: the humane receiveth from his body pleasure and displeasure, forrow and delight in his turn; as the body from the spirit, and his passions, many good qualities, many bad virtues, vices, affections, which are all accidents: and all, as well the spirits separated and Devils as humane, are subject to punishment and torments. They are therefore corporal: for there is nothing passible, that is not corporal, and it is only proper unto bodies to be subject to accidents.

The faculties and actions of the Soul.

Now the Soul hath a great number of virtues and faculties, as many almost as the body hath members: There are some in plants, more in beafts; most in man, to know, to live, to feel, to move, to defire, to allure, to affemble, to retain, to concoct, to digeft, to nourish, to grow, to reject, to see, to hear, to taste, to smell, to speak, to breathe, to ingender, to think, to reason, to contemplate, to confent, diffent, to remember, judge; all which are no parts of the Soul: for fo it should be divisible, and should consist upon accidents, but they are her natural qualities. The actions come after and follow the faculties, and so there are three degrees, according to the doctrine of great S. Dennis followed of all, that is, we must confider in spiritual creatures three things; Esence, Faculty, Operation: By the latter, which is the action, we know the faculty, and by it the effence. The actions may be hindred and wholly cease without any prejudice at all unto the foul, and her faculties, as the Science and faculty of Painting remaineth entire in the Painter, although his hands be bound, and so be made unable to Paint : But if the faculties themselves perish, the Soul must needs be gone, no otherwise then Fire is no longer fire, having lost the faculty of warming.

The effence and nature of the Soul being after a fort explicated, one of the busiest questions that belongeth unto the Soul,

offereth

offereth it felf to our confideration, that is, whether there be in a creature, especially in man, one soul or many? Touching which point, there are divers opinions, but may be reduced into three. Some of the Greeks, and almost all the Arabicks imitating them, have thought (not only in every particular man, but generally in all men) that there was but one immortal Soul. The Aeyptians for the most part held an opinion quite contrary, that there was a plurality of fouls in every creature, all diverse and diflinct, two in every beaft, and three in man; two mortal, the vegetative and fensible, and the third intellective, immortal. The third opinion, as the mean betwixt the two former, and most followed, being held by many of all Nations, is, that there is but one Soul in every creature, not more. In every of these opinions there is some difficulty. I leave the first as being already sufficiently confuted and rejected. The plurality of fouls in every creature and man, on the one fide feemeth very strange and abfurd in Philosophy, for that were to give many forms to one and the tame thing, and to fay that there are many substances and subjects in one, two beasts in one, three men in one; on the other fide, it giveth credit and helpeth much our belief, touching the immortality of the intellectual Soul, for there being three fouls, there can follow no inconvenience, that two of them should die, and the third continue immortal. The unity of the Soul leemeth to relift the immortality thereof; for how can one and the same indivisible, be in a mortal part and an immortal? as nevertheless Aristotle would have it. Doubtless it seemed that of necessity the Soul must be either altogether mortal, or altogether immortal, which are two very foul abfurdities. The first abolisheth all Religion and found Philosophy: the fecond maketh beafts likewise immortal. Nevertheless it feems to be more true, that there is but one Soul in every creature; for the plurality and diversity of faculties, instruments, actions, neither derogateth any thing at all, nor multiplieth in any thing this unity, no more than the divertity of rivers, the unity of one fpring or fountain, nor the diversity of effects in the Sun, to heat, to enlighten, to melt, to drie, to whiten, to make black, to diffipate the unity and fimplicity of the Sun; for should they, there should be a great number of fouls in one man, and Suns in one world. Neither doth this effential unity of the Soul any thing hinder the immortality of the humane Soul in her effence, notwithstanding the vegetative and fenfitive faculties, which are but acci-D 3 dents

accidents, die, that is to say, cannot be exercised without the body, the Soul not having a subject or instrument whereby to do it, but the third intellectual Soul is always well, because for it there is no need of the body, though whilest it is within it, it make use thereof to exercise it self; insomuch that if it did return unto the body, it were only again to exercise her vegetative and sensitive faculties, as we see in those that are raised unto life to live here below, not in those that are raised to live elsewhere, for such bodies need not to live by the exercise of such Faculties: Even as there is no want nor decay in the Sun, but it continueth in it self wholly the same, though during a whole eelipse it neither shine nor warm, nor perform his other effects in those places that are subject to it.

The fource of the foul.

Having shewed the unity of the soul in every subject, let us see from whence it cometh, and how it entreth into the body. The original beginning of fouls is not held to be the same of all. I mean of humane fouls; for the vegetative and fentitive, of plants and beafts, is by the opinion of all altogether material, and in the feed, for which cause it is likewise mortal. But concerning the Soul of man there are four celebrated opinions. According to the first, which is of the Stoicks, held by Philo Indens, and afterward by the Manichees, Priscillianists, and others, it is transferred and brought forth as a part or parcel of the substance of God, who inspireth it into the body, alledging to their best advantage the words of Mofes, Infiravit in faciem ejus firaculum vita: He breathed in bis face the breath of life. The second opinion, held by Tertullian, Apollinaris, the Luciferians, and other Christians, affirmeth that the Soul proceedeth and is derived from the fouls of our Parents with the feed, as the Soul of a beaft. The third opinion, which is that of the Pythagoreans and Platonifts, held by many Rabbins and Doctors of the lews, and afterwards, by Origen, and other Doctors, reacheth, that the fouls of men have been from the beginning all created of God, made of nothing, and referved in heaven, afterwards to be fent into the lower parts, as need should require, and that the bodies of men are formed and disposed to receive them: and from hence did fpring the opinion of those that thought that the fouls of men here below, were either well or ill handled, and lodged in bodies either found or fick, according to that life which they had led above in heaven, before they were incorporate. And truly the mafter of Wildom himself, sheweth, that the Soul, of the two, was the elder, and before the body, Eram puer, bonam indolem, fortitus.

Creitus, imo bonus cum effem, corpus incontaminatum reperis. I mas a Boy, who by lot obtained a good diffosition and nature, yea even being good, I obtained also an undefiled body. The fourth opinion received and held through all Christendom is, that they are all created of God, and infused into bodies prepared in such manner, that the Creation and infution is done at one and the fame inftant. These four opinions are all affirmative, but there is a fifth much retained, which determineth nothing, and is content to fay, that it is a fecret unknown unto men: of which opinion was Saint Augustine, Gregory De orig. Epife.

and others, who nevertheless thought the two latter affirmative o- 28, 159.

pinions more like to be true than the former.

Let us now fee when and how the Soul entreth into the body, whether altogether at one inftant, or fuccessively; I mean the hu- The entrance mane Soul : for that of a beaft there is no doubt fince it is na- of the faul into tural in the feed, according to Aristotle (whom most do follow) that is, by fuccession of times, and by degrees, as an artificial form, which a man maketh by pieces, the one after the other; the head, afterwards the throat, the belly, the legs, infomuch that the vegetative and fensitive Soul, altogether material and corporeal, is in the feed, and with the descent of the Parents which fashioneth the body in the matrix: and that done, the reasonable Soul arriveth from without. And therefore there are neither two nor three fouls, neither together, nor successively, neither is the vegetative corrupted by the arrival of the fentitive, nor the fentitive by the arrival of the intellectual; but it is but one Soul which is made finished, & perfected in that time which Nature hath prescribed. Others are of opinion, that the foul entreth with all her faculties at one instant, that is to fay, then when all the body is furnished with Organs, formed, and wholly finished, and that until then there was no Soul, but only a natural virtue and Energie, an effential form of the feed, which working by the spirits which are in the said seed, with the heat of the matrix and material bloud, as with instruments, do form and build up the body, prepare all the members, nourish, move and increase them; which being done, this Energie and seminal form vanisheth and is quite lost, so that the seed ceaseth to be seed, losing its form by the arrival of another more noble, which is the humane Soul, which causeth that which was feed, or an Embryon, that is a substance without shape, to be no longer feed, but a man.

The Soul being entred into the body, we are likewise to know The residence of what kind of existence therein it hath, and how it is there resident. the Soul in the

Some body.

Some Philosophers not knowing what to fay, or how to joyn and unite the Soul with the body, make it to abide and relide therein as a Master in his house, a Pilot in his Ship, a Coach-man in his Coach: but this were to destroy all, for so the Soul should not be the form nor inward and effential part of a creature, or of a man, it should have no need of the members of the body to abide there, nor any feeling at all of the contagion of that body, but it should be a fubstance wholly distinct from the body, of it felf subsisting, which at its pleasure might come and go, and separate it self from the body, without the distinction and diminution of all the functions thereof, which are all absurdities. The Soul is in the body, as the form in the matter, extended and spread throughout the body, giving life, motion, sense, to all the parts thereof, and both of them together make but one Hypoft.sfis, one entire subject, which is the creature, and there is no mean or middle that doth unite and knit them together: for betwixt the matter and the form there is no middle, according to all Philosophy. The Soul then is all, in all the body; I add not (though it be commonly faid) and all in every part of the body; for that implyeth a contradiction, and divideth the Soul.

The feat and infruments of the Soul.

Now notwithstanding the Soul, as it is said, be diffused and fpread through the whole body, yet nevertheless, to excite and exercise its faculties, it is more specially and expresly in some parts of the body, than in others; in which it is faid to have place, yet not to be wholly there, left the reft should be without Soul, without form. And as it hath four principles and chief faculties, fo men give it four feats, that is, those four regions, which we have noted before in the composition of the body, the four first principal instruments of the Soul the reft refer themselves unto them, as also all the faculties to thefe, that is to fay, the ingendring faculty to the ingendring parts, the natural to the liver, the vital to the heart, the animal and intellectual to the brain.

The Sufficiency the exercife of her faculties.

We are now to speak in general of the exercise of the faculties of the Soul, whereunto the foul of it felf is wife and fushcient, inof the Soul for formuch that it faileth not to produce that which it knoweth, and to exercise its functions as it ought, if it be not hindred, and that the instruments thereof be well disposed. And therefore it was well and truly faid of the wife, That Nature is wife, discreet, industrious, a fufficient mistrels, which maketh a man apt to all things: Infit a funt nobie omnium artium ac virtutum femina, magisterque ex occulta

Dem

Deus producit ingenium. We have, as it were, fown in us be feed of all arts and virtues, and God, as a good Master, doth produce, extend, and teach our wit: which is eafily shewed by induction. The vegetative foul without instruction, formeth the body in the matrix with excellent Art, afterwards it nourisheth it, and makes it grow, drawing the victual unto it, retaining and concocting it, afterwards casting out the excrements, it ingendreth and reformeth the parts' that fail; these are things that are seen in plants, beasts, and men-The tensitive Soul of it telf, without instruction, maketh both beafts and men to move their feet, their hands, and other members; to firetch, to rub, to shake, to move the lips, to press the dug, to cry, to laugh. The reasonable, of it self, not according to the opinion of Plato, by the remembrance of that which it knew before it entred into the body; nor according to Aristotle, by reception and acquifition, coming from without by the fenses, being of it self as a white paper, void of impression, although that serve to good purpole; but of it felf without instruction, imagineth, understandeth, retaineth, reasoneth, discourseth. But because this of the reasonable Soul, seemeth to be more difficult than the other, and woundeth infome fort Arifotle himself, it shall be handled again in its place, inthe discourse of the intellectual Soul.

It remaineth that we speak of the last point, that is, of the separation of the Soul from the Body, which is after a diverse fort and The feparation manner; the one and the ordinary is natural by death, and this not two-fold. the same in beasts and men: for by the death of beasts, the Sord di- 1. Natural eth, and is annihilated, according unto that rule, By the corrup- and ordinary. tion of the subject, the form perisheth, the matter remaineth: by the death of man the Soul is separated from the body, but is not lost, but remaineth, inafmuch as it is immortal.

The immortality of the Soul is a thing univerfally, religiously 2. The immor-(for it is the principal foundation of all Religion) and peaceably Soul. received and concluded upon throughout the world, I mean by an outward and publick profession: seriously and inwardly, not so: witness fo many Epicures, Libertines, and mockers in the world yea, the Sadduces, the greatest Lords of the Jews, did not flick with open mouth to deny it; though a thing profitable to be believed, and in some fort proved by many natural and humane reasons, but properly and better established by the authority of Religion, then any other way. It feemeth that there is in a man a kind

of inclination, and disposition of nature to believe it; for man defi-

reth naturally to continue and perpetuate his being, from whence likewise proceedeth that great, yea furious care and love of our poflerity and fucceffion. Again, two things there are that give strength thereunto, and make it more plaufible; the one is the hope of glory and reputation, and the delire of the immortality of our name, which how vain soever it be, carrieth a great credit in the world : the other is an impression, that vice which robbeth a man of the view and knowledge of humane justice, remaining always opposite to the Divine Juffice, must thereby be chastised, yea after death: so that besides that, a man is altogether carried and disposed by Nature to defire it, and confequently to believe it, the Juttice of God doth conclude it.

The Proof.

From hence we are to learn, that there are three differences and degrees of Souls, an order required even to the perfection of the Univerle. Two extreams, the one is that which being altogether material, is plunged, and overwhelmed in the matter, and inseparable from it, and therewithal corruptible, which is the Soul of a beaft, the other quite contrary, is that which hath not any commerce, or fociety with the matter or body, as the foul of immortal Angels or Devils. In the middle, as the mean betwixt these two, is the humane foul, which is neither wholly tied to the matter, nor altogether without it, but is joyned with it, and may likewife fitbfift and live without it. This order and diffinction is an excellent argument of immortality; for it were a vacuum; a defect, a deformity too abfurd in Nature, dishonourable to the Author, and a kind of ruine to the world, that betwixt two extreams, the corruptible and incorruptible, there should be no middle; that is, partly the one and partly the other: there must needs be one that ties and joyns the two ends or extreams together, and that can be none but man. Below, the lowest and wholly material, is that which hath no Soul at all, as stones; above, the highest and immortal, is the eternal only God.

The other separation not natural nor ordinary, and which is Not natural. done by strange impulsions, and at times, is very difficult to understand, and perplex. It is that which is done by ecstasies and ravishments, which is diverte, and done by different means: for there is a separation that is Divine, such as the Scripture reporteth unto us, of Daniel, Zachary, Efdrat, Ezechiel, S. Paul. There is another that is demoniacal, procured by devils, and good spirits and bad; as we read of many, as of John D'uns, called Lefcet, who being

in his ecftafie, a long time held for dead, was carried into the air and cast down upon the earth; but so soon as he felt the blow that he received by the fall, he came to himfelf, but by reason of the great ttore of blood which he loft, his head being broken, he died outright. Cardan telleth it of himself, and of his father, and it continueth authentickly verified in many and divers parts of the world of many, and those for the most part of the vulgar fort, weak and women possessed, whose bodies remain not only without motion, and the beating of the heart and arteries; but also without any fense or feeling of the greatest blows, either with iron or fire, that could be given them, and afterwards (their fouls being returned) they have felt great pain in their limbs, and recounted that which they have seen and done in places far distant. Thirdly, there is an humane separation, which proceedeth either from that maladie, which Hippocrates calleth Sacer, commonly called, The falling ficknell, Morbus comitialis, the fign whereof is a foaming at the mouth, which is not in those that are possessed; but instead thereof they have a stinking savour, or it is occasioned by stipticks, stupifying and benumming medicines; or arifeth from the force of imagination, which enforcing and bending it felf with too deep an attention about a thing, carrieth away the whole thrength and power of the Soul. Now in these three kinds of ecitalies or ravishments, Divine, Diabolical, Humane, the question is, Whether the Soul be truly and really separated from the body; or if remaining in it, it be in fuch fort imployed and bulied about fome outward thing, which is forth of the body, that it forgetteth its own body, whereby followeth a kind of intermission and vacation of the actions, and exercise of the functions thereof. Touching the Divine echafie, the Apostle speaking of himself, and his own act, dares not define any thing, Si in corpore vel extra corpus nesio, Deus Seit: Whether in the body, or without, I know not, God knoweth. An instruction that may serve for all others, and for other separations of lels quality. Touching the Demoniacal celtalie, as not to feel a blow be it never to great, to report what hath been done two or three hundred leagues off, are two great and violent conjectures of a true separation from the body, but not altogether necessary: for the devil can so alienate and occupy the soul within the body, that it shall not seem to have any action or commerce with the body for fome certain time, and in that time so belotteth the foul by prelenting things unto the imagination, that have been done afar

off, that a man may speak and discourse thereof: for to affirm that certainly the Soul doth wholly depart and abandon the body, Nature is too bold and fool-hardy: to fay that it doth not wholly depart, but that the imaginative or intellectual is carried out, and that the vegetative foul remaineth, were more to entangle our felves; for the foul in its effence should be divided, or the accident onely should be carried out, and not the substance. Touching the humane ecstasie, doubtless there is no separation of the Soul, but onely a suspension of the patent and outward actions thereof.

Soul after death.

What becomes of the Soul, and what the state thereof is, after The state of the the natural separation by death, divers men think diversly: and this point belongeth not to the subject of this Book. The Metempsychose and transamimation of Pythagors, hath in some fort been embraced by the Academicks, Stoicks, Ægyptians, and others; but yet not of all in the same sense: for some do admit it onely for the punishment of the wicked, as we read of Nebuchadnezzar, who was changed into a beaft by the judgment of God. Others, and some great, have thought that good fouls, being separated, become Angels; the wicked, Devils. It had been more pleasing to have said, Like unto them; Non nubent, fed erunt ficut Angeli. They marry not, but shall be as the Angels of God. Some have affirmed, that the fouls of the wicked, at the end of a certain time, were reduced to nothing. But the truth of all this, we must learn from Religion, and Divines, who speak hereof more clearly.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Soul in particular; and first of the vegetative faculty.

The faculties of the Soul.

Fter this general description of the Soul, in these ten points, we must speak thereof more particularly, according to the order of the faculties thereof, beginning at the basest, that is, the Vegetative, Sensitive, Apprehensible or Imaginative, Appetible, Intellective, which is the loveraign Soul and truly humane. Under every one of these three are divers others which are subject unto them, and as parts of them, as we shall see, handling them in their rank.

Of the vegetable and basest Soul, which is even in Plants, I will of the vegeta- not speak much; it is the proper subject of Physicians of health ble and her and lickness. Let me onely say, that under this there are contained subalternate. other three great faculties, which follow on the other: for the

first

I.

first serveth the second, and the second the third; but the third neither of the former. The first then is the nourishing faculty, for the conservation of the Individuum or particular person, which divers others do ferve as the Attractive of the victual, the Concoctive, the Digeftive, separating the good and proper, from the naught and hurtful, the Retentive, and the Expulsive of Superfluities: The second, the increasing and growing facultie, for the perfection and due quantity of the Individuum: The third, is the Generative, for the conservation of the kind. Whereby we see, that the two first are for the Individuum, and work within in the body; the third is for the kind, and hath its effect and operation without in another body, and therefore is more worthy than the other, and cometh nearer to a faculty more high, which is the Sensitive. This is a great height of perfection, to make another thing like it felf.

CHAP. IX. Of the Sensitive faculty.

N the exercise of this faculty and function of the Senses, these fix Six things rethings do concur, whereof four are within, and two without quired to the That is to fay, the Soul, as the first esticient cause. The faculty of exercise of this Sense (which is a quality of the Soul, and not the Soul it felf) that faculty. is, of perceiving and apprehending outward things; which is done after a fivefold manner, which we call The five fenfes (of this number we shall speak hereafter) that is to say, Hearing, Seeing, Smelling, Tasting, Touching. The corporal instruments of the Sense, whereof there are five, according to the number of the Senses; the Eye, the Ear, the high concavity of the Nose; (which is the entrance to the first ventricles of the brain) the Tongue, the whole Skin of the body. The Spirit which ariseth from the brain the fountain of the sensitive Soul, by certain finews in the said inftruments, by which spirit and instrument the soul exerciseth her faculty. The fensible Species, or object offered unto the instruments, which is different according to the diversity of the sense. The object of the cye-fight, according to the common opinion, is colour, which is an adherent quality in bodies, whereof there are fix fimple, as White, Yellow, Red, Purple, Green, and Blew; fome add a feventh, which is Black; but to key the truth, that is no colour, but a privation, being like unto darkness, as the other colours more or less unto the light. Of compound colours the number is infinite:

I.

infinite: but to speak more truly, the true object is light which is never without colour, and without which the colours are invitible-Now the light is a quality which cometh forth of a luminous body. which makes both it felf visible and all things elfe; and if it be terminated and limited by fome folid body, it reboundeth and redoubleth its beams: otherwise if it pass without any stop or termination, it cannot be feen except it be in the root of that light or luminous body from whence it came, nor make any thing elfe to be Of the Ear or Hearing, the object is a found, which is a noise proceeding from the encounter of two bodies, and it is diverse: the pleafant and melodious sweetneth and appealeth the spirit, and for its fake the body too, and drives away maladies from them both : the sharp and penetrant, doth contrariwife trouble and wound the spirit. Of tasting, the object is a savour or smack, whereof there are fix diverfe fimple kinds, Sweet, Somr, Sharp, Tart, Salt, Bitter; but there are many compounds. Or smell, the object is an odour or fcent, which is a fume rifing from an odoriferous object afcending by the Nole to the first ventricles of the brain; the strong and violent hurteth the brain, as an ill found the car: the temperate and good doth contrariwife rejoyce, delight and comfort. Of the fense of Touching, the object is heat, cold, drouth, moisture either pleasant and polite, or sharp and smarting, motion, rest, ticling.

The middle or space betwixt the object and the instrument, which is the Air neither altered nor corrupted, but such as it ought to be.

So that fense is made, when the sensible species presenteth it self by the middle to an instrument sound and well disposed, and that therein the spirit affitting, receiveth it and apprehendeth it in such fort, that there is there both action and passion; and the senses are not purely passive: for notwithstanding they receive and are stricken by the object, yet nevertheless in some tense and measure they do work or react in apprehending the species and image of the object proposed.

In former times and before Aristotle, they did make a disserence betwixt the sense of Seeing, and the rest of the senses, and they all held, that the sight was active, and was made by emitting or sending forth of the eye the beams thereof unto the outward objects, and that the other senses were passive, receiving the sensible object; but after Aristotle, they are made all alike, and all passive, receiving in the organ or instrument, the kinds and images of things, and the reasons of the Ansients to the contrary are easily answered.

There

There is more and more excellent matter to be delivered of the

Now besides these five particular senses which are without, there is within the common sense; where all the diverse objects apprehended by it, are assembled and gathered together, to the end they may afterward be compared, distinguished, and discerned the one from the other, which the particular senses could not do, being every one attentive to his proper object, and not able to take knowledge thereof, of his companion.

CHAP. X. Of the senses of Nature.

A LL knowledge is begun in us by the senses; so say our Schoolmen: but it is not altogether true, as we shall see hereaster. The importance
They are our first masters: it beginneth by them, and endeth with senses.

them: they are the beginning and end of all. It is not possible to recoil surther back: every one of them is a Captain and Sovereign
Lord in his order, and hath a great command, carrying with it infinite knowledges. The one dependeth not, or hath need of the other, so are they equally great, although the one have a far greater extent, and train, and affairs than the other; as a little King is as well a Sovereign in his little narrow command, as a great in his great estate.

It is an opinion amongst us, that there are but five senses of Nature, because we mark but five in us; but yet there may very well be The number. more, and it is greatly to be doubted that there are; but it is impoffible for us to know them, to affirm them, or to deny them, because a man shall never know the want of that sense which he hath never had. There are many beafts which live a full and perfect life, which want some one of our five senses; and a creature may live without the five fenles, fave the fenle of Feeling, which is only necessary unto life. We live very commodiously with five, and yet (perhaps) we do want one, or two, or three, and yet it cannot be known. One sense cannot discover another: and if a man want one by nature, yet he knows not which way to affirm it. A man born blind can never conceive that he feeth not, nor defire to fee, nor delight in his fight: it may be he will fay, that he would fee, but that is because he hath heard say, and learn'd of others, that it is to be defir'd: the reason is, because the senses are the first gates, and entrances

to knowledge. So man not being able to imagine more then the five that he hath, he cannot know how to judg whether there be more in Nature; yet he may have more. Who knoweth whether the difficulties that we find in many of the works of Nature, and the effects of creatures, which we cannot understand, do proceed from the want of some sense which we have not? Or the hidden properties which we fee in many things, a man may fay that there are sensible faculties in Nature, proper to judg and apprehend them; but yet he must confess that we have them not, and that the ignorance of fuch things proceedeth from our own fault. Who knoweth whether it be some particular sense, that discovereth in the Cock the hour of mid-night and morning, and that moves him to crow? Who taught some beafts to choose certain berbs for their cure, and many fuch like wonders as thefe are? No man can affirm or deny, fay this it is, or that it is.

Some have affayed to give a reason of this number of the five Their fufficien- senses, and to prove the sufficiency of them by distinguishing and diverfly comparing their outward objects; which are, either all near the body, or distant from it; if near, but yet remaining without, it is the sense of Touching; if they enter, it is Taste; if they be more distant and present by right line, it is the Sight; if oblique and by reflection, it is the Hearing. A man might better have faid thus. That these five senses being appointed for the service of an entire man, some are entirely for the body, that is to say, Tafte and Touching; that, in that it entreth; this, in that it remains withouten Others first and principal for the soul, as Sight and Hearing; the fight for invention, the hearing for acquisition and communication; and one in the middle, for the middle spirits, and ties of the foul and body, which is the Smell. Again, they answer to the four Elements, and their qualities: The fense of Feeling to the earth; of Hearing to the air; of Taste to the water and moysture; the Smell to the fire. The Sight is a compound, and partakes both of water and fire, by reason of the bright splendour of the eye. Again, they fay that there are so many senses, as there are kinds of fenfible things; which are colour, found, odour, tast or favour, and the fifth, which hath no proper name, the object of Feeling, which is heat, cold, rough, plain, and so forth. But men deceive themfelves, for the number of the fenfes is not to be judged by the number of sensible things; which are no cause that there are so many. By this reason there should be many more, and one and the same fense

fense should receive many diverse heads of objects, and one and the same object be apprehended by divers senses: so that the tickling of a feather, and the pleasures of Venus, are distinguished from the five Senses, and by some comprehended in the sense of Feeling: But the cause is rather, for that the spirit hath no power to attain to the knowledge of things, but by the five Senses, and that Nature hath given it so many, because it was necessary for its end and benefit.

Their comparisons are diverse in dignity and nobility. The Sense of Seeing excelleth all the rest in five things: It apprehendeth far- Comparison. ther off, and extendeth it felf even to the fixed ftars. It hath more variety of objects: for to all things, and generally in all, there is light and colour, the objects of the eye. It is more exquisite, exact, and particular, even in the least and finest things that are. It is more prompt and fudden, apprehending even in a moment, and without motion, even the heavens themselves: in the other senses there is a motion that requireth time. It is more divine, and the marks of Divinity are many. Liberty incomparable above others. whereby the eye feeth, or feeth not, and therefore it hath lids ready to open and to shut: power not to turmoil it felf, and not to suffer it felf to be feen: Activity and Ability to please or displease, to fignifie and infinuate our thoughts, wills, and affections: for the eve speaketh and striketh, it serveth for a tongue and a hand; the other fenses are purely passive. But that which is most noble in this Sense is, that the privation of the object thereof, which is darkness, brings fear, and that naturally; and the reason is because a man findeth himself robbed of so excellent a guide: and therefore whereas a man defireth company for his solace, the Sight in the light is in place of company. The fense of Hearing hath many excellent fingularities, it is more spiritual, and the service thereof more inward. But the particular comparison of these two, which are of the rest the more noble, and of Speech, shall be spoken in the Chapter following. As for pleasure or displeasure, though all the Senses are capable thereof, yet the fense of Feeling receiveth greater grief, and almost no pleasure; and contrarily, the Taste great delight, and almost no grief. In the organ and instrument, the Touch is universal, spread through the whole body, to the end the body should feel heat and cold: The organs of the rest are affigned to a certain place and member. The weather

From the weakness and incertitude of our senses igno-and uncertainrance, errour, and mistakings: for sithence that by their means and Senses.

mixture we attain to all knowledge, if they deceive is in their report, we have no other help to flick unto. But who can fay, or aecule them, that they do deceive us, confidering that by them we begin to learn and to know? Some have affirmed that they do never deceive us; and when they feem to do it, the fault proceedeth from fomething elfe; and that we must rather attribute it to any other thing, than to the fentes. Others have faid clean contrary, that they are all false, and can teach us nothing that is certain. But the middle opinion is the more true.

The mutual deceit of the

Now whether the Senses be false or not, at the least it is certain. that they deceive, yea, ordinarily enforce the discourse, the reason. and in exchange are again mocked by it. Do then but consider what Spirit de senses. kind of knowledge and certainty a man may have, when that within, and that without is full of deceit and weakness, and that the principal parts thereof, the effential instruments of science, do deceive one another. That the Senses do deceive and enforce the understanding, it is plain in those senses whereof some do kindle with fury, others delight and fweeten, others tickle the Soul. And why do they that cause themselves to be let blood, launced, cauterized, and burnt, turn away their eyes; but that they do well know that great authority that the senses have over their reason? The fight of some bottomless depth or precipitate downfal, astonisheth even him that is fettled in a firm and fure place : and to conclude. doth not the Sense vanquish, and quite overcome all the beautiful relolutions of virtue and patience? fo on the other fide, the fenfes are likewise deceived by the understanding; which appeareth by this, that the Soul being Stirred with Choler, Love, Hatred, or any other pallion our fenfes do fee and hear every thing otherwise then they are; yea, fometimes our Senses are altogether dulled by the paffions of the Soul, and it feemeth that the Soul retireth and flutteth up the operation of the Senies, and that the spirit being others wife employed, the eye differenth not that which is before it, and which it feeth, yea, the fight and the reason judge diversly of the greatness of the Sun, the Stars, may of the figure of a staff any thing diffant.

In the Senses of Nature, the beafts have as well part as we, and fometimes excel us: for fome have their hearing more quick than man, fome their fight, others their fmell, others their tafte: and it is and beef but theid, that in the lense of Hearing, the Hart excellest all others; of Sight, the Eagle; of Smell, the Dog; of Takes, the Ape; of Feeling,

the Tertoile: nevertheles, the prehemineme of that sense of Touch is given unto man, which of all the rest is the most bartish. Now if the Senses are the means to attain unto knowledge, and that beasts have a part therein, yea sometimes the better part; why should not they have knowledge?

But the Senses are not the only instruments of knowledge, neither are our Senses alone to be consulted or believed: for if beasts by The judgement their Senses judge otherwise of things than we by ours, as doubtlets of the senses they do; who must be believed? Our spittle cleanseth and drieth our hard and danwounds, it killeth the serpent; What then is the true quality of our gerous. spittle? to dry and to cleanse, or to kill? To judge well of the operation of the senses, we must be at some agreement with the beasts, nay, with our selves: for the eye pressed down and shut, seeth otherwise than in its ordinary state; the ear stopt, receiveth the objects otherwise than when it is open: an infant sees, hears, tastes, otherwise then a man; a man, then an old man; a sound then a sick, a wise then a sool. In this great diversity and contrariety, what shall swe hold for certain? Seeing that one sense belieth another, a picture seems to be held up to the view, and the hands are folded together.

CHAP. XI. Of Sight, Hearing, and Speech.

Heleare the three most rich and excellent jewels of all those that are in this muster, and of whose preheminency it is disputed. A comparison of Touching their Organs, that of the Sight in its composition and the three. form is admirable, and of a lively and shining beauty, by reason of the great variety and fubtilty of so many small parts or pieces; and therefore it is faid, That the eye is one of those parts of the body, which do first begin to be formed, and the last that is fmithed: and for this very cause it is so delicate, and faid to be subject to fixfcore maladies. Afterwards comes that of Speech, which helpeth the sense of Hearing to many great advantages. For the service of the body, the Sight is most necessary, and therefore doth more import a beaft, then hearing. But for the spirit, the Hearing challengeth the upper place. The fight ferveth well for the invention of things, which by it have almost all been discovered, but it bringeth nothing to perfection. Again, The Sight is not capable but of corporal things and particular, and that only of their crust or superwicht part; it is the infiniment of ignorant men and unlearned,

ned, qui qui moventur ad id quod adeft, quodque prafens eft; who are moved with the prefent object.

The preheminency of hear-

The Ear is a spiritual Sense, it is the intermedler and Agent of the understanding, the instrument of wife and spiritual men, capable not only of the fecrets and inward parts of particular bodies, whereunto the Sight arriveth not; but also of the general kinds, and all spiritual things and divine, in which the tight serveth rather to disturb than to help; and therefore we see not only many blind, great and wife, but some also that are deprived of their fight, to become great Philosophers; but of such as are deaf, we never heard of any. This is the way by which a man entreth the fortres, and makes himself master of the place, and employeth his spirit in good or ill; witness the wife of King Agamemnon, who was contained in her duty of chaftity by the found of a Harp: and David by the felf-fame means chaled away the evil spirit from Saul and restored him to health: and that skilful player of the Flute, that sweetned the voice of that great Oratour Gracebus. Science, Truth, and virtue, have no other entrance into the Soul, but by the Ear. Christianity it self teacheth, that faith and salvation cometh by Hearing, and that the Sight doth rather hurt, then help thereunto: that faith is the belief of those things that are not seen, which belief is acquired by hearing; and it calleth fuch as are Apprentices or novices therein, Auditors; xarnxunirus, catechifed. Let me add this one word that the hearing giveth fuccour and comfort in darkness, and to such as are afleep, that by the sound they may be awaked, and to provide for their prefervation. For all these reasons have the wifest so much commended Hearing, the pure and virgin-guardian from all corruption, for the health of the inward man; as for the fafety of a City, the gates and walls are guarded that the enemy enter not.

The force and anthority of Speech. Speech is peculiarly given unto man, an excellent present and very necessary, in regard of him from whom it proceedeth: it is the interpreter and image of the Soul, animi index & speculum, the messenger of the heart, the gate by which all that is within issueth forth, and committeth it self to the view, all things come forth of darkness and secret corners into the light, and the spirit it self makes it self visible: and therefore an ancient Philosopher said once to a child; Speak, that I may see thee, that is to say, the inside of thee. As vessels are known whether they be broken or whole, sall or empty by the sound, and metals by the touch; so man by

his speech. Of all the visible parts of the body which shew themselves outward, that which is nearest the heart, is the tongue, by the root thereof; fo that which comes neerest unto our thought, is our speech: for from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. In regard of him which receiveth it, it is a powerful matter, an imperious commander, which entreth the fortrels, possesseth it self of the possessor, stirreth him up, animateth, exasperateth, appeafeth him, maketh him fad, merry, imprinteth in him whattoever passion it handleth, and feedeth the Soul of the hearer, and makes it pliable to every fense: it makes him blush, wax pale, laugh, cry, tremble for fear, mad with choler, to leap for joy, and pierceth him through with passion. In regard of all, Speech is the hand of the spirit, wherewith, as the body by his, it taketh and giveth, it asketh counsel and succour, and giveth it. It is the great Intermedler and Huckster: by it we traffick, Merx à Mercurio, peace is handled, affairs are managed, Sciences and the good of the spirit are diffributed, it is the band and cement of humane fociety (fo that it be understood: For, saith one, A man were better to be in the company of a dog that he knoweth, than in the company of a man whole language he knoweth not, Ut externus alieno, non fit hominis vice,) As a stranger unto a stranger, and not in place of a man. To be brief, it is the inftrument of whatfoever is good or ill, Vita e mors in manibus lingue: Life and death is in the power of the songue: There is nothing better, nothing worle than the tongue of the good The tongue of a wife man is the door of a royal Cabinet, which and evil tongue is no fooner opened, but incontinently a thouland divertities prefent themselves to the eye, every one more beautiful than other come from the Indies, Peru, Arabia; So a wife man produceth and rangeth them in good order, fentences, and Aphoritms of Philosophy, fimilitudes, examples, histories, wife fayings, drawn from all the mines, and treasuries old and new, Qui profert de thesauro suo nova & vetera, who brings forth of his treasury old and new things, which serve for a rule of good manners, of policy, and all the parts both of life and of death, which being applied in their times and to good purpose, bring with it great delight, great beauty and utility, Mala aures in lectis argenteis, verba in tempore suo. Like golden ap- Proverb. ples in beds of filver, so were words spoken in due season. of a wicked man is a stinking & contagious pit, a slanderous tongue murdereth the honour of another, it is a fea and university of evils. worse than setters, fire, poylon, death, hell, Universitas iniquitatis,

Of the other faculties, Imaginative, Memorative, &c.

malum inquietum, venenum mortiferum, ignis intendens omnia, mors ilius nequissima, utilis potius infernus quam illa. The generality of iniquity, an unquiet evil, a deadly poyfon, a fire consuming all, whose death is most wicked, and more unprofitable than bell it felf.

dency of Hear-

Now these two, Hearing and Speech, antwer, and are accom-The correspon- modated the one to the other; there is great alliance betwirt them, ing and Speech, the one is nothing without the other, as allo by Nature in one and the same subject, the one is not without the other. They are the two great gates, by which the foul doth traffick, and hath her intelligence. By these two, the souls are poured the one into the other, as vessels when the mouth of one is applyed to the entry of the other; So that if these two gates be shut, as in those that are deaf and dumb, the spirit remaineth solitary and miserable: Hearing is the gate to enter, by it the spirit receiveth all things from without, and conceiveth as the female: Speech is the gate to go forth, by it the spirit acteth and bringeth forth as the male. From the communication of these two, as from the stroke of two flints, or irons together, there comes forth the facred fire of truth: for they rubbing and polishing the one the other, they shake off their rust; purifie and cleanse themselves, and all manner of knowledge comes to perfection. But hearing is the first: for there can nothing come forth of the foul, but that which first entreth: and therefore he that by Nature is altogether deaf, is likewife dumb. It is necessary that first the spirit be furnished with moveables, and utensils, by the sense of Hearing, to the end it may by speech distribute them; so that the good and ill of the tongue, and almost of the whole man, dependeth upon the ear. He that hears well, speaks well; and he that hears ill, speaks ill. Of the use and government of the tongue, hereafter, Lib. 3. Chap. 43.

CHAP. XII. Of the other faculties, Imaginative, Memorative, Appetitive.

"HE phantastick or imaginative faculty, having recollected, and with-drawn the kinds and images apprehended by the senses, retaineth and reserveth them: in such sort that the objects being absent and far distant, yea, a man sleeping, and his tenses being bound and shut up, it presenteth them to the spirit and thought; Phantasmata idula, seu imagines dicuntur; The

Of the intellective faculty and trily bumane.

Phantasmet are called idols, images, and representations of things, and do almost work that within in the understanding, which the object doth without in the sense.

The Memorative faculty is the Guardian and Register of all the species or kinds and images, apprehended by the sense, retired, and sealed up by the imagination.

The Appetitive faculty seeketh and pursueth those things, which

feem good and convenient.

CHAP. XIII-

Of the intellective faculty and truely bumane.

Two things are to be known, before we enter into this difcourle, the feat or inftrument of this intellective faculty, and the feat and the action. The feat of the reasonable soul, ubi fedet pro tribunali, inftrument of where be sitteth as in his throne or tribunal feat, is the brain, and not the heart, as, before Plate and Hippocrates, it was commonly thought: for the heart having feeling and motion, is not capable of wisdom.

Now the brain which is far greater in man, then in all other creatures, if it be well and in such manner made and disposed, that the reasonable soul may work and exercise its powers, it must come near unto the form of a Ship, and must not be round nor too great, nor too little, although the greater be less vitious. It must be composed of a substance and parts subtile, delicate, and delicious, well joyned and united without separation, having four little chambers or ventricles, whereof three are in the middle, ranged in front, and collaterals between and behind them, drawing towards the hinder part of the head; the fourth is alone, wherein is framed the preparation and conjunction of the vital spirits, afterwards to be made animal, and carried to the three ventricles before, wherein the reasonable soul doth exercise its faculties, which are three, Understanding, Memory, Imagination, which do not exercise their powers apart and distinctly, each one in each ventricle, as some have commonly thought; but in common all three together in all three, and in every of them, according to the manner of the outward fenfes, which are double, and have two ventricles, in each of which the lenses do wholly work, whereby it comes to pass, that he that is wounded in one for two of these ventricles (as he that hath the palife) ceaseth not

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nevertheless to exercise all the three; though more weakly, which he could not do, if every faculty had his chamber or ventricle apart.

The reasonable Soul is Orgapical.

Some have thought that the reasonable Soul was not organical. that is, had no need of any corporal instrument to exercise its functions, thinking thereby the better to prove the immortality of the Soul. But not to enter into a labyrinth of discourse, ocular and ordinary experience disproveth this opinion, and convinceth the contrary: For it is well known that all men understand not, nor reafon not alike and after one manner, but with great divertity; yea, one and the fame man may be so changed, that at one time he may reason better than at another; in one age, one estate, and disposition, better than in another, fuch an one better in health than in ficknels; and another better in lickness than in health; one & the same man, at one and the same time, may be strong in judgement, and weak in imagination. From whence can these diversities and alterations proceed, but from the change and alteration of the state of the organ or instrument? From whence cometh it, that drunkenness, the bite of a mad dog, a burning fever, a blow on the head, a fume riling from the stomach, and other accidents, pervert and turn toplie-turvey the judgment, intellectual spirit, and all the wildom of Greece, yea, constrain the Soul to diflodge from the body? These accidents being purely corporal. cannot touch nor arrive to this high spiritual faculty of the reasonable foul, but only to the organs or instruments, which being corrupted, the Soul cannot well and regularly act and exercise its functions, and being violently inforced, is constrained either to ablent it felf, or depart from the body. Again, that the rea-Sonable Soul should have need of the service of the instruments. doth no way prejudice the immortality thereof: for God maketh use thereof, and accommodates his actions; and as according to the diversity of the air, region, and climate, God brings forth men very diverte in spirit and natural sufficiency, as in Greece and Italy men more ingenious, than in Muscowy and Tartary: So the spirit according to the diversity of the organical dispositions, and corporal instruments, discourseth better or worfe. Now the instrument of the reasonable Soul, is the Brain, and the temperature thereof, whereof we are to Speak.

Temperature is the mixture and proportion of the four first

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qualities, Hot, Cold, Dry, Moist, and it may be a fifth besides, which of the tempeis the harmony of these four. Now from the Temperature of the rature of the brain, proceedeth all the state and action of the reasonable Soul, faculties therebut that which is the cause of great misery unto man, is, that the of. three faculties of the reasonable Soul, Understanding, Memory, Imagination, do require and exercise themselves by contrary Temperatures. The temperature which ferveth, and is proper to the un-The underflanflanding, is dry, whereby it comes to pals that they that are firicken ding dry. in years, do excel those in their understanding that are young, old age. because in the brain as years increase, so movsture decreaseth. likewife melancholick men, fuch as are afflicted with want, and fast much (for heaviness and fasting are driers) are wife and ingenious, Splendor ficcus, animus sapientissimus, vexatio dat intel'echum: Heat drieth and refines the wit, affliction gives understanding: And beafts that are of a dry temperature, as Ants, Bees, Elephants, are wife and ingenious, as they that are of a moist temperature are stupid and without spirit, as swine: And the Southern people of the Southerns. world are dry, and moderate in the inward heat of the brain, by reason of their violent outward heat.

The temperature of the memory is moyft, whereof it is that infants have better memory then old men, and the morning after that The memory humidity that is gotten by fleep in the night, is more apt for me-moift. mory, which is likewise more vigorous in Northern people. There Infancy. Septentrionals... impression may be made, but airy, viscous, fat and only, which easily receiveth, and strongly retaineth as it is seen in pictures wrought

in ovl.

The temperature of the imagination is hot, from whence it cometh that frantick men, and fuch as are fick of burning maladies, The imaginaare excellent in that that belongs to imagination, as Poetry, Divi-tion hot. nation, and that it hath greatest force in young men, and of middle The middle reyears (Poets and Prophets have flourished in this age) and in the gion. middle parts betwixt North and South.

By this diversity of temperatures it cometh to pass, that a man may be indifferent in all the three faculties, but not excellent , A comparison and that he that is excellent in any one of the three, is but weak in of the temperathe rest: that the temperatures of the memory and understanding are very different and contrary, it is clear, as drie and moift; as for the imagination, it seemeth not to be so contrary from the others, because heat is not incompatible with drought and moi-

moysture: and yet notwithstanding experience sheweth, that they that excell in imagination, are lick in understanding and memory, and held for fools and mad men, but the reason thereof is, because the great heat that serveth the imagination, consumeth both the moviture which serveth the memory, and the subtilty of the spirits and figures which should be in that driness, which serveth the understanding, and so it is contrary, and destroyeth the other two.

Three only temperatures.

By that which hath been spoken it appeareth, that there are but three principal temperatures, which serve and cause the reasonable Soul to work, and diffinguish the spirits, that is to say, Heat, Drinels, Moisture: Cold, is not active, nor serveth to any purpose, but to hinder all the motions and functions of the Soul; and when we find in tome Authors, that Cold ferveth the understanding, and that they that have cold brains, as Melancholick men and the Southern, are wife and ingenious; there Cold is taken, not fimply, but for a great moderation of heat: for there is nothing more contrary to theunderstanding, and to wildom, than great heat, which contrarywife ferveth the imagination. According to the three temperatures, there are three faculties of the realonable Soul; but as the temperatures, to the faculties receive divers degrees, fubdivitions, and diffinctions.

the faculties.

There are three principal offices and differences of understanding, Subdivision of to Infer, to Distinguish, to Chase: these Sciences which appertain to the understanding, are School-Divinity, the Theorick of Phyfick, Logick, Philosophy natural and moral. There are three kinds of differences of memory; eafily to receive and lose the figures; eafily to receive, and hardly to lole; hardly to receive, and eafily to The Sciences of the memory are Grammar, the Theorick of the Law, Politive-Divinity, Colmography, Arithmetick. Of the imagination there are many differences, and a far greater number than either of the memory or understanding: to it do properly appertain, Inventions, Merry-conceits, and Jests, Tricks of subtilty, Fictions and Lies, Figures and comparisons, Neatness, Elegancy, Gentility: because to it appertain, Poetry, Eloquence, Musick, and generally whatfoever confifteth in Figure, Correspondency, Harmony, and Proportion.

Hereby it appeareth that the vivacity, subtility, promptitude, and The propriety of that which the common fort call wit, belongs to a hot imagination; folidity, maturity, variety, to a drie understanding. The imaginaand their order.

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tion is active and ftirring, it is it that undertaketh all, and fees all the reft awork: the understanding is dull and cloudy: the memory is purely paffive, and see how; The imagination first gathereth the kinds and figures of things both present, by the service of the five fenles, and abfent by the benefit of the common fense: afterwards it presenteth them if it will, to the understanding, which confidereth of them, examineth, ruminateth, and judgeth; afterwards it putteth them to the fafe cultody of the memory, as a Scrivener to his Book, to the end he may again, if need shall require, draw them forth (which men commonly call Reminiscentia, Remembrance) or elfe, if it will, it commits them to the memory before it presents them to the understanding; for to recollect, represent to the understanding, commit unto memory, and to draw them forth again, are all works of the imagination; fo that to it are referred the common Sense, the Fantasie, the Remembrance, and they are not powers separated from it, as some would have it, to the end they may make more than three faculties of the reasonable Soul.

The common fort of people, who never judge aright, do more esteem of memory, and delight more in it, than in the other two, be- fon in dignity. cause they have much use of counting, and it makes greater thew and stir in the world, and they think, that to have a good memory is to be wife; esteeming more of Science, than of Wisdom; but yet of the three it is the leaft, being fuch as may be even in fools themselves: for very seldom is an excellent memory joyned with understanding and wisdom, because their temperatures are contrary. From this Error of the common people, comes that ill course, which every where we fee, in the instruction of our youth, who are always taught to learn by heart, (fo they term it) that which they see of this lib. read in their Books, to the end they may afterwards be able to re- 3. cap. 13. peat it; and so they fill and charge the memory with the good of another, and take no care to awaken and direct the understanding, and to form the judgement, whereby he may be made able to make use of his own proper good, and his natural faculties, which may make him wife and apt to all things: fo that we fee that the greatest Scholars that have all Aristotle and Cicero in their heads, are the verieft fots, and most unskilful in publick affairs, and the world is governed by those that know nothing. It is the opinion of all the wifest, that the understanding is the first, the most excellent and principal piece of harnels: If that speed well, all goes well,

Of the Intellective faculty and truly bumane.

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well, and a man is wife; and contrariwife, if that mifcarry, all goes across. In the second place is the imagination: the memory is the last.

An Image of the three faculties of the foul.

All these differences, it may be, will be better understood by this fimilitude, which is a picture or imitation of the reasonable soul. In every Court of justice, there are three orders or degrees, the highest are the Judges, with whom there is little stir, but great action; for without the moving or farring of themselves, they judge, decide order, determine of all things: this is the image of judgement, the highest part of the soul. The second are the advocates and Proctours, in whom there is great ftir and much ado, without action, for it lies not in their power to dispatch or order any thing, only they hatch and prepare the business: this is the picture of the imagination, and undertaking unquiet faculty, which never refleth, no not in the profoundest sleep; and it makes a noise in the brain, like a pot that feetheth, but never fetleth. The third and last degree is the Scribe or Register of the Court, with whom there is no stir nor action but pure passion, as the Guardian or Custos of all things, and this representeth the memory.

The action of the reasonable Soul.

The action of the reasonable Soul is the knowledge and understanding of all things: The spirit of man is capable of understanding all things, vilible, invilible, universal, particular, sensible, insensible. Intellectus est omnia: Understanding is all: but it self either understands it not at all, as some are of opinion (witness so great and almost infinite opinions thereof, as we have feen before. by those doubts and objections that have always croffed it) or very darkly, imperfectly, and indirectly, by reflection of the knowledge of things upon themselves, by which it perceiveth and knoweth that it understandeth, and hath power and faculty to understand: this is the manner whereby the spirit knows it self. raign spirit, God, doth first know himself, and afterwards in himfelf all things; the latter spirit, Man, quite contrary, all other things rather than himself, and is in them as the eye in a glass: how then should it act or work in it self without mean, and by a straight line?

The mean whereby it worketh.

But the question is concerning the means whereby it knoweth and understandeth things. The common received opinion that came from Aristatle himself is, that the Spirit knoweth and understandeth by the help and service of the Senses, that it is of it self as a white empty paper, that nothing cometh to the understand-

ing,

ding, which doth not first pass the fenses: Nil off in intellection and non fuerit prim in fensu. There is nothing in the understanding, which is not first in the sense. But this opinion is falle: first because (as all the wisest have affirmed and bath been before touched) the feeds of all sciences; and virtues are naturally differred and infinuated into our spirits, so that they may be rich and merry with their own; and though they want that tillage that is fit, yet then they sufficiently abound. Besides, it is injurious both to God and nature: for this were to make the state of the reasonable Soul worle then that of other things, then that of the vegetative and fentitive, which of themselves are wise enough to exercise their fun-Ctions, as hath been faid, for beafts without the discipline of the fenses know many things, the universals by the particulars, by the fight of one man they know all men, and are taught to avoid the danger of things hurtful, and to feek and to follow after that which is fit for them and their little ones. And it were a thing shameful and absurd, that this so high and divine a faculty should beg its goods of things so vile and corruptible as the senses, which do apprehend only the simple accidents, and not the forms, natures, effence of things, much less things universal, the fecrets of Nature, and all things insensible. Again, if the Soul were made wife, by the aid of the fenses, it would follow, that they that have their fenses most perfect and quick, should be most witty, most wife; whereas many times we fee the clean contrary, that their spirits are more dull, and more unapt, and that many have of purpose deprived themselves of the use of some of them. to the end the foul might better, and more freely execute its own affairs. And if any man shall object that the soul being wife by Nature, and without the help of the fenfes, all men must necessarily be wife, and always understand and reason alike: which being fo, how cometh it about that there are so many dull pates in the world, and that they that understand, exercise the functions more weakly at one time than at another, the vegetative foul far more frongly in youth, the reasonable soul more weakly than in old age. and in a certain flate of health or ficknels, than at another time? I may answer, that the argument is not good: for as touching the first, that is, That all men must be wise: I say that the faculty and virtue of understanding is not given alike unto all, but with great inequality, and therefore it is a faying, as ancient as honourable, even of the witeft; that the acting understanding was given but to few;

Of the humane spirit, the parts, fundiant, quilibies.

and this inequality proveth that Science comes not of fenfe: for the it hath been faid, they that excel others in their fentes, come thort of others in their understanding and Science. Touching the second The reason why a man doth not exercise his functions always as ter one manner, is because the infiraments whereby the Soul minis necessarily work, cannot always be dispoted as they should and if they be for some special kind of faculties or functions, yet not for others. The temperature of the brain, by which the Soul worketh, is diverse and changeable; being hot and moist, in youth, it is good for the vegetative, naught for the realonable, and contrarily, being cold and dry, in old age, it is good for the reatonable, ill for the vegetative. The brain by a hot burning malady being heated and purified, is more fit for invention and divination, unfit for maturity and foundness of judgment and wisdom. By that which hath been spoken let no man think, that I affirm that the spirit hath no fervice from the fenfes, which I confess to be great, ofpecially in the beginning in the difcovery, and invention of things: but I fay in the detence of the honour of the fpirit, that it is falle that it dependeth upon the fenses, and that we cannot know any thing, understand, reason, discourse, without the sense: for contrariwise all knowledge comes from it, and the fenfes can do nothing without it.

The spirit in this understanding faculty proceedeth diversly, and by order: It understanders at the first instant, simply and directly a Lion to be a Lion, afterwards by consequents that he is strong; for seeing the effects of his strength, it concludes that he is strong. By division or negative, it understandes has to be searful; for seeing it slye and hide it self, it concludes that a Hare is not strong, because fearful. It knoweth some by similitude, others by a col-

lection of many things together.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the humane Spirit, the parts, functions, qualities, reasons, invention, verity thereof:

This humane Spirit, and Decomps of this great and high intellectual part of the foul, is a depth of oblicurity, full of creeks and hidden corners, a confused and involved labyrinth, and bottomless pic, consisting of many parts, faculties, actions, divers motions having many names doubts and difficulties.

The first office thereof is samply so receive and apprehend the

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timages and kinds of things, which is a kind of passion and impression of the Soul, occasioned by the objects and the prefence of them; this is imagination and apprehention.

The force and power thereof, to feed, to handle, to fir, to concoct to digest the things received by the imagination; this is rea-

fon, xing.

The action and office, or exercise of this force and power, which is to affemble, conjoyn, separate, divide the things received, and to add likewite others: This is discourse, reasoning, Novom D. Alaroia quefi Szavir.

The subtile facility, and chearful readiness to do all these things and to penetrate into them, is called Spirit, Ingenium; and therefore

to be ingenious, sharp, tubtile, piercing, is all one.

The repetition and action of ruminating, reconcocting, trying by the whetstone of reason, and rewarding of it, to frame a resolution more folid: this is judgement.

The effect in the end of the understanding: this is knowledge,

intelligence, resolution.

The action that followeth this knowledge and resolution, which is to extend it felf, to put forward, and to advance the thing known:

this is will. Intelledius extensus & promotus.

Wherefore all thefe things, Understanding, Imagination, Reafon, Discourse, Spirit, Indgement, Intelligence, Will, are one and the lame effence, but all diverte in force, virtue, and action: for a man may be excellent in one of them, and weak in another: and many times. be that excelleth in Spirit and Subtilty, may be weak in judgement and folidity.

Flet no man to ling, and let forth the praises and greatness of the spirit of man, the capacity, vivacity, quickness thereof : let it The general description and be called the image of the living God, a taste of the immortal sub-commendation flance, a ftreath of the Divinity, a celedial ray, whereunto God of the Spirit. hath given reason, as an animated stern to move it by rule and measure, and that it is an instrument of a compleat harmony withat by it there is a kind of kindred betwin God and man; and that he might often remember him, he hath turned the root towards the heavens, to the end he should always took towards the place of his mativity; to be brief, that there is nothing great upon the earth but tran, nothing great in man but his lpirit; if man alored to it, he afcendeth above the heavens. These are all pleasing and plausible words whereof the Schools do ring about backgods a diw bands

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Of the humane Spirit, the parts, functions, qualities,

The difpraife.

But I defire, that after all this we come to found and to fudy how to know this spirit: for we shall find after all this, that it is both to it felf and to another a dangerous instrument, a ferret that is to be feared; a little trouble-feast, a tedious and importunate parafite; and which, as a juggler and player at fast and loofe, under the shadow of some gentle motion, subtile and smiling, forgeth, inventeth, and caufeth all the mischiefs in the world: and the truth is, without it there are none.

Diversities of diftinctions of the fpirit. See hereof more chap. 39.

mal.

There is far greater divertity of spirits than of bodies, so is there likewise a larger field to enter into, more parts and more forms or fashions to be spoken of: we may make three classes or forms. whereof each one hath many degrees: The first, which is the loweft, are those weak, base, and almost brutish spirits, near neighbours to bealts themselves, whether by reason of the first temper, that is to fay, of the feed and temperature of the brain, either too cold or too moift, as amongst other creatures, Fishes are the loweft; or by reason that they have not been in some fort removed, and reviewed, but suffered to rust, and grow dull and stupid. Of these we make no great account, as being unfit to be ordered and Tetled into any certain and constant society, because both for their own particular they cannot possibly endure it, and it were necessary they should always be under the tuition of another, this is the common and base people, qui vigilans stertit; mortua cui vita est; pro-De jam vivo atque videnti; who waking fnorteth, whose life is dead; or rather almost alive, and seeing, which understandeth not, judgeth not it felf. The fecond, which is the highest, are those great and high spirits, rather devils than ordinary men, spirits well born, firong and vigorous. Of these kind of people, there was never age yet could tell how to build a common weal. The third, which is the middle, are all those indifferent spirits, whereof there are infinite degrees; of these almost is the whole world composed. Of this distinction and others; hereafter more at large, But we are to touch more particularly the conditions and nature of this spirit, as hard to be known as a countenance to be counterfeited to the life, which is always in motion. banut diad of

First therefore it is a perpetual agent, for the spirit cannot be The particular without action, but rather then it will, it forgeth falle and phantafical subjects, in earnest deceiving it felf, even to its own discredefeription. dit. As idle and unmanured grounds, if they be fat and fertile, Agent perpeabound with a thousand kinds of wild and unprofitable herbs, un-

until they be fowed with other feeds, and women alone without the company of men, bring forth fometimes great abundance of unformed, indigetted lumps of flesh : fo the Spirit, if it be not bulied, about some certain object, it runs riot into a world of imaginations, and there is no folly nor vanity that it produceth not, and if it have not a setled limit, it wandereth and loseth it self. For, to be every where, is to be no where. Motion and agitation is the true life and grace of the Spirit; but yet it must proceed from elsewhere, then from it felf. If it be folitary, and wanteth a subject to work on, it creepeth along; and languisheth; but yet it must not be enforced, For too great a contention, and intention of the Spirit overbent, and strained, deceiveth and troubleth the Spirit.

It is likewise universal, it meddleth and mingleth it self with all, Universal is hath no limited subject or jurisdiction. There is not any thing wherewith it playeth not his part, as well to vain subjects and of no account, as high and weighty; as well to those we can underfland, as those we understand not: For to know that we cannot understand or pierce into the marrow or pith of a thing, but that we must stick in the bone and bark thereof, is an excellent sign of judgment; for science, yea truth it felf, may lodge near us without judgment, and judgment without them, yea, to know our own igno-

rance, is a fair testimony of judgment.

Thirdly, it is prompt and speedy, running in a moment from the prompt and one end of the World to the other, without stay or rest stirring it fudden. felf, and penetrating through every thing; Nobilis & inquieta mens bomini data eft, nunquam fe tenet; fargitur vaga, quietu impatient, neditate rerum letifimu. Non mirum ex illo colefti firitu descendit, coelestium autem natura semper in motu est: A noble and unquiet mind is given unto man, who never with-holdeth her motion, inconstant, every where dispersed, impatient of rest, delighted most with novelties: No marvel if she descend of celestial spirit; for that the nature of celeftial things, is to be in perpetual motion. This great speed and quickness, this agility, this twinkling of the eye, as it is admirable, and one of the greatest wonders that are in the spirit, so it is a thing very dangerous, a great disposition and propension unto folly and madness, as presently you thall hear.

By reason of these three conditions of the spirit, that is, a prepetual agent without repole, universal, prompt and sudden, it hath been accounted immortal, and to have in it felf some mark and

sparkle of Divinity.

Of the humane spirit, the parts, functions, qualities,

The action of the Spirit. The action of the spirit is always to search, serret, contrive without intermission, like one samished for want of knowledge, to enquire and seek, and therefore Homer calls men are without limits, without form: the sood thereof is double ambiguity, it is a perpetual motion without rest, without bound. The world is a school of inquisition; agitation, and hunting is its proper dish: to take, or to fail of the prey, is another thing.

It workerh Tashly. But it worketh and pursueth its enterpolies, tashly, and irregularly, without order, and without measure it is a wandering instrument, movable, diversly turning; it is an instrument of lead and of wax, it boweth and straitneth, applieth it self to all more supple and facile then the water, the aire, Plexibilia, omni humore obsequention: Enterprises, qui omni materia facilion & tennion: It is slenible, and more yielding to every humony and at the spirit, which is more facile and tasis to every matter or substance; It is the shoe of Theramenes, in for all one of the humon's traiter of the strains.

Reason hath divers faces.

The cunning is to find where it is; for it goes always athwart, and croffe, as well with a lie, as with truth : it sporteth it felf and findeth a feeming reason for every thing y for it maketh that which is impious, unjusty abominable in one place; piety, justice, and honour in another: neither can we name any law, or custom, or condition, that is either generally received of all, or rejected; the marriage of those that are near of blood, the murder of Infants, Parents, is condemned in one place, lawful in another. Plato refused an embroydered and perfumed robe soffered him by Dionyfing faying. That he was a man, and therefore would not adoration felf like a woman. Ariffippus accepted of that robe faving. The outward accoutrement cannot corrupt a chafte mind. Diogener walking his coleworts, and feeing Aristippus pass by, said to him, If thou knewest how to live with coleworts, thou wouldest never follow the court of a Tyrant. Arisippur answered him; if thou knewest how to live with Kings, thou woulder never wash coleworts. One perswaded Solon to cease from the bewailing the death of his sons, because his tears did neither profit nor help them. Yea, therefore (faith he) are my tears just, and I have reason to weep. The wife. of Sverates redoubled her grief, because the Judges put her husband to death unjustly: What, faith he, wouldest thou rather I were justly condemned? There is no good, faith a wifeman, but that to the Josse whereof a man is always prepared, In equipenim of dolor ami (a

II.

misse rei, & timor amisseuda: Alike troublesome is the grief of a sbing already lost, and the fear lest it should be lost. Quite contrary saith another, we embrace and look upon that good a great deal the more carefully, which we see less sure, and always fear will be taken from us. A Cynick Philosopher demanded of Antigonus the King, a dram of silver; That, said he, is no gift fit for a King. Why then give me a Talent, saith the Philosopher. And that, saith the King, is no gift for a Cynick. One said of a King of Sparta that was gentle and debonair, He is a good man even to the wicked. How should he be good unto the wicked, saith another, if he be not wicked with the wicked? So that we see, that the reason of man hath many visages: it is a two-edged Sword, a Staff with two picks. Ognime daglia ba il sin riverso: there is no reason but hath a contrary reason, saith the soundest and surest Philosopher.

Now this volubility and flexibility proceedeth from many causes; from the perpetual alteration and motion of the body, which is never twice in a mans life in one and the same cstates from the objects which are infinite, the air it self, and the serenity of the heaven,

Tales sunt hominum mentes quali pater ipse Jupiter autiferas lustravit lampade terras: Mens minds on earth, the self-same course do run, Being fair or foul as is the Olympick Sun.

and all outward things: Inwardly from those shakings and tremblings which the Soul gives unto it self by the agitation, and stirreth up by the passions thereof: insomuch that it beholdes things with divers countenances; for whatsoever is in the World hath divers lustress, divers considerations. Epithems said, it was a pot with two hands. He might better have said with many.

The reason hereof is, because it entangleth it self in its own work, like the Silk-worm; for as it thinketh to note from far, I The reason of know not what appearance of light, and imaginary truth, and slies this entangle-unto it; there are many difficulties that cross the way, new sents ment. that inchringe and bring it forth of the way.

The end at which it aimeth is two-fold, the one more common ra; and natural, which is Truth, which it searcheth and pursueth; for The end is vethere is no define more natural then to know the truth: we affay all rin, which it can neither at the means we can to attain unto it, but in the end all our endea- tain nor find. wours come short; for truth is not an ordinary booty, or thing that will suffer it felf to be gotten and handled; much less to be

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Read before Chap. 9.

poffesfed by any humane Spirit. It lodgeth within the bosom of God, that is her chamber, her retiring place. Man knoweth not, understandeth not any thing aright, in purity and in truth as he ought: appearances do always compass him on every side, which are as well in those things that are falle, as true. We are born to fearch the truth; but to poffessit, belongeth to a higher and greater power. Truth is not his that thrufts himself into it, but his that runs the fairest course towards the mark. When it falls out that he hits upon a truth, it is by chance and hazard; he knows not how to hold it, to possess it, to distinguish it from a lie. Errors are received into our foul, by the felf-fame way and conduit that the truth is: the spirit bath no means either to distinguish or to choose: and as well may he play the lot, that tells a truth as a lie. The means that it uleth for the discovery of truth, are reason and experience, both of them very weak, uncertain, diverse, wavering. The greateff argument of truth, is the general content of the World. Now the number of Fools doth far exceed the number of the wife, and therefore how should that general consent be agreed upon, but by corruption, and an applaule given without judgment and knowledge of the cause, and by the imitation of some one that first began the dance? The other end, lefs natural, but more ambitious, is Invention, un-

of invention.

The fecond end to which it tendeth as to the highest point of honour, to the end it may raise it self, and prevail the more: this is that which is in so high account that it seemeth to be an Image of the Divinity. From the fufficiency of this invention, have proceeded all those works, which have ravished the whole World with admiration; which if they be such as are for the publick benefit, they have deified their Authours. Those works that shew rather timeness of Wit, then bring profit with them, are Painting, Carving, Architecture, the Art Perspective; as the Vine of Zenxis, the Venus of Apelles, the Image of Memnon, the Horse of Airain, the wooden Pigeon of Architas, the Crow of Myren, the Flie and Eagle of Montroyal, the Sphere of Sapor King of the Persians, and that of Archimeder. with his other engins. Now Art and Invention feem not onely to imitate Nature, but to excel it, and that not onely in the Individuum or particular (for there is not any body either of man or beaft fo univerfally well made, as by art may be shewed) but also many things are done by art which are not done by nature I mean belides those compositions and mixtures, which are the true diet, and proper Sub-

The praise of Invention.

subject of art, those distillations of waters and oyls, made of fimples, which Nature framed not. But in all this there is no fuch cause of admiration as we think; and to speak properly and truly, there is no invention but that which God revealeth: for such as we account and call fo, are but observations of natural things, arguments and conclusions drawn from them, as Painting and the Art Optick from shadows, Sun-dials from the shadows of Trees,

the graving of Seals from precious stones.

By all this that hath before been spoken, it is easie to see how rash and dangerous the spirit of man is, especially if it be quick and The Spirit vevigorous: for being fo industrious, so free and universal, making " dangerous. its motions so irregularly, using its liberty so boldly in all things, not tying it felf to any thing; it eafily shaketh the common opinions, and all those rules whereby it should be bridled and restrained as an unjust tyranny: it will undertake to examine all things, to judge the greatest part of things plausibly received into the World, to be ridiculous and abfurd, and finding for all an appearance of reason, will defend it self against all, whereby it is to be feared that it wandreth out of the way, and lofeth it felt; and we cannot but fee, that they that have any extraordinary vivacity and rare excellency (as they that are in the highest roof of that middle classis before spoken of) are, for the most part, lawless both in opinions and manners. There are very few of whose guide and conduct a man may truft, and in the liberty of whole judgments a man may wade without temerity, beyond the common opinion. It is a miracle to find a great and lively spirit, well ruled and governed: it is a dangerous fword which a man knows not well how to guide; for from whence come all those disorders, revolts, herelies and troubles in the world, but from this? Magni errores non nisi ex magnis ingeniis : nibil fapientie odiofius acumine nimio. Great errours proceed not but from great wits : nothing is more prejudicial to wishom, then too much sharpness of wit. Doubtless that man lives a better time, and a longer life, is more happy and far more fit for the government of a Common-wealth, faith Thucydides, that hath an indifferent spirit, or somewhat beneath a mediocrity, then he that hath a spirit so elevated and transcendent, that it serves not for any thing but the torment of himself and others. From the firmest friendships do spring the greatest enmities, and from the foundest health the deadliest maladies: and even so, from the rarest and quickest agitation of our fouls, the most desperate resolutions

and diforderly Frensies. Wisdom and folly are near neighbours. there is but a half turn betwixt the one and the other; which we may easily see in the actions of mad men. Philosophy teacheth, that Melancholy is proper to them both. Whereof is framed the finest folly, but of the finest Wit? And therefore, faith Aristotle, there is no great spirit without some mixture of folly. And Plate telleth us, that in vain a temperate and found spirit knocked at the door of Poetry. And in this fense it is, that the wildest and best Poets do love sometimes to play the fool, and to leap out of the hinges. Infanire jucundum eft, dulce desipere in loco: non potest grande & Sublime quidquam nifi mote mens, & quamdiu apud fe eft. It is a delightful thing sometimes to be mad, a sweet matter in some cases to be foolish: The mind, unless it be altogether employed, can do no great matter, or attempt any thing of moment as long as it is wholly collected within it felf.

Seneca

And this is the cause why man bath good reason to keep it with-In must be bri: in narrow bounds, to bridle and bind it with Religions, Laws, Cudled, and why. stomes, Sciences, Precepts, Threatnings, Promises, mortal and immortal, which notwithstanding yet we see, that by a lawless kind of liberty it freeth it felf, and escapeth all these, so unruly is it by nature, so fierce, so opinative: and therefore it is to be led by Art, fince by force it cannot. Natura contumax est animus bumanus, in contrarium atque ardum nitens, sequiturque facilius quam ducitur, ut generofi & nobiles equi melius facili frano reguntur. The mind of man is naturally stubborn, always inclining to difficult and contrary things, and doth eafier follow then is led by force, like unto generous borfes, that are better governed with an eafie bridle, than a cutting bit. It is a fifter way gently to tutour it, and to lay it affect, then to fuffer it to wander at its own pleasure: for if it be not well and orderly governed, (as they of the highest classis which before we spake of) or weak, and fost and plain (as those of the lower rank) it will lose it self in the liberty of its own judgment : and therefore it is necessary that it be by some means or other held back, as having more need of Lead then Wings, of a bridle then a fpur, which the great Lawyers and Founders of States did especially regard, as wellknowing that people of an indifferent spirit, lived in more quiet and content, then the over-quick and ingenious. There have been more troubles and feditions in ten years in the only City of Florence, then in five hundred years in the Countries of the Helvetians and the Retians. And to fay the truth men of a common fufficiency

ficiency are most honest, better Citizens, more pliant and willing to fubmit themselves to the yoke of the Laws, their superiours, reason it felf, then those quick and clear-fighted men, that cannot keep themfelves within their own skins. The finest wits are not the wifest men.

The Spirit hath its maladies, defects, tares or refuse, as well as the body and much more, more dangerous, and more incurable : but The defell of that we may the better know them, we must distinguish them: the spirit. fome are accidental, and which come from else-where, and those proceeding arise from three causes: the disposition of the body: for it is mani-from three fest, that the bodily malady which after the temperature thereof, causes. doth likewise alter the spirit and judgment; or from the ill compo- 1. The body. fition of the fubitance of the brain, and organs of the reasonable Soul, whether it be by reason of their first formation, as in those that have their heads ill made, either too round, or too long, or too little, or by accident of fome blow or wound. The fecond is the 2. The World. univerfal contagion of vulgar and erroneous opinions in the World, wherewith the Spirit being preoccupated, tainted, and overcome, or which is worle, made drunken, and manacledwith certain phantastical opinions, it ever afterwards followeth and judgeth according to them, without regard either of further enquiry, or recoiling back: from which dangerous deluge all spirits have not force and strength to defend themselves.

The third much more near, is the malady and corruption of the 3. The passions. will, and the force of the passion, this is a World turned topsie-turvy: the will is made to follow the understanding as a guide and lamp unto it; but being corrupted and seized on by the force of the passions (or rather by the fall of our first Father Adam) doth likewise perhaps corrupt the understanding, and so from hence come the greatest part of our erroneous judgments: Envy, Malice, Hatred, Love, Fear, make us to respect, to judge to take things. otherwise then they are, and quite otherwise then we ought; from whence cometh that common cry, Judge without passion. From hence it is that the beautiful and generous actions of another man are obscured by vile and base mis-constructions, that vain & wicked caules and occasions are seigned. This is a great vice, and a proof of a malignant nature and fick judgment, in which there is neither great fubtilty nor fufficiency, but malice enough: This proceedeth either from the envy they bear to the glory of another man, or because they judge of others according to themselves, or because they have their tafte altered, and their fight fo troubled, that they cannot

discern

Exed. 31.2.

Paral.15.3. Reg. 15.

de civitate

Dei.

Of the humane Spirit, the parts, functions, qualities. &c.

discern the clear splendour of virtue in its native purity; From this felf-same cause and source it cometh, that we make the virtues and vices of another man to prevail fo much, and extend them further then we ought, that from particularities we draw confequents and general conclusions: if he be a friend, all fits well about him, his vices thall be virtues; if he be an enemy, or of a contrary faction. there is nothing good in him: infomuch that we shame our own. judgment, to smooth up our own passions. But this rests not here, but goeth yet further; for the greatest part of those impieties, herefies, errours in our faith and religion, if we look well into it, is fprung from our wicked and corrupt wills, from a violent and voluptuous paffion, which afterwards draweth unto it the understanding it felf, Sedit populus manducare & bibere, &c. quod vult non anodest, credit, qui capit errare : The people sitteth down to eat and drink, &c. He that bath a meaning to go aftray, believes every thing August. lib. 2. as be would have it, not as it is indeed. In such fort that what was done in the beginning with some scruple and doubt, hath been afterwards held and maintained for a verity, and revelation from heaven: that which was onely in the fenfuality, hath taken place in the highest part of the understanding; that which was nothing else. but a passion and a pleasure, hath been made a religious matter and an article of faith: to strong and dangerous is the contagion of the faculties of the Soul amongst themselves: These are the three outward causes of the faults and miscarriages of the Spirit, judgment, and understanding of man; The body, especially the head, tick, or: wounded, or ill fashioned; The world with the anticipated opinions and suppositions thereof; The ill estate of the other faculties of the reasonable Soul, which are all inferiour unto it. The first are pitiful, and forme of them to be cured, forme not: the second are excufable and pardonable: the third are accufable and punishable, for fuffering such a disorder so near them as this is; those that should obey the Law, to take upon them to give the Law.

18. Natural.

There are other defects of the Spirit, which are more natural unto it, and in it. The greatest and the root of all the rest is pride and prelumption (the first and original fault of all the World, the plague of all spirits, and the cause of all evils) by which a man is. onely content with himself, will not give place to another, disdaineth his counsels, reposeth himself in his own opinions, takes upon him. to judg and condemn others, yea even that which he understands not,... It is truly faid, that the belt and happiest distribution that God ever

made,

made, is of judgment, because every man is content with his own, and thinks he hath enough. Now this malady proceedeth from the ignorance of our felves. We never understand sufficiently and truly the weakness of our spirit: but the greatest disease of the spirit is ignorance, not of Arts and Sciences, and what is included in the writing of others, but of it felf; for which cause this first book hath been written.

CHAP. XV.

Of Memory.

Emory is many times taken (by the vulgar fort) for the fense M and understanding, but not so truly and properly: for both by reason (as hath been said) and by experience, the excellency of the one is ordinarily accompanied with the weakness of the other; and to fay the truth, it is a faculty very profitable for the World, but it comes far short of the understanding, and of all the parts of the Soul, is the more delicate, and most frail. The excellency thereof is not very requifite, but to three forts of people; Merchants or men of Trade, great talkers, (for the flore-house of the memory. is more full and furnished, then that of invention; for he that wants it, comes fhort, and must be fain to frame his speech out of the forge of his own invention) and liers, mendacem oportet effe memorem: it behoveth a lier to have a good memory. From the want. of memory proceed these commodities; to lie seldom, to talk little, to forget offences. An indifferent memory sufficeth for all.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Imagination and Opinion.

He Imagination is a thing very firong and powerful, it is it that makes all the stir, all the clatter; yea the perturbation of the World proceeds from it (as we have faid before, it is either the onely, or at least the most active and stirring faculty of the Soul.) The effects thereof are marvellous and strange: it worketh not The effects of onely in its own proper body and Soul, but in that of another man, the Imaginative yea it produceth contrary effects: it makes a man blush, wax pale, tremble, dote, to waver; these are the least and the best: it takes away the power and use of the engendring parts, yea, when there is most need of them, and is cause why men are more tharp.

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fharp and auftere not onely towards themselves, but others; witness those ties and bands, whereof the World is full, which are for the most part impressions of the apprehension, and of fear. And contrariwife, without endeavour, without object, and even in fleep it fatisfieth the amorous defires, yea changeth the fex, witness Lucius Coffitius, whom Pliny affirmeth to have feen to be changed from a Woman to a Man, at the day of marriage; and divers the like: it marketh sometimes ignominiously, yea it killeth, and makes abortive the fruit within the Womb; it taketh away a mans speech, and gives it to him that never had it, as to the son of Crasu: it taketh away motion, sense, respiration. Thus we see how it worketh in the body. Touching the Soul, it makes a man to lose his understanding, his knowledge, judgment; it turns him fool and mad-man, witness Gallus Vibius, who having over-bent his spirits in comprehending the effence and motions of folly; so dislodged and dif-joyned his own judgment, that he could never fettle it again: it inspireth a man with the fore-knowledg of things secret, and to come, and causeth those inspirations, predictions, and marvellous inventions, yea it ravisheth with extasses: it killeth not feemingly but in good earnest; witness that man, whose eyes being covered to receive his death, and uncovered again, to the end he might read his pardon, was found flark dead upon the scaffold. To be brief, from hence spring the greatest part of those things," which the common fort of people call miracles, visions, enchantments. It is not always the Devil, or a familiar spirit, as now adays the ignorant people think, when they cannot find the reafon of that they fee: nor always the spirit of God (for those supernatural motions we speak not of here) but for the most part it is the effect of the imagination, or long of the agent, who faith and doth fuch things; or of the patient and spectator, who thinks he feeth that he feeth not. It is an excellent thing, and necessary in fuch a case, to know wisely how to discern the reason thereof, whether it be natural, or supernatural, falle or true, Discretio firituum, A discerning of firits. And not to precipitate our judgments, as the most part of the common people do by the want thereof.

In this part and faculty of the foul doth opinion lodg, which is a vain, light, crude, and imperfect judgment of things, drawn from the outward fenses, and common report, settling and holding it self to be good in the imagination, and never arriving to the understanding, there to be examined, sifted, and laboured; and to be

made

made reason, which is a true, perfect, and solid judgment of things: and therefore it is uncertain, inconstant, fleeting, deceitful, a very ill and dangerous guide, which makes head against reason, whereof it is a shadow and image, though vain and untrue. It is the mother of all mischiefs, contusions, disorders: from it springs all passion, all troubles. It is the guide of fools, fots, the vulgar fort; as reason

of the wife and dexterous.

It is not the truth and nature of things, which doth thus stir and molest our fouls, it is opinion, according to that ancient fay-The world is ing; Men are tormented by the opinions that they have of things, led by opinion. not by the things themselves. Opinione sepins quam re laboramus; plura sunt que nos tenent, quam que premunt. We are more troubled with the opinion of things, then with the things themselves; there are more things that bold us, then which press or urge us. The verity and Essence of things entreth not into us, nor lodgeth near us of it felf, by its own proper strength and authority: for were it so, all things should be received of all, all alike and after the same fashion; all should be of like credit, and truth it self, which is never but one and uniform, should be embraced throughout the whole World. Now for as much as there is so great a variety, yea contrariety of opinions in the World, and there is not any thing concerning which all do generally accord, no not the wifest and best born and bred; it giveth us to understand, that things enter into us by composition, yielding themselves to our mercy and devotion, lodging themselves near unto us, according to our pleasure, and humour, and temper of our fouls. That which I believe, I cannot make my companion believe; but, which is more, what I do firmly believe to day, I cannot affure my felf that I shall believe to morrow: yea it is certain, that at another time I shall judge quite otherwife. Doubtless every thing taketh in us such place, such a taste, fuch a colour, as we think best to give unto it, and such as the inward constitution of the soul is. Omnia munda munda; immunda, immundis: All things are clean to the pure and clean; as also unclean, to the impure and unclean. As our apparel and accoutrements do as well warm us, not by reason of their heat, but our own, which they preserve, as likewise nourish from the coldness of the Ice and Snow; we do first warm them with our heat, and they in recompence. thereof preserve our heat.

Almost all the opinions that we have, we have not but from authority: we believe, we judge, we work, we live, we die, and all

upon credit, even as the publick use and custom teachethus; and we do well therein: for we are too weak to judge and chuse of our Lib. 1.cap. 1. selves; no the wife do it not, as shall be spoken.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Will.

THe will is a great part of the reasonable soul, of very great The prebemiimportance, and it standeth us upon, above all things, to study . nence and importance of the how to rule it, because upon it dependeth almost our whole estate will. and good.

The comparison thereof with the understanding.

Doubtful, if not erroncous.

It only is truly ours, and in our power; all the reft, understanding, memory, imagination, may be taken from us, altered, trou-

bled with a thousand accidents: not the will.

Secondly, This is that, that keepeth a man entire, and importeth him much: for he that hath given his will, is no more his own man, neither hath he any thing of his own.

Thirdly, This is it whereby we are made and called good or

wicked, which giveth us the temper and the tincture.

As of all the goods that are in man, virtue or honesty is the first and principal, and which doth far excel knowledge, dexterity; To we cannot but confels, that the will, where virtue and goodness lodgeth, is of all others the most excellent: and to say the truth, a man is neither good nor wicked, honest nor dishonest, because he understandeth and knoweth those things that are good, and fair, and honest, or wicked, and dishonest; but because he loveth them, and hath defire and will towards them. The understanding hath other preheminences: for it is unto the will as the husband to the wife, the guide and light unto the traveller, but in this it giveth place unto the will.

The true difference betwixt these faculties, is in that by the understanding things enter into the Soul, and it receiveth them (as those words, to apprehend, conceive, comprehend, the true offices thereof, do import) but they enter not entire, and fuch as they are, but according to the proportion and capacity of the understanding: whereby the greatest and the highest do recoil and divide themselves after a fort, by this entrance; as the Ocean entreth not altogether into the Mediterrane Sea, but according to the proportion of the mouth of the Strait of Gibralter. By the will, on the other fide, the foul goeth forth of it, and lodgeth and liveth elfe-

where

where in the thing beloved, into which it transformeth it self; and therefore beareth the name, the title, the livery, being called virtuous, vicious, spiritual, carnal: whereby it followeth, that the will is enabled by loving those things that are high and worthy of love; is vilified by giving it self to those things that are base and unworthy; as a wife honoureth or dishonoureth her, by that husband that the hath taken.

Experience teacheth us, that three things do sharpen our will, Difficulty, Rarity, and Abience, or fear to lose the thing; as the three contrary dull it, Facility, Abundance, or Satiety, and daily. presence or assured fruition. The three former give price and credit to things, the three latter ingender contempt. Our will is sharpened by opposition, it opposeth it self against denial. On the other side, our appetite contemneth and letteth pass that which it hath in possession, and runs after that which it hath not: Permission fit vile nefas; quod licet, ingratum eft, quod non licet, acrius urit : Things permitted we despise, and that which is lawful we loath, but violently purfue those things that are probibited. Yea it is feen in all forts of pleasures. Omnium rerum voluptas ipfo quod debet fuzari. periculo crescit: All pleasures are increased, even with the danger. wherewith they ought to be despised. Inasmuch that the two extreams, the defect and the abundance, the defire and the fruition, do put us to like pain. And this is the cause why things are not truly effeemed as they ought, and that there is no Prophet in his own Country.

How we are to direct and rule our wills, shall be faid here-

PASSIONS and AFFECTIONS.

An Advertisement.

The matter of the passions of the mind is very great and plenti-Lib.2.eap.6 to
ful, and takes up a great room in this doctrine of wisdom. 7. lib. 3. in the
To learn how to know them, and to distinguish them, is the sub-virtues of forject of this book. The general remedies to bridle, rule, and go-vemperance.
vern them, the subject of the second book. The particular remedies of every one of them, of the third book, following the method of this book, set down in the Preface. Now that in this
furst book we may attain the knowledg of them, we will first speak
of them in general in this first Chapter, afterwards in the Chap-

ters

ters following, particularly of every one of them. I have not feen any that painteth them out more richly, and to the life, then Le Sieur de Vair, in his little moral books, whereof I have made good use in this passionate subject.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Passions in general.

The description of Paffions.

Affion is a violent motion of the Soul in the fenfitive part thereof, which is made either to follow that which the Soul thinketh to be good for it, or to fly that which it takes to be

1 Their agitation.

But it is necessary that we know how these motions are made, how they arise and kindle themselves in us; which a man may represent by divers means and comparisons: first in regard of their agitation and violence. The foul which is but one in the body, hath many and divers powers, according to the divers veffels wherein it is retained, the instruments whereof it maketh use, and the objects which are presented unto it. Now when the parts wherein it is included, do not retain and occupy it, but according to the proportion of their capacity, and as far forth as it is necessary for their true use; the effects thereof are sweet, benign, and well governed: but when contrariwise the parts thereof have more motion and heat then is needful for them, they change and become hurtful; no otherwise then the beams of the Sun, which wandring according to their natural liberty, do fweetly and pleafingly warm; if they be collected and gathered into the concavities of a burningglass, they burn and cousume that they were wont to nourish and quicken. Again, they have divers degrees in the force of agitation; and as they have more or less, so they are distinguished; the indifferent fuffer themselves to be tasted and digested, expressing themselves by words and tears, the greater and more violent astonish the foul, oppress it, and hinder the liberty of its actions. Cure leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent. Light cares move the tongue, but great cause astonishment and silence.

Secondly, in regard of the vice, disorder, and justice that is in these passions, we may compare man to a Commonweal, and the and irregulari- frate of the foul to a state-royal, wherein the Soveraign for the government of fo many people hath under-magistrates, unto whom for the exercise of their charges, he gives Laws and Ordinances, re-

ferving

Of their vice

ferving unto himfelf the centuring of the greatest and most important occurrents. Upon this order dependeth the peace and prosperity of the state: and contrariwise, if the Magistrates, which are as the middle fort betwixt the Princes and the people, shall suffer themselves either to be deceived by facility, or corrupted by favours and without respect either of their Soveraign, or the Laws of him established, shall use their own authority in the execution of their affairs, they fill all with diforder and confusion. Even so in man, the understanding is the Soveraign, which hath under it a power estimative, and imaginative, as a Magistrate, both to take knowledge, and to judge by the report of the senses of all things that shall be presented, and to move our affections for the better execution of the judgments thereof: for the conduct and direction whereof in the exercise of its charge, the Law and light of Nature was given unto it: and moreover, as help in all doubts, it may. have recourse unto the counsel of the Superiour, and Soveraign, the understanding. And thus you see the order of the happy state thereof: but the unhappy is, when this power which is under the understanding, and above the senses, whereunto the first judgment of things appertaineth, suffereth it self for the most part to be corrupted and deceived, whereby it judgeth wrongfully and rashly, and afterwards manageth and moveth our affections to ill purpose, and filleth us with much trouble and unquietness. That which molefteth and corrupteth this power, are first the senses, which comprehend not the true and inward nature of things, but onely the face and outward form, carrying unto the image of things, with some favourable commendation, and as it were a fore judgment and prejudicate opinion of their qualities, according as they find them pleating, and agreeable to their particular, and not profitable and necessary for the universal good of man: and secondly, the mixture of the false and indifferent judgment of the vulgar. fort. From these two false advisements and reports of the Senses, and vulgar fort, is formed in the foul an inconsiderate opinion opinion, which we conceive of things, whether good or ill, profitable or hurtful to be followed or eschewed; which doubtless is a very dan gerous guide, and rash mistres: for it is no sooner conceived, but prefently without the committing of any thing to discourse and understanding, it possesses it felf of our imagination, and as within Citadel, holdeth the Fort against right and reason, afterwards it descendeth into our hearts, and removeth our affections, with violent .

lent motives of hope, fear, heaviness, pleasure. To be brief, it makes all the Fools, and the feditions of the foul, which are the

paffions, to arife.

I will likewise declare the same thing, by another similitude of military policy. The Senses are the Sentinels of the Soul, watching for the prefervation thereof, and messengers, or scouts to serve as ministers, and instruments to the understanding, the soveraign part of the Soul. And for the better performance hereof, they have received power to apprehend the things, to draw the forms, and to embrace and reject them, according as they shall seem agreeable, or odious unto their nature. Now in exercifing their charge, they must be content to know, and to give knowledg to others of what doth pals, not enterprifing to remove greater forces, lest by that means they put all into an allarm and confusion. As in an Army, the Sensinels many times by want of the watch-word, and knowledge of the defign and purpose of the Captain that commandeth, may be deceived, and take for their fuccour, their enemies disguised which come unto them; or for enemies, those that come to succour: So the Senses, by not apprehending whatsoever is reason, are many times deceived by an appearance, and take that for a friend, which is our enemy. And when upon this thought and resolution, not attending the commandment of reason, they go about to remove the power-concupifcible and irafcible, they raife a fedition and turnult in our fouls, during which time, reason is not heard, nor the understanding obeyed.

of the Passions according to their object and subject. Of the concupiscible fix.

By this time we fee their regiments, their ranks, their general The diffination kinds and special. Every passion is moved by the appearance and opinion, either of what is good, or what is ill. If by that which is good, and that the foul do simply so consider of it, this motion is called love: if it be present and such whereof the Soul in it self taketh comfort, it is called pleasure and joy: if it be to come, it is called defire: If by that which is evil, it is hate: if present in our selves, it is forrow and grief : if in another, it is pity : if it be to come, it is fear. And these which arise in us by the object of an apparent evil, which we abhor and fly from, descend more deeply into our hearts and arise with greater difficulty. And this is the first band of that seditious rout, which trouble the rest and quiet of our souls, that is, in the concupifcible part: the effects whereof, not with standing they are very dangerous, yet they are not so violent as those that follow them: for thele first motions formed in this part, by the object which present-

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teth it felf, do pass incontinently into the irascible parts, that is to fay, into that compass where the foul seeketh the means to attain, or avoid that which feemeth unto it either good or ill. And then Inthe Irafeieven as a Wheel that is already in motion, receiving another motion ble five. by a new force, turns with far greater speed; so the Soul being already moved by the first apprehension, joyning a second endeavour to the first, carrieth it self with far more violence then before, and is ftirred up by pathons more puiffant and difficult to be tamed, inasmuch as they are doubled, and now coupled to the former, uniting themselves, and backing the one the other by a mutual consent: for the first passions, which are formed upon an object of an appearing good, entering into confideration of means whereby to obtain it, ftir up in us either hope or despair. They that are formed upon an object of an evil to come, ftir up in us either fear, or the contrary which is audacity; of a prefent evil, choler and courage: which passions are strangely violent, and wholly pervert the reafon which they find already shaken. Thus you see the principal winds from whence arise the tempetts of our Soul, and the pit whereout they rife, is nothing else but the opinion (which commonly is false, wandering, uncertain, contrary to Nature, verity, reason, certainty) that a man hath, that the things that prefent themselves unto us, are either good or ill: for having conceived them to be fuch, we either follow them, or with violence fly from them. And thele are our passions.

OF PASSIONS IN PARTICULAR.

An Advertisement.

E will intreat of their natures, that we may thereby see their follies, vanity, misery, injustice, and that soulness that is in them, to the end we may know and learn how justly to hate them. The counsel that is given for the avoidance of them, is Lib. 3. in the in the books following. These are the two parts of Physick, to virtue of Fo. 3 thew the malady, and to give the remedy. It remainest therefore, Temperance, that here we first speak of all those that respect the appearing good, which are Love and the kinds thereof, desire, hope, despair, joy; and afterwards all those that respect the ill, which are many, choler, hatted, envy; jealousie, revenge, cruelty, fear, sadness, compassions.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Love in general.

The distinction of Love and comparison.

Lib. 3.

THe first and chief mistress of the passions is Love, which confifteth of divers subjects, and whereof there are divers forts and degrees. There are three principal kinds, unto which all the rest are referred (we speak of the vicious and passionate Love, for of the virtuous, which is Amity, Charity, Dilection, we will speak in the virtue of Justice) that is to say, Ambition or Pride, which is the Love of greatness and Honour; Covetousness, the Love of Riches; and Voluptuous or Carnal Love. Behold there the three gulfs. and precipitate steps, from which, few there are that can defend themselves: the three plagues and insections of all that we have in hand, the mind, body and goods: the armories of those three captain enemies of the health and quiet of mankind, the Devil. the flesh, the World. These are in truth three powers, the most common and univerfal passions: and therefore the Apostle hath divided into these three whatsoever is in the World; Quicquid eft in mundo, est concupiscentia oculorum, aut carnis, aut superbia vita: All that is in the World, is the luft of the Eyes, the concupifcence of the flesh, and the pride of life. Ambition, as more spiritual, to it is more high and noble then the others. Voluptuous Love, as more natural and universal (for it is even in beasts themselves, where the rest are not) so it is more violent, and less vicious: I fay simply violent, for sometimes ambition excels it, but this is fome particular malady. Covetouiness of all the rest is the sickest and most fortish.

CHAP. XX.

Of Ambition.

The description. A Mbition (which is a thirst after honour and glory, a gluttonous and excessive desire of greatness) is a sweet and pleasing passion, which distilleth easily into generous spirits, but is
not without pain got forth again. We think it is our duties
to embrace what is good, and amongst those good things, we
account of honour more then them all. See here the reason,
why with all our strength we run unto it. An ambitious man

will always be the first, he never looks backward, but still forward to those that are before him: and it is a greater grief unto him to fuffer one to go beyond him, then it is pleafure unto him, to leave a thousand behind him. Habet boc vitium omnis ambitio, non respuis: Seneca. All ambition bath this vice, not to look back. It is two-fold : the one of glory and honour, the other of greatness and command: that is profitable to the World, and in some sence permitted, as shall be

proved; this pernicious.

The feed and root of ambition is natural in us. There is a pro- It is natural. verb that faith. That Nature is content with a little: and another quite contrary; That Nature is never fatisfied, never content, but it still defireth, hath a will to mount higher, and to inrich it felf, and it goeth not a flow pace neither, but with a loofe bridle, it runneth headlong to greatness and glory. Natura nostra imperii est avids . & ad implendam cupiditatem praceps: We are naturally greedy of authority and empire, and run beadlong to the satisfying of our defires. And with fuch force and violence do fome men run, that they break their own necks, as many great men have done, even at the dawning as it were, and upon the point of entrance and full fruition of that greatness which hath cost them so dear. It is a natural and very powerful passion, and in the end it is the last that leaveth us: and therefore one calleth it, The shirt of the foul : because it is the last vice it putteth off. Etiam sapientibus Tacitus. cupido gloria novissima exuitur. The last vice which even the wife abandon is defire of glory.

Ambition, as it is the greatest and most powerful passion that is, so it is the most noble and haughty, the force and puissance there- The force and of is shewed, in that it mastereth and surmounteth all other Primacy therethings: even the strongest of the World, yea all other passions 9. and affections, even Love it felf, which feemeth nevertheless to contend with it for the Primacy: As we may fee in all the great men of the World, Alexander, Scipio, Pompey, and many other, who have couragiously refused to touch the most beautiful Damsels, that were in their power, burning nevertheless with ambition, yea that victory they have over Love, served their ambition, especially in Cefar, For never was there a man more given to amorous delights, even of all fexes, and all forts of people, witness fo many exploits, both in Rome and in strange Countries, nor more careful and curious in adorning his perfon: yet ambition did always fo carry him, that for his amorous

pleifires

pleasures he never lost an hour of time, which he might employ to the enlargment of his greatness, for ambition hath the lovereign place in him, and did fully possess him. We see on the other fide, that in Marcus Antonius and others, the force of Love hath made them to forget the care and conduct of their affairs. But yet both of them being weighed in equal ballance, ambition carrieth away the prize. They that hold that Love is the stronger, say that both the foul and the body, the whole man, is possessed by it, year that health it felt dependeth thereupon. But contrariwise it seemeth that ambition is the stronger, because it is altogether spiritual. And in as much as Love possesseth the body, it is therefore the more weak, because it is subject to satiety, and therefore capable of remedies, both corporal, natural, and strange, as experience sheweth of many, who by divers means have allayed, yea quite extinguished the force and fury of this passion; but ambition is not capable of fatiety, yea is sharpned by the fruition of that it defireth. and there is no way to extinguish it, being altogether in the foul it felf and in the reason.

It doth likewise vanquish Love and robbeth it, not only of its. The care of life health and tranquillity (for glory and tranquillity are things that cannot lodge together) but also of its own proper life, as Agripping the mother of Nero doth plainly prove, who defiring and confulting with others to make her Son Emperour, and understanding that it could not be done, but with the loss of her own life, she answereth, as if ambition it felf had spoken it, Occidat modo imperet: Let me be flain, fo be may reign.

The Laws.

Thirdly, ambition enforceth all the Laws, and conscience it self; the Learned have faid of ambition, that it is the part of every honest man always to obey the Laws, except it be in a case of sovereignty for a Kingdom, which onely deferveth a dispensation, being so dainty a morfel, that it cannot but break a mans fast; Si violandum est jus, regnandi causa violandum est, in cateris pietatem colas. If man may at any time violate justice, it must be to gain a Kingdom; in the rest observe Justice and Piety.

Religion.

It likewise trampleth under foot, and contemneth the reverence and respect of Religion, witness Feroboam, Mahomet, who never took thought for Religion; but tolerated all Religions, to he might reign: and all those arch-hereticks who have liked better to be chief leaders in errour and lies with a thousand disorders, then to be disciples of the truth: thereTherefore faith the Apostle, They that suffer themselves to be puffed up with this paffion and affection, make shipwrack, and wander from the faith, piercing themselves through with many forrows.

To be short, it offereth violence even to the Laws of Nature it felf. This hath been the cause of so many murders of Parents, in- It enforces fants, brothers; witness Abfalon, Abimelech, Athalias, Romulus, Sei King of the Persians, who killed both his father and brother, Solyman the great Turk, his two brothers. So that nothing is able to refift the force of ambition, it beats all to the ground, so high and haughty is it. It lodgeth only in great minds, even in the Angels themselves.

Ambition is not the vice or passion of base companions, nor of common or small attempts, and daily enterprises: Renown and It is a lofty glory doth not prostitute it self to so base a prize; it pursueth not passon. those things that are simply and solely good and profitable, but those that are rare, high, difficult, ftrange, and unusual. That great thirst after honour and reputation, that casts down a man, and makes him a begger, and to duck and floop to all forts of people, and by all means, yea the most abject, at what base price foever, is vile and dishonourable: it is a shame and dishonour so to be honoured. A man must not be greedy of greater glory then he is capable of; and to swell and to be puffed up for every good and profitable action, is to shew his tail while he lifts up his head.

Ambition hath many and divers ways, and practifed by divers means: there is one way straight and open, such as Alexander, Ca-It bath divers far, Themistocles took; there is another oblique and hidden, which ways. many Philosophers and Professors of piety have taken, who go forwards by going backwards, go before others by going behind them, not unlike to Wier-drawers, who draw and go backward; they would fain be glorious by contemning glory. And to fay the truth, there is a greater glory in refusing and trampling glory under foot, then in the defire and fruition thereof, as Plato told Diogenes. And ambition is never better carried, better guided, then by wandering, and unufual ways.

Ambition is a folly and a vanity; for it is as much as if a man should run to catch the smoak, instead of the light, the shadow in- It is a folly. flead of the body, to fasten the contentment of his mind upon the opinion of the vulgar fort, voluntarily to renounce his own liber-

ty, to follow the passions of others, to enforce himself, to displease himself, for the pleasure of the beholders; to let his own affections depend upon the eyes of another; fo far forth to love virtue as may be to the liking of the common fort; to do good, not for the love of good, but reputation. This is to be like unto vessels when they are pierced, a man can draw nothing forth before he give them a vent.

Ambition hath no limits, it is a gulf that hath neither brink his infariable, nor bottom; it is that vacuity which the Philosophers could never find in Nature; a fire which increaseth by that nourithment that is given unto it. Wherein it truly payeth his malter: for ambition is only just in this, that it sufficeth for his own punishment, and is executioner to it felf. The wheel of Ixion is the motion of his defires, which turn and return up and down, never giving rest unto his mind.

They that will flatter ambition, say it is a servant or help unto The excuses of virtue, and a sour to beautiful actions; for it quitteth a man of all other fins, and in the end, of himself too; and all for virtue: but it is so far from this, that it hideth sometimes our vices; yet it takes not them away, but it covereth or rather hatcheth them for a time under the deceitful cinders of a malicious hypocrifie, with hope to fet them on fire all together, when they have gotten authority fufficient to reign publickly and with impiety. Serpents lose not their venom, though they be frozen with cold, nor an ambitious man his vices, though with a cold diffimulation he cover them: for when he is arrived to that pitch of height that he defired, he then makes them feel what he is. And though ambition quit a man of all other vices, yet it never taketh away it felf. An ambitious man putteth himself forth to great and honourable actions. the profit whereof returneth to the publick good, but yet he is never the better man that performs them, because they are not the actions of virtue, but of passion; no, though that saying be often in his mouth, We are not born for our felves, but for the Weal publick. The means men use to mount themselves to high estate, and their carriages in their states and charges, when they are arrived thereunto, do fufficiently shew what men they are, and their own consciences tell the most that follow that dance, that however the publick good be their outward colour, yet their own particular is that they intend.

Particular advisements and remedies against this evil you shall

fund Lib. 3. Cap. 42.

CHAP

CHAP. XXI.

Of Covetoniness and ber counter-passion.

O love and affect riches is Covetoufnels; not only the love and affection, but also every over-curious care and industry a. What it is. bout riches, yea their difpenfions themselves and liberty, with Art and too much attention procured, have a scent of Covetousnels: for

they are not worthy an earnest care and attention.

The defire of goods, and the pleasure we take in possessing of the force there-them, is grounded only upon opinion. The immoderate desire to as get riches is a gangrene in our foul, which with a venomous heat consumeth our natural affections, to the end it might fill us with virulent humours. So foon as it is lodged in our hearts, all honest and natural affection which we owe either to our parents or friends, or our felves, vanisheth away. All the rest, in respect of our profit feemeth nothing, yea we forget in the end, and contemn our felves, our bodies, our minds, for this transitory trash, and as our Proverb is, We fell our horfe to get us hay.

Covetoniness is the vile and base passion of vulgar fools, who The folly and account riches the principal good of a man, and fear poverty as mifery of covethe greatest evil; and not contenting themselves with necessary tousness in five means, which are forbidden no man, weighthat is good in a Gold- prints. lmiths ballance, when Nature hath taught us to measure it by the ell of necessity. For what greater folly can there be then to adore that which Nature it felf hath put under our feet, and hidden in the bowels of the earth, as unworthy to be feen, yea rather to be contemned, and trampled under foot? This is that that the only fin of man hath torn out of the entrails of the earth, and brought unto light, to kill himself. In lucem propter que pugnaremus excutimus : non erubescimus summa apud nos baberi, que fuerunt ima terrarum. We dig out the bowel of the earth, and bring to light thofe. things for which we would fight; we are not assamed to esteem those things most highly, which are in the lowest and nethermost parts of the earth. Nature seemeth, even in the first birth of gold, and womb from whence it proceedeth, after a fort to have prefaged the mifery of those that are in love with it : for it hath to ordered the matter, that in those Countries where it groweth, there grows with it neither grass, nor plant, nor other thing that is worth any thing, as giving us to understand thereby, that in those minds where the defire of this Metal groweth, there cannot remain fo much as a

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fpark of true honour and virtue : for what thing can be more bafe. then for a man to degrade, and to make himself a servant, and a flave to that, which should be subject unto him? April fapientem divitia funt in servitute, apud stultum in imperio. Riches ferve wife men, but command a fool. For a covetous man ferves his riches. not they him; and he is faid to have goods as he hath a fever, which holdeth and tyrannizeth over a man, not he over it. What thing more vile then to love that which is not good? neither can make a good man; yea is common, and in the possession of the most wicked of the world, which many times pervert good manners, but never amend them? Without which so many wife men have made themfelves happy, and by which many wicked men have come to a wicked end. To be brief, what thing more milerable then to bind the living unto the dead, as Mezentins did, to the end their death might be languishing and the more cruel; to tye the spirit to the excrement and fcum of the earth; to pierce through his own foul with a thousand torments, which this amorous passion of riches brines with it; and to entangle himself with the ties and cords of this malignant thing, as the Scripture calleth them, which doth likewife term them thorns, and thieves which steal away the heart of man. fnares of the Devil, idolatry, and the root of all evil. And truly he that shall see the Catalogue of those envies and molestations which riches ingender within the heart of man, as their proper thunderbolt and lightning, they would be more hated then they are now loved. Defunt inotia multa, avaritia omnia: in nullum avarus bonus eft, in se pessimus. Poverty wanteth many things, but covetousness all; a covetous man is good to none, and worst of all to bimself.

4. The counterpassion to covetousness. There is another contrary passion to this, and vicious, To hate riches, and to spend them prodigally; this is to refuse the means to do well, to put in practice many virtues, and to slye that labour which is far greater in the true command and use of riches, then in not having them at all; to govern himself better in abundance then in poverty. In this there is but one kind of virtue, which is, not to faint in courage, but to continue firm and constant. In abundance there are many, Temperance, Moderation, Liberality, Diligence, Prudence, and so forth. There, more is not expressed, but that he look to himself: here, that he attend first himself, and then the good of others. He that is spoiled of his goods, hath the more liberty to attend the more weighty affairs of the spirit: and for this cause many, both Philosophers and Christians, out of the great-

ness

ness of their courage, have put it in practice. He doth likewise discharge himself of many duties and difficulties that are required in the good and honest government of our riches in their acquisition. confervation, distribution, use and imployment: but he that quitteth himself of his riches, for this reason, flyeth the labour and business that belongs unto them; and quite contrary, doth it not out of courage, but cowardize: and a man may tell him, that he shakes off his riches, not because they are not profitable, but because he knoweth not how to make use of them, how to use them. And not to be able to endure riches, is rather weakness of mind, then wisdom, faith Seneca.

CHAP. XXII.

Of carnal Love.

Arnal love is a Fever and furious passion, and very dangerous unto him that suffereth himself to be carried by it : For what It is from, nabecomes of him? He is no more himself; his body endureth a tural, and comthousand labours in the search of his pleasure; his mind a thousand hells to fatisfie his defires; and defire it felf increasing, grows into fury. As it is natural, so it is violent and common to all, and therefore in the action thereof it equalleth and coupleth fools and wife men, men and beafts together. It maketh all the wisdom, resolution, contemplation, and operation of the foul beaftly and brutish. Hereby, as likewise by sleep, Alexander knew himself to be a mortal man, because both these suppress the faculties of the soul.

Philosophy speaketh freely of all things, that it may the better find out their causes, govern and judge of them; so doth Divinity, Why ignominiwhich is yet more chafte and more strait. And why not, fince that our. all things belong unto the jurifdiction and knowledge thereof? The Sun shines on the dunghil, and is neither infected, nor annoved therewith. To be offended with words, is a token either of great weaknels, or some touch or guilt of the same malady. Thus much be spoken for that which followeth, or the like, if it shall happen. Nature on the one fide with violence thrusteth us forward unto this action; all the motion of the world resolveth and yieldeth to this copulation of the male and female : on the other fide. it causeth us to accuse, to hide our selves, to blush for shame, as if it were a thing ignominious and dishonest. We call it a shame-

ful act, and the parts that ferve thereunto, our fhameful parts. But why shameful, since natural, (and keeping it self within its own bounds) just, lawful, and necessary? Yea, why are beasts exempted from this shatne? It is because the countenance seems four and deformed. Why foul, fince natural ? In crying, laughing, champing, gaping, the vilage is more difforted; Is it to the end it may ferve as a bridle and a flay to fuch a kind of violence? Whe then doth Nature caule such a violence? Or contrariwite: Is it becaufe shame serveth as a spur, and as sulphur; or that the instruments thereof move without our confent, yea against our wills? By this reason beasts likewise should be bashful, and many other things move of themselves in us, without our consent, which are neither vicious nor shameful: not only inward and hidden (as the pulse and motion of the heart, arteries, lungs, the instruments and parts that ferve the appetite of eating, drinking, discharging the brain, the belly, and their shuttings and openings, are besides, nay, many times against our wills: witness those sneefings, vawnings, tears, hoguets, and fluxions, that are not in our own power, and this of the body: the spirit forgetteth, remembreth, believeth, misbelieveth, and the will it felf, (which many times willeth that which we would it willed not) but outward and apparent: the vifage blusheth, waxeth pale, wan, the body groweth fat, lean, the hair turneth gray, black, white, grows, stands on end, without and against our consent. Is it that hereby the poverty and weakness of man may be the more truly shewed? that is as well seen in our eating and drinking, our griefs, wearincis, the disburdening of our bodies, death, whereof a man is not athamed. Whatfoever the reason be, the action in it self, and by nature is no way shameful, it is truly natural; so is not shame : witness the beafts. Why say I beafts? The nature of man, faith Divinity, maintaining it felf in its first original state, had never known what shame was, as now it doth; for from whence cometh shame, but from weakness, and weakness but from sin, there being nothing in Nature of it self shameful? The cause then of this shame not being in Nature, we must feek it elsewhere. It is therefore artificial. It is an invention forged in the closet of Venus, to give the greater price to the bufinels, and to enkindle the defire thereof the more. This is with a little water to make the fire burn the clearer, as Smiths wie to do, to enflame the defire to fee what it is, that is hidden; to hear and know what it is that is muttered and whilpered. For to handle things

things darkly, as if they were mysteries, and with respect and shames giveth taste and estimation unto them. Contrariwise, a loose, freeand open permission and commodity, derogateth from the worth

and taketh away the true relish and delight thereof.

This action then it felf, and fimply taken, is neither shameful nor vicious, fince it is natural and corporal, no more then other the In what fense like actions are : yea, if it be well ordered, it is just, profitable, ne- vicious. ceffary at the leaft, as it is to eat and drink. But that which doth so much discredit it, is, that moderation is seldom kept therein, and that to attain thereunto, we make great stirs, and many times use bad means, whereby it draweth after it, if it go not before, many evils, all worse then the action it self. The charge riseth above the principal, and this is to fish (as it is said) with threds of gold and purple. And all this is purely humane. Beafts that follow fimply nature, are quit from all these troubles. But the art of man on the one fide fets a ttrait guard about it, planteth at the gate shame to give it relish: on the other side (Othe confening of men!) it inflameth and sharpneth the desire, it deviseth, removeth, troubleth, turneth all topfie-turvy to attain unto it, (witness Poetry, which sporteth not it self in any thing, so much as in this subject) and findeth every entrance unto it to be better, then by the gate, and the lawful way, and followeth every wandering way, rather then the common way of marriage.

CHAP. XXIII.

Desires, Concupiscence.

There arise not so many billows and waves in the Sea, as desires in the heart of man: it is a bottomless depth, it is infinite, The bottomless diverse, inconstant, consused, and irresolute; yea, many times hore depth of desires rible and detestable, but ordinarily vain, and ridiculous in its own desires.

But first it shall not be amiss to distinguish them. Some are 2. natural, and they are just and lawful: they are likewise in beasts, Their distinction they have their limits and bounds, a man may see the end of them; Natural necessand living according to those, there is no man a begger. Of these sary, lib. 2. c. 6: shall be spoken hereafter more at large: for (to say the truth) Not natural. these are not passions. Others are besides nature, proceeding from our opinions and phantasie, artificial, superstuous, which we may, for distinction sake, call concupiteences or lusts. These are purely

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humane; beafts know not what they are, only man is immoderate in his appetites: these are without limits, without end, and are nought elle but confusion. Defideria naturalia finita funt, ex falle opinione nascentia, ubi definant non babent. Nullus enim terminus falso est: via eunti aliquid extremum est, error immensus est. Natural defires have their bounds, but those which grow of a false of inion are without end : For in that which is falfe, there is no limit : he that travelleth in his right way, comes to an end of his journey; but be that is out of his way, knows not whither be wanders. And therefore living according to these; there is no man can be rich and contented. Of these it is properly that we have spoken in the beginning of this Chapter, and that we farther intend in this matter of the passions: It is for these that a man sweats, and travels, Ad supervacua sudatur, that a man journeyeth by Sea and by Land, goeth to War, kills himself, drowns, betrays, loseth himself: and therefore it was well faid. That concupifcence is the root of all evil. Now it falleth out many times (a just punishment) that when a man seeketh how to fatisfie his defires, and to glut himfelf with the goods and pleafures of Fortune, he loseth and is deprived of those of Nature: and therefore Diogenes having refuled that money that Alexander offered him, defired him to give him that he had taken from him, to go out of the Sun.

CHAP. XXIV.

Hope, Defpair.

Our desires and concupiscences gather heat, and redouble their force, by hope, which inflameth with the soft and gentle air thereof our foolish desires, kindleth in our minds a fire, from whence ariseth a thick smoak, which blindeth our understanding, carrieth with it our thoughts, holds them hanging in the clouds, makes us dream waking. So long as our hopes endure, our desires endure with them. It is a play-game, wherewith Nature busieth our minds. Contrariwise, when despair is once lodged near us, it tornenteth our souls in such a fort, with an opinion of never obtaining that we desire, that all business besides must yield unto it. And for the love of that which we think never to obtain, we lose even the rest of whatsoever we posses. This passion is like unto little children, who to be revenged of him that hath taken one of their play-games from them, cast the rest into the fire. It is an-

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gry with himself, and requireth of it self the punishment of its own folly and infelicity. After those passions that respect the apparent good, come we to those that respect the evil.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Choler.

Holer is a foolish passion, which putteth us wholly out of our I felves, and with feeking the means to withfland and beat back The defeription the evil which it threatneth us, or bath already procured us, maketh the blood to boil in our hearts, and stirreth up furious vapours in our spirits, which blind us and cast us headlong to whatsoever may fatisfie the delire which we have of revenge: It is a short fury, a way to madness: by the prompt and ready impetuolity and violence thereof, it carrieth and furmonteth all passions. Repentina & vis universa ejus est: Sudden and violent is the force thereof.

The causes that dispose and move unto choler, are first, Weakness of spirit, as we see by experience in Women, old men, infants, The cause fick men, who are commonly more cholerick then others. Invalidum omne natura querulum est: All weak things are full of complaint. A man deceiveth himself, to think that there is courage where there is violence: violent motions are like the endeavours of children and old men, who run when they think to go: for there is nothing more weak then an immoderate motion, and a great imbecillity is it in a man to be cholerick. Secondly, the malady of the mind, whereby it is made over-tender to bear blows, as the tilcerate parts of the body, where the found being interessed therein, are aftonished and wounded with light matters. Nusquam fine querela egra tanguntur: Sore things are never touched without complaint. The loss of a penny, or the omission of gain puts into choler a covetous man; a laughter or glance of his wife, stirs this paffion in a jealous man. Thirdly, luft, vain niceness, self-love, which makes a man anxious and angry, puts him into choler for the least cause that may be. Nulla res magis iracundiam alit, quam luxuria: Nothing doth more nourish anger then luxury. This love of trifles, of a glass, a dog, a bird, is a kind of folly that troubleth us much, and ffirs up this cholerick paffion in us. Fourthly, too much curiofity; qui nimis inquirit, seipsum inquietat; He that searcheth too much, difinieteth himself. This is to seek occasions, and out of the lightness of

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the heart to cast a man into choler, not attending any cause thereof. Sape ad nos ira venit, sapius nos ad illam: anger often cometh unto us. we oftner to it. Fifthly, lightness in believing what comes first to the ear. But the principal and former cause is, an opinion of contempt and mil-ulage, either by word, deed, countenance. Thele are the

reasons whereby we pretend to justifie our choler.

The figns.

The figns and fymptoms are very manifest, and more then of any other passion; and so strange, that they alter and change the whole estate of man, they transform and distigure him. Ut fit difficile utrum magis deteftabile vitium, aut deforme : So that it is difficult to know, whether it be a more detettable or deformed vice. Some of them are outward, the face red and deformed, the eyes fiery, the looks furious, the ear deaf, the mouth foaming, the heart panting, the pulle beating, the veins swollen, the tongue stammering, the teeth gnashing, the voice loud and hoarse, the speech imperfect, and to be breet, it puts the whole body into a fire and fever. Some have broken their veins, supprest their urine, whereby present death hath infued. What then can the estate of the spirit be within. when it causeth so great a disorder without? Choler at the first blow driveth away and banisheth reason and judgment, to the end it may wholly possess the place; afterwards it fills all with fire. and smoak, darkness, and noise; like unto him that puts the Master out of the house, and then sets fire and burns himself alive within; or like unto a ship, that hath neither stern nor Pilot, nor fails, nor oars, which commits its fortune to the mercy of the waves. winds, and tempelts, in the midft of a furious lea.

Toe effetts.

The effects thereof are great, many times miserable and lamentable. Choler first enforceth us to injustice, for it is kindled and sharpned by a just opposition, and by the knowledge that a man hath of the little reason he hath to be angry. He that is moved to anger, upon a falle occasion, if a man yield him any good reason why he should not be angry, he is presently more incensed, even against the truth and innocence it self: Pertinaciores nos facit iniquitus ira; quafi argumentum fit jufte irafcendi, graviter irafci. The iniquity of anger doth make us more stubborn; at if it were an argument and proof of just anger, to be grievously angry. The example of Pilo is very notable, and proves this true, who excelling otherwise in virtue (the history is very well known) being moved to choler, did unjustly put three to death, and by a subtile occasion caused them to be found guilty, onely because they acquitted one

as unguilty, whom he by his former sentence had condemned. It is likewise sharpned by silence and cold replies, as gathering thereby that it proceedeth out of a contempt both of him and his choler; which is proper unto Women, who many times are angry, to the end they may ftir up that passion in another, and increase their choler even to fury, when they fee that a man vouchfafeth not to nourish that humour in them, by chiding with them. So that Chaler sheweth it felf to be more favage than a beaft, since neither by defence or excuse, nor by silence and patience without defence, it will not be won or pacified. The injustice thereof is likewise in this, that it will be both a judge and a party, that it will that all take part with it, and grows to defiance with as many as will feem to contradict it. Secondly, foralmuch as it is inconsiderate and heady, it casteth us headlong into great mischiefs, and sometimes even into those which we must flie, and do wish and would willingly procure another man. Dat panas dum exigit, It is punished while it punisheth, or far worle. The passion is fitly compared to great ruines, which burst themselves in pieces upon that which they fall, it pursueth with such violence the ill of another, that it heeds not the avoiding of its own, it intrappeth and intangleth us, makes us to speak and to do things shameful, uncomely, unworthy our felves. Laftly, it carrieth us so beyond our felves, that it makes us to do things scandalous, dangerous, and irrevocable, murders, poisonings, treasons, whereby follow great and too late repentances; witness Alexander the Great after he had flain Clytus: and therefore Pythagoras was wont to fay, that the end of Choler was the beginning of repentance.

This passion feeds upon it self, flattereth and tickleth it self, with a perswasion that it hath reason, that it is just, excusing it self upon the malice and indiscretion of another; but the injustice of another cannot make that just, nor the loss that we receive by another make that prositable untous: it is too rash and inconsiderate to do any thing that is good, it would cure an evil with an evil; for to yield the correction of an offence to Choler, is to correct a vice by it self. Reason which should have the command over us, needs no such officers as of their own heads execute Laws, not attending her ordinance; she would have all things done according to nature by measure, and therefore violence doth no ways besit it. But what, shall virtue see the insolency of vice and not be angry with it? shall the liberty thereof be so bridled as not to dare to

be moved against the wicked? virtue desires no indecent liberty, it needs not turn its own strength against it self, nor that the wickedness of another should trouble it: a wise man must as well bear the vices of a wicked man without choler, as his prosperity without envy. He must endure the indiscretions of rash and inconsiderate men, with the self-same patience that Physicians do the injuries of mad men. There is no greater wisdom, nor more prostable in the World, then to endure the folly of another, for otherwise by not suffering it with patience, we make it our own. That which hath heretofore been spoken touching Choler, may likewise be spoken of these passions following, hatred, envy, revenge, which are made or formed Cholers.

Particular advisements and remedies against this evil, are Lib. 3.

cap. 31.

CHAP. XXVI.

Atred is a stranger, which strangely and without reason troubleth us: and to say the truth, what is there in the World that tormenteth us more? By this passion we put our selves into the power of him that we hate, to assist and vex us; the sight of him moveth our senses, the remembrance stirreth our spirits both waking and sleeping; yea, we never present him to our memories, but with despisht and gnashing of teeth, which puts us besides our selves, and tears our own hearts; whereby we suffer in our selves, the punishment of that evil we wish unto another. He which hateth, is the patient; he that is hated, the agent: contrary to the sound of the words, the hater is in torment, the hated in ease. But what do we hate? Men, or their matters and affairs? Doubtless we hate nothing that we should: for if there be any thing to be hated in this World, it is hate it self, and such like passions, contrary to that which should command in us.

Particular confiderations and remedies against this evil, are Lib.

3. cap. 32.

CHAP. XXVII.

. Envy.

E Nvy is a cousin-german to Hatred; a miserable passion, and outragious beast, which in torment excelleth hell it tels. It is a define of that good that another possesset, which gnaweth our heart,

heart, and turneth the good of another man to our own hurt. But how should it torment us, since it is as well against that which is ill, as that which is good? Whilest an envious man looketh obliquely upon the goods of another man, he loseth what is good in himself, or at leastwife takes no delight in it.

Particular advisements and remedies against this evil, are Lib. 3.

Cap. 33.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Fealoufie.

Jealousie is a passion like almost both in Nature and effect unto Envy, but that it seemeth that Envy considereth not what is what it is good, but in as much as it is in the possession of another man, and that we desire it for our selves; and Jealousie concerneth our own

proper good, whereof we fear another doth partake.

Jealousie is a weak maladie of the soul, absurd, vain, terrible, and tyrannical, it insinuates it fels under the title of amity, but after The weakness, it hath gotten possession, upon the self-same soundation of love and good will, it buildeth an everlasting hate. Virtue, health, merit, reputation, are the incendiaries of this rage, or rather the suel unto this surv.

It is likewise the Gall that corrupteth all the Hony of our life:
it is commonly mingled with the sweetsst and pleasantest actions. The venom which it maketh so sharp and sowre, as nothing more: it changeth thereof. love into hate, respect into dissain, assurance into dissidence: it ingendretha pernicious curiosity and desire in a man to clear himself of that evil, which being past remedy, by too much stirring stinketh the more: For what doth he but publish, put out of all doubt, bring into the light, sound with a trumpet his own shame and misery, and the dishonour of his own children?

Particular confiderations and remedies against this evil, are Lib.3.

Cap. 35.

CHAP. XXIX.

Revenge-

The defire of revenge is first a cowardly and effeminate passit on proceeding from a base, weak, and abject mind, which A cowardly experience telleth us to be true; for we commonly see the weakest passion.

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minds the most malitious and revengeful, as women and children. The valiant and generous mind doth little feel this passion, but contemneth and disdaineth it, either because the injury toucheth him not, or because he that offereth the injury toucheth him not, or because he that offereth the injury is not worthy his revenge, as not . daigning so far to debase himself: Indignus Cafaris ira, Unworthy the anger of Cafar. The hail, thunder, and tempelts, and those fearful motions that are in the air, do neither trouble nor touch the superiour celestial bodies, but only the weak and inferiour: and even so the indifcretions and childish brawls of fools wound not great and high minds. All the great men of the world, Alexander, Cefar, Epaminendas, Scipio; have been fo far from revenge, that quite comrary they have done good unto their enemies.

Secondly, it is a boyling and biting paffion, and like a worm it gnaweth the hearts of those that are intected with it, it molefleth

them by day, and by night keeps them awake.

It is likewise full of injustice, for it tormenteth the innocent, and addethaffliction. It is to make the party offending, to feel that evil . and punishment, which the defire of revenge giveth to a mans heart; and the party offended goes to lay on the burthen, as if he had not already hurt enough by the injury received, in such fort, that many times and ordinarily, whileft he tormenteth himfelf to feek means of revenge, he that hath committed the offence laughs and makes himself merry with it. But it is also far more unjust in the means of the execution, which many times is wrought by treasons and villanous practices.

Lastly, the execution is not only painful, but dangerous too; for experience telleth us, that he that leeks to be revenged doth not that which he would, and what his blow intendeth, but commonly that which he would not, comes to pass, and thinking to put out the eye of his enemy, he putteth out both his own. The fear of justice tormenteth him, and the care to hide those that love him.

Again, to kill and to make an end of his enemy, is not revenge, but meer cruelty, which proceedeth from cowardliness and fear. To be revenged, is to beat his enemy, to make him stoop, not to kill him; for by killing he feels not the power of his wrath, which is the end of revenge. And this is the reason why a man cares not to be revenged upon a dog or a beaft, because he can no way taste or conceit his revenge. In true revenge there must be a kind ...

Dangerous.

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revente.

kind of pleasure and delight in the revenger: and he upon whom he is revenged, must feel the weight of his displeasure, suffer pain. and repent him of the cause, which being kild he cannot do y year he is rather freed thereby from all mifery ; and contrariwite, he that is the revenger, endureth many times that torment and fear which he witheth to his enemy. To kill then is a token of cowardliness and fear, left his enemy feeling the force of his revenge, should live to requite him with the like; which though it make an end of the quarrel, yet it woundeth his reputation; it is a trick of precaution, and not of courage: and is the way to proceed fafely, but not honourably. Qui occidit longe, non ulcifcitur, nec glorism affequitur : He that killeth afar off, doth neither revenge, nor obtain renown.

Particular advisements and remedies against this evil, are Lib. 3.

Cap. 34.

CHAP. XXX.

. Cruelty.

Ruelty is a villanous and deteftable vice, and against Nature, and therefore it is likewise called inhumanity. It proceedeth from weakness; Omnis ex infirmitate feritat efb: All cruelty proceedeth of infirmity. And it is the daughter of cowardliness: for a valorous man doth always exercise his strength against a resisting enemy, whom he hath no fooner at his mercy, but he is fatisfied, Romana virtue, parcere subjectis, debellare superbos: The Roman virtue, was to spare the humble, and subdue the proud. Forasmuch therefore as cowardly weakness cannot be of this rank, to the end it may yet get the name of Valour, it makes blou l and maffacres the proof thereof. Murders in victories are commonly executed by common people, and the officers of the baggage. Tyrants are bloudy, because they fear, not knowing how to secure themselves, but by rooting out those that may offend them; and therefore they exercise their cruelty against all, even women too, because they fear all; Cuntla ferit, dum cuntla timet : He ftrikes all, because be fears all. Cowardly dogs bite and tear with their teeth, within the house, the skins of those wild beasts, which in the open field they durst not look upon. What make civil wars so cruel, but that tie wherewith the common people are led and linked, who like dogs that are backt by their mafter, back one another? the Emperour

Maurith being told that one Phocas a fouldier should kill him enquired what he was, and of what Nature and condition; being told by his fon-in-law Philip; that he was a base coward: Why. then, faith he, no marvel if he be a murderer and cruel. It proceedeth likewise from the inward malignity of the soul, which feedeth and delighteth it felf with the hurt of another. Monsters like Caligula.

CHAP. XXXI.

Sadness, or beaviness of bearte.

The description.

Adness, is a languishing feebleness of the spirit, and a kind of discouragement ingendred by the opinion that we have of the. greatness of those evils that afflictius. It is a dangerous enemy to our rest, which presently weakneth and quelleth our souls, if we take not good heed, and taketh from us the use of reason and discourse, and the means whereby to provide for our affairs, and with time it rusteth and fenoweth the soul, it corrupteth the whole man, brings his virtues afleep, even then when he hath most need to keep them awaked to withstand that evil which oppresseth them : but we must discover the foulness and folly, the pernicious effects, year the injuffice that is in this cowardly, base, and feeble passion, to the end we may learn with all our might to fly and avoid it, as most unworthy the wifest men, according to the doctrine of the Stoicks; which is not fo easy to be done, because it excuseth and covereth it felf with many beautiful colours of Nature, Piety, Goodness, yea, the greatest part of the world it draws to honour and tayour it, making it an ornament to wildom, virtue, conscience.

First then, it is so far from being natural (as it would make men believe) that it is formal, and an enemy to Nature, as may ea-Publick mourfily be proved. Touching ceremonious forrows, and publick mournings, so much affected and practised in former times, and likewise.

at this present (my meaning is not to touch the honesty and moderation of oblequies and funerals, nor that forrow that belongs to piety and religion) what greater imposture or deceitful coulenage can there be in any thing befides? How many feigned and artificial counterfeit confenages are there, with no finall coft and charges, both in those whom it concerneth, the authors of the sport, and those whose offices they make use of in that butines? For to give the

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mings.

better credit to their juggling tricks, they hire people to lament and to fend up their shreekings, cries, and lamentations, which all men know to be feigned and extorted for mony, tears that are not shed but to be seen, and so soon as they are out of sight, are dried up: where is it that Nature hath taught us this? Nay, what is there that Nature doth more abhor and condemn? It is a tyrannical, false and vulgar opinion (the worst, as hath been said, almost of all the passions) that teacheth us to weep, and lament in such a case. And if a man cannot find occasion of tears and an heavy countenance in himself, he must buy it at a dear price in another, in such fort that to fatisfie this opinion, he must enter into a great charge, whereof Nature if we would credit it, would willingly discharge us-Is not this willingly and publickly to betray reason, to enforce and to corrupt Nature, to profittute his own manhood, to mock both the world and himself, to satisfie the vulgar fort, which produce nothing but errour, and account of nothing that is not counterfeit and disguised? Neither are those more particular forrows natural, as it feems to many; for if they did proceed from Nature, they would be common to all men, and almost touch all men alike. Now we fee that the felf-fame things that are causes of forrow to fome, give occasion of joy unto others, that one Province, one perfon laugheth, at that whereat another weepeth; that they that are conversant with those that lament, exhort them to resolution, and to quit themselves of their tears. Yea the greatest part of those that Particular. thus torment themselves, when you have talked with them, or that themselves have had the leisure but to discourse upon their own pasfions, they confess that it is but a folly thus to afflict themselves, and praise those who in the like adversities, have made head against Fortune, and with a manly and generous courage have withflood their afflictions. And it is certain, that men do not accommodate their mournings to their cause of forrow, but the opinion of those with whom they live. And if a man mark them well, he shall find that it is opinion, which the more to annoy us prefenteth the things unto us, which torment us either more than they should, or by anticipation, fear and prevention of that which is to come, fooner than they should.

But it is against Nature, in as much as it polluteth and defaceth whatsoever Nature hath made beautiful and amiable in us, which Against Nature is drowned by the force of this passion, as the beauty of a Pearl is dissolved in vinegar. We make our selves hereby spectacles of pity,

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Sadness, or beaviness of beart.

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we go with our heads hanging, our eyes fastened on the earth, our mouths tongueless, our members immoveable, our eyes serve for no other use than to weep, that you may say we are nothing but sweating statues, turned (as the Poets feign) like Niobe into a stone by

the power of this passion.

Injust and im-Dious.

Now it is not only contrary and an enemy unto Nature, but God himself; for what other thing is it, but a rash and outragious complaint against the Lord and common Law of the whole world. which hath made all things under the Moon changeable and corruptible? if we know this Law, why do we torment our felves? If we know it not, wherefore do we complain, but of our own ignorance, and that we know not that which Nature hath written in all the corners and creatures of the world? We are here not to give a law, but to receive it, and to follow that which we find establish'd: for to torment our felves by contradicting, doth but double our

pain.

Besides all this, it is pernicious and hurtful unto man, and by so much the more dangerous, because it killeth when we think it comforts, hurteth under the colour of doing good, under a falle pretence of placking the Iron out of the wound, it drives it to the heart; and the blows thereof are so much the more hardly avoided, and the enterprises broken, because it is a domestical enemy brought up with us, which we have engendred for our own punishment.

Outwardly.

Pernicious.

Outwardly, by a deformed and new countenance wholly altered and counterfeited; it dishonoureth and defameth man. Do but consider when it entreth into us, it filleth us with shame, in such fort, that we dare not shew our selves in publick place, no not privately to our dearest Friends: and after we are once possessed of this passion, we do nothing but feek corners to hide our felves from the light of men. What is this to fay, but that it condemneth it felf, and acknowledgeth how indecent it is? For it is for a woman that is taken in her wantonels to hide her felf, and to fear to be known. Again, do but confider the veftments and habits of forrow, how strange and effeminate they are; which sheweth, that it taketh away whatfoever is manly and generous in us, and puts upon us the countenances and infirmities of women; and therefore the Thracians adorned those men that mourned, like women. And fome far that forrow makes men Eunuchs. The first and more manly and generous laws of the Romans forbad these effentinate lamentations, finding it an horrible thing, that men should so degenerate

from their own Natures, and do things contrary to manhood; allowing only of those first tears which proceed from the first encounter of a fresh and new grief, which may fall even from the eyes of Philosophers themselves, who keep with their humanity, their dignity: and may fall from the eyes, virtue not falling from the heart

Now it doth not only alter the vilage, change and dishonestly disguise a man outwardly, but piercing even to the marrow of the Inwardly. bone, Tristitia exsiscat offa: Heaviness drieth the bones. It weakneth likewise the soul, troubleth the peace thereof, makes a man unapt to good and honourable enterprises, taking away the taste, the desire, and the disposition to do any thing that is profitable either to himself or to another, and not only to do good, but to receive it. For even those good fortunes that light upon him displease him: every thing is tart unto his soul, as victuals to a corrupted stomach: and lastly, it maketh bitter our whole life, and poysoneth all our actions.

It is two-fold, great and extream, or at leastwife, though not great in it felf, yet great when by reason of a sudden surprise and The distinction. furious unexpected allarm it seizeth upon the heart of man, pierceth it through, deprive the him of motion and sense, like a stone,

and not unlike that miserable Mother Niobe,

Diriguit visu in medio, calor offa reliquit, Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur. She swounded at the half, all being too much, To see at once and live, her grief was such: She falls, she sluctuates, she resounds and breaks, And scarce at length, with much ado she speaks.

And therefore the Painter diverily and by degrees presenting unto us the sorrow and miserable estate of the parents and friends of Iphigenia when she was sacrificed; when he came to her Father, he painted him with his sace covered, as confessing his Art not sufficient to express in the vilage a grief of that degree. Yea, sometimes a sorrow may be such, that it killeth out-right. The second degree is the indifferent sorrow, which though perhaps it may be greater than the sormer, yet in time it is sessent and eased, and is expressed by tears, sobs, sighs and lamentations: Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes superil Light cares do speak, great consound.

Particular advisements and remedies against this evil, are Lib. 3.

cap. 29.

CHAP. XXXII.

Compassion.

E figh with those that are afflicted, and with a fellow-like feeling pity their mileries, either because by a secret confent we participate on the other evils, or because we fear that in our. Celves, which hath happened to others. But this is done two ways, whereby there is likewise a two-fold compassion; The one good, when a man with a good will, not troubling or afflicting himfelf, not effeminating his own Nature, and without impeachment of equity or honour, doth freely and effectually succour those that are afflicted: this is that virtue so much commended in Religion found in the holiest and wilest in the world: the other is a passion of a feeble mind, a fottish and feminine pity, which proceedeth from a delicate tenderness, a troubled spirit, proper to Women, Infants, and to cruel and malicious minds (which are confequently base. and cowardly, as hath been proved in the Chapter of Cruelty) who pity the punishment of offenders, which produceth unjust effects, not respecting the depth and merit of the cause, but the prefent fortune, flate, and condition.

Advisements and remedies against this evil, you shall find, Lib. 3.

Cap. 30.

CHAP, XXXIII.

Fear.

The Afeription. Far is the apprehension of an evil to come, which holdeth us in a continual care, and runs before those evils which fortune threatnesh us.

We speak not here of that sear of God so much commended in Scripture, nor of that sear which proceedeth from love, and is a sweet respect towards the thing beloved, commendable in subjects and all inferiours towards their superiours; but of that vicious sear that troubleth and afflicteth, which is the seed of sin, the twin of shame, both of one womb, sprung from that close and curted marriage of the spirit of man with a diabolical perswasion. Timeo eo quod nudus essem, & abscondi me: I fear, because I was naked, and therefore I hid my self:

The malice and It is a deceitful and malicious passion, and hath no other power syranny thereof, over us, but to mock and seduce us: it serves its turn with that

which

which is to come, where though we feem to forefee much, we fee nothing at all, and in that doubtful darkness it holdeth us, as in a dark place, as thieves do by night, to the end they may rob a man, and not be known, and give a great and fudden affright with a small number. And therefore it tormenteth us with masks and shews of evils, as men fear children with bug-bears; evils that have nothing but a simple appearance, and have nought in themselves whereby to hurt us; yea, are not evils, but that we think them to. It is the only apprehention which we have, which makes that evil to us, which is not fo, and draweth evil even from our own good to afflict us withal. How many do we fee every day, that with fear to become miferable, become that they fear, and turn their vain fear into certain miseries? how many have lost their Friends, by distrusting their Friends; have got difeases, by fearing them? One hath in such fort conceived an opinion, that his wife hath played false play with him, that for grief he languisheth; another hath in such sort apprehended fuch a conceit of poverty, that he falleth fick: and to be brief, some have died for fear to die. And even so may a man say almost of what soever we fear; for fear seemeth not to other end, then to make us find that which we fly from. Doubtless, fear is of all other evils the greatest and most tedious, for other evils are no long, er evils then they continue, and the pain endureth no longer than the cause; but fear is of that which is, and that which is not, and that (perhaps) which never shall be, yea sometimes of that which cannot possibly be. Behold then a passion truly malicious and tyrannical, which draweth from an imaginary evil, true and bitter forrows, and is over-greedy by thought and opinion, to overtake, nay, out-run them.

Fear doth not only fill us with evils, and many times by false appearances, but it likewise spoyleth all the good that we have, and all the pleasure of our life, as an enemy to our rest. A man can take no delight in the fruition of that good which he search to lose, life it self cannot be pleasant, if a man sear to die. Nothing good (saith an ancient Writer) can bring pleasure with it, but that against

the loss whereof a man is always prepared.

It is also a strange passion, indiscreet, and inconsiderate, and proceeds as often from the want of judgment, as of heart: It ariseth from dangers, and many times casteth us into dangers; for it engendreth in us such an inconsiderate desire to get out, that it assoulteth, troubleth, and hindreth us from taking that order that is fit to

get out. It bringeth a violent kind of trouble, whereby the soul being affrighted, with-draweth it self into it self, and debateth with it self how to avoid that danger that is presented. Besides that great discouragement that it bringeth, it seizeth on us with such an assonishment, that we lose our judgment, and there is no longer reason or discourse in us, it maketh us to sty when no man pursueth, yea, many times our own friends and succourers: Adeo pavor etiam anxilia formidat; Insomuch that fear dreadeth bis own helps. Many have run mad herewith, yea the senses themselves have hereby lost their use: we have our eyes open, and see not; one speaks to us, and we harken not unto him; we would sty, and we cannot go.

An indifferent fear puts wings to our heels; a great nails, fastens our feet and entangles them. Fear perverteth and corrupteth the entire man: both the spirit, Pavor supientiam omnem mibi ex animo expectorat; Fear depriveth my mind of all wisdom and understand-

ing. And the body,

Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, vox faucibu bæsit. Cold sudden fear supplants bis Natures beat, And lays bim speechless, till bis bloud retreat.

Sometimes it makes desperate, and therefore resolute, like that Roman Legion under the conduct of the Consul Sempronius against Hannibal, Audscem secret ipse timor; Fear made him bold. There are sears and affrightments without any apparent cause, and as it were by some celettial impulsion, which they call Panick terrours. Terrores de calo, arescentibus hominibus pratimore; Terrours from beaven, men consuming away with sear: such as once happened in the City of Carthage, and wherewith whole people and armies have been consounded.

Particular advisements and remedies against this evil, are Lib. 3. Cap. 28.

The

Luke 21.

The second Consideration of Man, by comparing him with all other Creatures.

CHAP. XXXIV.

AGE E have confidered man wholly and fimply in himfelf: Now let us consider him, by comparing him with o- A profitable ther creatures, which is an excellent means to know and difficult him. This comparison hath a large extent, and ma- wherein manis ny parts that bring much knowledge of importance, and very pro-fulpetted. fitable, if it be well done. But who shall do it? shall man? He is a party, and to be suspected, and to say the truth, deals partially therein: which may be eafily proved, because he keeps neither measure nor mediocrity. Sometimes he placeth himself far above all; he terms himself a Matter, and disdaineth the rest; divides unto them their morfels, diffributeth fuch a portion of faculties and powers unto them as shall seem good unto him. Sometimes, as it were in delpight, he debateth himself beneath all; he murmureth, complaineth, wrongeth Nature as a cruel thep-mother, makes himfelf the outcast and most miserable of the world. Now both these extreams are equally against reason, verity, modelty. But how In the Chapter would you have him to walk, uprightly and evenly with all other of prefumption, creatures, when he doth it not with man, his companion, nor with God himself, as shall be shewed? This comparison is also difficult to do: for how can a man know the inward and fecret carriages of creatures, that which moveth within them? But yet let

First, the policy of the world is not so unequal, so deformed and irregular, neither is there so great a disproportion between the parts thereof, but that they are near neighbours, and touch one another, have a resemblance, some more, some less. So is there a great vicinity and kindred betwixt man and other creatures: they have many things alike and common to each other, and they have differences likewise, but not so far distant and unlike, but that they may hold together. Man is neither altogether above, nor beneath the rest. All that is under beaven, saith the Wissom of God, runs the same

us do our endeavour to do it without passion.

fortune.

Let us first speak of those things that are common to all and al-Ecclesiss

The second consideration of Man, almost alike, which are, to engender, nourish, to do, move, live, die:

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Things common, Idem interitus bominis & numentorum, & aqua utrinfque conditio ! As the death of men fo of beafts, and condition of them both is alike. Eccl. 4. And this is against those that find themselves aggrieved, saying, That man is the most contemptible creature of Nature, abandoned, left naked upon the naked earth, without covert, without armour, bound, swadled, without instruction of what is fit for him; whereas all other creatures are clothed and covered with shells, husks, hair, wooll, feathers, scales; armed with teeth, horns, talons, both to asfail and to defend : taught to swim, to run, to flie, to sing, to seek their relief, and man knows neither how to go, nor to speak, nor to eat, nor any thing but cry, without an apprentiship and much la-All these complaints to him that considereth the first composition and Natural condition, are unjust and false; Our skin is : Nakednefs. as sufficiently proved against the injuries of times and seasons as cap. 5. theirs; witness many Nations (as hath been faid) that never knew what garments meant: yea, those parts that we think good, we keep uncovered, yea the most tender and sensible, as the face, the hands, the stomach, and the delicatest Damsels their breasts. Bands and swadling clothes are not necessary, witness the Lace-2.Swadling demonians, and in these days the Switzers, Almains, which dwell Clothes. in cold Countreys; the Bifques and vagabonds that are called Egyptians. Crying is likewise common unto beafts, all creatures al-3 Crying. most complain and groan for a time, after they come into the world. As for armour, we want not that which is natural, and 4. Arms. have more motion of our members, use their service more naturally and without instruction. If some beasts excel us in this, we in the same excel divers others. The use of eating is both in them and in s.Eating. us natural and without instruction. Who doubteth that an Infant

being once able to feed himself, knows how to seek his sustenance? And the earth likewise bringeth forth and offereth enough unto him for his necessity, without either culture or art; witness so many Nations, which without labour, industry and care, live plenteously. As for speech, a man may well say, that if it be not natural, it is

not necessary: but it is common to man with other creatures: What else but speech is that faculty we see in them, of complaining, rejoycing, of calling others to their succour, of making love? And as we speak by gestures and motion of the eyes, the head, the shoulders, the hands (herein deaf men are very cunning) so beats.

6. Speech.

as we see in those that have no voice, who nevertheless do interchange change their mutual offices, and as in some kind of measure beasts understand us, so we them. They flatter us, threaten us, intreat us, and we them; we speak to them, and they to us, and if we perfectly understand not one another, where is the sault? In us or inthem? That is not to be determined. They may as well account us beasts by that reason, as we them, yea they reproach us for that we our selves understand not one another. We understand not the Bisques, the Britains, and they all understand the one the other, not only of the same, but (which is more) of a diverse kind. By a certain barking of the dog, the horse knoweth that he is in choler, and by another voice he knoweth he is not.

Again, they have their intelligence with us. In the wars in the middest of the fight, Elephants, Dogs, Horses, understand with us, gence, they frame their motions according to the occasion they pursue, they make their stand, they retire, nay they have their pay, and divide the booty with us, as it hath been practited in the new conquest of the Indies. And these are those things that are common to all, and

alike.

Let us now come to those differences and advantages that the one hath over the other. Man is singular and excellent in some things Differences to above other creatures, and in others, beasts have the superiority, to advantages, the end that all things might thereby be knit and inchained toge- Of man. ther, in this general policy of the world and Nature. The certain advantages or excellencies of man, are those great faculties of the soul; the subtility, vivacity, and sufficiency of the spirit to invent, to judge, to chuse, speech to demand, and to offer, and to succour, the hand to execute that the spirit hath invented, either of it self, or learned from another. The form also of the body, the great diversity of the motion of the members, whereby his body doth him better service.

The certain advantages that beafts have over men, and such as are past all doubt, are either general or particular. The general of beasts general are health, and strength of body far more perfect, constant, and rathering in them, among whom there are no blind, deaf, lame, mute, diseased, desective and ill-born, as amongst men. The Sereno hunts them not, they are not subject to rheumes, from whence proceed almost all other diseases; from which man though he cover his head with a hat and a house too, can hardly defend himself. Moderation in dier and other actions, innocency, safety, peace, and tranquillity of life, a plain and intire liberty without shame,

fear,

Particular.

fear, or ceremony, in things natural and lawful, (for it is only man that hath cause to hide himself in these actions, and whose faults and imperfections offend others.) Exemption from fo many vices and diforders, superstition, ambition, avarice, envy, yea mighty dreams trouble not them as they do men: not lo many thoughts and phantalies. The particular advantages are the pure, high healthful, pleafant ambition, and abode of birds in the air. Their fufficiency in some Arts, as the Swallow and other birds in building; the Spider in spinning and weaving; divers beasts in Phylick; and the Nightingale in Mulick. Marvellous effects and properties not to be imitated, no not imagined, as the property of the fish Remora, to flay the greatest vessels of the Sea; as we read of the chief galley of Marcus Antonius, and the self-same of Caligula; of the Torpedo or Cramp fish, to benum and dead the members of another, though not far diffant, and not touching him; of the Hedghog, to forefee the winds; of the Chameleon, to change his colours. Prognoffications, as of birds in their passages from country to country, according to the diversity of the reasons; of all beatts that are dams, in knowing which of their young is the best; for fome hap falling out, of defending them from danger, or conveying them to their nefts, they always begin with that they know and forefee to be the best. In all these things man is far their inferiour, and in some of them he hath no skill at all. A man may add unto this, if he will, the length of our lives, which in some beafts doth seven or eight times exceed the longest term of the life of man.

vantages.

Reafon.

Those advantages that men pretend to have above beafts but Disputable ad- are yet disputable, and perhaps as well in beasts as men, are many: First the reasonable faculties, discourse, reasoning, discipline, judgement, prudence. There are here two things to be spoken, the one of the verity of the thing it felf. It is a great queltion, whether beafts be deprived of all these spiritual faculties. The opinion that they are not deprived, but have them, is the more true and the more authentick. It is defended by many great Philosophers, especially by Democritus, Anaxagoras, the Stoicks, Galen, Porphyry. Plutarch, and maintained by this reason. The composition of the brain, which is that part which the foul makes use of, and whereby it reasoneth, is all alike, as the same in beasts and men. confirming by experience. Beafts from particulars conclude generals; by the fight of one onely man, they know all men, they know

how to joyn and divide, and diftinguish, the good from the ill, for the fafeguard of their lives, liberty, and little ones. Yea, we read and ice, if we would but mark and confider it, many things done by beafts, that do far excel the fufficiency, fubtilty, and all the wit and cunning of the common fort of men; some of those that are best worth the noting, I will note unto you. The Fox being to pass over a river that is frozen with ice, applieth his ear unto the ice, to find whether he can hear any noise, and that the water do run under it, that thereby he may refolve either to go forward, or to retire back; of whom the Thracians have learned the fame cunning, being to pals their frozen rivers. A Dog, to the end he may know which way of three, either his mafter, or that beaft he hunteth is gone, having affured himfelf by fcenting them, that he hath not passed by two of them, because he finds not the trace, without the letting of his note to the ground, or farther traverling, he runneth mainly into the third. The Mule of the Philosopher Thales croffing a river with a fack of Salt on his back, and being plunged into the deep with his burthen, his falt dissolved in the water, and made his burthen the lighter; which the Mule (falling into the deep by chance) having found, being afterwards loaden with wool, used the same remedy, and sunk the more. Plutareb reporteth, that he law a Dog in a Ship, casting stones into a pipe of oil, to make the oil to mount, that he might the better come at it. As much is reported of the Crows of Barbary, who by that means raise the water when it is too low, that they may drink. So likewife Elephants gather frones and flicks, and cast them into that ditch whereinto their companion is fallen, to help him to get out. Oxen of the Kings gardens of Suze, being taught to go in a wheel just a hundred turns, to draw water, to water the gardens, they would never exceed that just number, and were never deceived in their account. All these things, how can they be done, without discourse and reason, addition and division? To say they know not this, were to deny that we see they do. What should we think of that dexterity that is in the Elephant, in plucking those darts and javelings forth of his body, with little or no pain at all? of the Dog that Plutarch speaketh of, which in a publick play upon a fcaffold counterfeited death, drawing towards his end, trembling, aftewards growing stiff, and suffering himself to be carried forth, by little & little coming to himfelf, and lifting up his head counterfeited a new refurrection? of so many apish imitations and ftrange

firange tricks that the dogs of Players and Jugglers do? of the policies and inventions wherewith beafts defend themselves against the affaults we make upon them? of the husbandry and great providence of the Ant, in laying abroad his grain to dry, lest it take moisture and so corrupt; in nipping the ends thereof, that it grow not? of the policy of the Bee, where there is such diversity of offices and charges so firmly established.

To beat down all this, fome do maliciously attribute these things.

In opposition of to a natural, service, and forced inclination; as if beasts did perthe natural in- form their actions by a natural necessity, like things inanimate, as

shall. the some falleth downward, the fire mounteth upward. But be-

the flone falleth downward, the fire mounteth upward. But befides that, that cannot be, nor enter into our imagination; for there
must be a numbring of the parts, comparison, discourse by addition
and division, and consequents; they likewise know not what this
natural inclination and instinct is; they be words which they abuse
to small purpose, that they might not be deaf and mute altogether.
Again, this saying is retorted against them: for it is beyond all
comparison more noble, honourable, and resembleth more the Divinity to work by Nature then by Art and Apprentiship: to be led
and directed by the hand of God, then by our own; regularly to
act by a natural and inevitable condition, then regularly by a rash
and casual liberty.

By this objection of the natural inflinct, they would likewise deprive them of instruction and discipline both active and passive, but experience gives them the lye; for they do both receive it: witness the Pie, the Parrot, the Black-bird, the Dog, the Horse, as hath been said; and they give it, witness the Nightingale, and above all other the Elephant, which excelleth all other beasts in docility, and all

kind of discipline and sufficiency.

As for this faculty of the spirit whereof man doth so much glory, which is to spiritualize things corporal and absent, robbing them of all accidents, to the end it might conceive them after its own manner: Nam intellectum of intelligente ad modum intelligents; For that robich is understood, is in him that understander, after the manner of the understander, heasts themselves do the like. The Horse accustomed to the Wars, sleeping in his Stable, trembleth and groaneth, as if he were in the midst of the fight, conceiveth the sound of the Drum, the Trumpet, yea an Army it self. The Hare in sleep, panting, listeth up her scut, shaking her legs, conceiveth a spiritual Hare. Dogs that are kept for grand, in their sleep do snart,

and

attrice.e

tom nmen

Gen. I.

2. Luderry.

and fometimes break out-right, imagining a stranger to be come: To conclude this first point, we must confess that beasts do reason, have the use of discourse and judgment, but more weakly and imperfectly then man; they are inferiour unto men in this, not because they have no part therein at all; they are inferiour unto men, as amongst men some are inferiour unto others; and even so amongst beafts there is such a difference : but yet there is a greater difference between men; for (as shall be said hereafter) there is a greater distance between a man and a man, then a man and a beast. But for all this, we must not hereby infer a kind of equality or parity betwixt a beaft and a man (though, as Ariffotle faith, there are some men so weak and blockish, that they differ from a beast only in figure) and that the foul of a beaft is immortal, as that of a man; or the foul of a man mortal, as that of a beaft: for these are but malicious illations. For, befides that in this reasoning faculty, a anan hath a very great advantage above beafts, so hath the other faculties more high and wholly spiritual, whereby he is said to be like unto God himself, and is capable of immortality, wherein beatts have no part, and are fignified by that understanding, which is more then a fimple discourse, Nolite fieri fient equin & mulin, in quibus non eft intellectus : Be not like borfe or mule, in whom there is no underde captivity, tubication : ber this is to fail vivitues sh

The other point which we are to fpeak of in this matter is, that this preheminence and advantage of understanding, and other spiritual faculties that man pretendeth, is fold him at a dear rate, and brings with it more hurt then goods for it is the principal fource of all those evils that oppies him; of vices passions, maladies, irrefolutions, trouble, despair, which beasts want; by the want of this great advantage: witness the Hog of Pyrrho, which did eat his meat peaceably in the ship, in the midst of a great tempest, when all the men were almost dead for fear. It seemeth that these great parts of the foul, have been denied unto beasts; or at least-wife lessened, and given them more feeble, for their great good and quiet, and bestowed upon man for his torment; for it is long of them that he toileth and travelleth, tormenteth himself with what is past, and that which is to come, yea he imagineth, apprehendeth, and feareth those evils that are not, nor ever shall be. Beafts apprehend nothing that is ill, until they feel at; and being escaped, they are presently in security and as peace. So that we fee that man is most miferable even inthat wherein he

thought

shought himself most happy: whereby it seemeth that it had been better for man, not to have been endued and adorned with all those beautiful and celeftial arms, fince he turneth them against himself. even to his own deftruction. And to fav the truth, we fee those that are most stupid and feeble of spirit, live at best content, and feel not their evil accidents in so high a degree, as those that are more foiritual.

Gen. I.

Another advantage that man pretendeth above beafts, is a figuios. Signiory and ry and power of commanding, which he thinketh he hath over beafts: but befides, that is an advantage that men themselves have and exercise the one over the other, this is not true. For where is this command of man, this obedience of the beafts? It is a monfler that was never feen, yea men do more fear beafts, then beafts them-It is true, that man bath a great preeminence over beafts ; Ut prefit pifibus maris, volatilibus cali, befitis terra : That be might rule over the fift of the feat the fowls of the air, and the beafts of the earth. And this by reason of his beautiful and upright form, of his wildom, and the prerogative of his foirit : but not that he should either

command, or they obey.

11. Liberty.

There is likewife another advantage, near neighbour to this pretended by man, which is a plain liberty, reproaching beafts with their servitude, captivity, subjection: but this is to small purpose. There is far greater reison why man thould reproach man; witness those flaves, not only made by force, and such as descend from them, but also those that are voluntary, who either fell for money their liberty, or give it out of the lightness of their hearts, or for forme commodity, as the ancient Fencers fold out-right Women to their Miftreffes Souldiers to their Captains Now, there is none of all this in beafts, they never ferve one another, nor yield themfelves to any fervitude either active or passive, either to ferve, or to be ferved, and are in every thing more free then men. And as man goeth to the chafe, taketh, killeth, eateth the beaft; fo is he taken, killed, eaten by them in his turn, and honourably took by main firength, not by wit and art, as man doth a and not only by them is he killed, but by his companion, by another man, a thing base and dishonourable. Beasts assemble not themselves in troops to go to. kill, to destroy, to ranfack, to inthral another troop of their kind, as

. Virtue

The fourth and greatest advantage pretended by man, is in vistue, but of moral it is disputable (I mean moral materially by the

out-

outward action:) for formally the mortality, good or evil, virtue and vice, cannot be in a beaft. Kind acknowledgment, officious amity, fidelity, magnanimity, and many other virtues, which confift in fociety and conversation, are more lively, more express and constant, then can be in the common fort of people. Hircanus the dog of Lysimachus continued upon the bed of his dead master, refuling all kind of fullenance, and afterwards cast himself into that fire wherein his mafter was burnt, and there dyed with him. The felf-same did another belonging to one Pyrrbus, That dog of wife Hefiodus discovered the murder of his master. Another in like fort in the presence of King Pyrrbus, and his whole Army. Another which never ceased, as Plut arch affirmeth, going from City to City, until that facrilegious Robber of the Temple of Athens was apprehended and brought to Judgment. That Hiltory is famous, of the Lion that was hoft and nurse to Androdus the flave, and his Phylician, which would not touch him being cast out unto him: which Appion affirmeth to have feen at Rome. An Elephant having in choler killed his Governour, repenting himfelf of it, refused any longer to eat, drink, or live. Contrariwise, there is not a creature in the world more unjust, unthankful, traiterous, perfidious, lying, and deceitful, then man. Again, forafmuch as virtue confifteth in the moderation of our appetites, and the bridling of our pleasures, beafts are much more moderate therein then we, and do better contain themselves within the limits of Nature. For they are not only not touched with unnatural, fuperfluous, and artificial paffions and defires, which are all vicious and infinite, as men, who for the most part are plunged in them, but also in the natural, as eating and drinking, the acquaintance betwixt the male and the female, they are far more moderate and stayed. But that we may see which is the more virtuous or vicious, Humanity. a man or a beaft, and in good earnest to shame a man more then a Cruely, beaft, let us take the virtue most proper and agreeable unto man, that is, as the word it felf importeth, humanity; as the most fitange and contrary vice is enteley. Now herein beafts have advantage enough; even to make men blush for shame. They never affail, and feldom offend those of their kind. Major serpentum ferarumque concordia quam bominum: Greater is the concord and agreement amongit Serpents and wild beafts, then amongst men-They never hight but for great and just causes, as the defence and prefervation of their lives, liberty, and their little ones; and that

they do with their natural and open arms, by their only force and valour, and that one to one, as in fingle combats, and not in troops, nor by defignment. Their combats are fhort, and foon ended, until one of them be either wounded, or yieldeth; and the combat ended, the quarrel, hatred, and choler is likewife at an end. But man hath no quarrel but against man, for not only light, vain, and frivolous causes, but many times unjust, with artificial and traiterous arms, by deceits and wicked means, in troop and affembly gathered by affignment; and lastly, his wars are long, and never ended but with death; and when he is able no longer to hurt, yet the hatred and choler endureth.

The conclusion of the second consideration.

The conclusion of this comparison is, that untruly and vainly doth man glorifie himself above beasts. For if man have in him fomething more then they, as especially the vivacity of the spirit and understanding, and those great faculties of the foul, fo likewise in exchange is he subject to a thousand evils from which the beafts are freed; inconstancy, irresolution, superstition, a painful care of things to come, ambition, avarice, envy, curiofity, detraction. lying, and a world of disordered appetites, discontentments. emulations. This spirit wherewith man maketh himself so merry, brings him a thousand inconveniences, and then most, when it is most stirred and enforced. For it doth not only hurt the body, trouble, break and weaken the bodily forces and functions, but also it hurts and hindereth it felf. What cafteth man into folly and madness, but the sharpness, agility, and proper force of the spirit? The most subtil follies and excellent lunacies proceed from the rareft and quickest agitations of the spirit, as from greatest amities fpring greatest enmities, and from foundest healths mortal maladies: Melancholy men, faith Plato, as they are more capable of knowledge and wildom, so likewise of folly. And he that well marketh it, shall find, that in those elevations and sales of a free foul, there is some mixture of folly; for to say the truth, these things are near neighbours.

is. Touching a fimple life, and fuch as is according to nature, beafts to exhortation do far exceed men; they live more freely, fecurely, moderately, contentedly. And that man is wife that confidereth hereof, and benefiteth himself by making them an instruction unto himself, which doing, he frameth himself to innocency, simplicity, liberty, and that natural sweetness which shineth in beasts, and is wholly altered and corrupted in us by our artificial inventi-

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tions, and unbridled licentiousiies, abusing that wherein we say we excel them, which is the spirit and judgment. And therefore God doth many times send us to school to birds, beasts themelves, to the Kite, the Grashopper, the Swallow, the Turtle, the Ant, the Ox, the Ass, and divers others. Lastly, we must remember that there is a kind of commerce betwixt beasts and us, a certain relation and mutual obligation, whereof there is no other reason, but that they belong to one and the same master, and are of the same family that we are. It is an unworthy thing to tyrannize over them, we owe justice unto men, and pity and gentleness to such other creatures as are capable thereof.

The third Confideration of Man, which is by his life.

CHAP. XXXV.

The estimation, brevity, description of the life of man, and the parts thereof.

T is a great and principal point of Wisdom, truly to know how to efteem of life, to hold and preferve it, to lole or to take of the eftimait away, to keep and direct it, as much as after fuch a manner astion and worth is fit; there is not perhaps any thing wherein a man faileth more, of life. or is more hindered. The vulgar unlearned fort account it a fovereign good, and preferreth it above all things; yea, he will not flick to redeem and prolong it by all the delays that may be, upon what conditions foever, thinking it can never be bought too dear: for it is all in all with him, his Motto is, Vita nihil charing: Nothing is dearer then life. He esteemeth and loveth his life for the love of it felf: he lives not but to live. It is no marvel if he fail in all the reft, if he be wholly compounded of errours, fince from his very entrance, and in this fundamental point he mistakes himself to grofly. It may be likewise with some less esteemed and more basely accounted of then it should, either by reason of some insufficieney in judgment, or a proud mif-knowledge thereof: for falling into the hands of those that are good and wife, it may be a profitable instrument both to themselves and others; and I cannot be of their opinion (as it is simply taken) that fay it is best of all, not to be

at all : and that the best is the shortest life : Optimum non nafci, aut cuam citiffime aboleri : The best thing is, not to be born, or presently to dee. And it is neither well nor wifely faid, What hurt or what matter had it been, if I never had been? A man may answer him with the like question: Where had that good been which is come. and being not come, had it not been evil not to have been? It is a kind of evil that wanteth good, what soever it be, yea though not necessary: These extremities are too extream and vicious, though not equally: but that feems true that a wife man spake, That is fuch a good as a man would not take, if he knew well what it were before he took; Vitam nemo acciperet, fi daretur scientibus; No man would accept of life, if he knew what it were. It is well that men are within before they see the entrance, and that they are carried hood-winkt into it. Now when they are within, some do cocker and flatter themselves therein, that upon what condition foever, they will not go forth again; others do nothing but murmur and vex themselves: but the wifer fort seeing it to be a market that is made without themselves, (for a man neither lives nor dyes when and how he will) and that though the way be rough and hard, yet nevertheless it is not always fo, without winling, or ftriving, and troubling any thing, they accommodate themselves unto it as they may, and so pass their life in quietness, making of necessity a virtue; which is a token of wildom and industry: and so doing. they live as long as they should, and not, like fools, as long as they can. For, there is a time to live, and a time to dye: and a good death is far better then an ill life. A wife man lives no longer, then that his life may be worth more then his death; for the longest life

See bereof lib. 2. 649. 11.

is not always the better.

Of the length and brevity of

All men do much complain of the brevity of the life of man: not only the sample vulgar fort, who wish it should never have end; but also (which is most strange) the greatest and wifest make it the principal ground of their complaints. To fay the truth, the greatest part thereof being diverted and otherwise employed, there remains little or nothing for it felf: for the time of our infancy, old age, fleep, maladies of mind and body, and many other times, both unprofitable and unfit for any good, being taken away, that which remaineth, is little or nothing at all. Nevertheless, without oppoling the contrary opinion to them that hold a short life, to be a great good and gift of Nature, their complaint feemeth to have little equity and reason, and rather to proceed from malice. For,

to what end serveth a long life? Simply to live, to breathe, to eat, to drink, to see this world : for all this what needs so long time? We have feen, known, tafted, all in a fhort space; and knowing it, to defire fo long a time to practife it, and still to reiterate the same thing, to what end is it? Who will not be fatisfied, nay wearied, to do always one and the same thing? If it be not tedious and irksom, at the least it is superfluous: it is a turning Wheel where the same things come and go: it is always to begin where we end, and to re-spin the same Web. But perhaps they will say they delire a long life, to learn and to profit the more, and to proceed to a greater perfection of knowledge and virtue. Alas! good fouls that we are, what should we know, or who should teach us? We employ but badly that little which is given us, not only in vanities, and those things that yield us no profit, but in malice and fin ; and then we cry out and complain, that we have not enough given unto And to fay the truth, to what end ferves fo great store of knowledge and experience, fince in the end we must leave it and dislodge it; and having dislodged it altogether, forget and lose it all, or know it better and otherwise? But you will say, that there are beafts that do triple and quadruple the life of man. To omit those fables that are told thereof; be it so: but yet there are a number that live not a quarter of that time that man doth, and few neither, that live out their time. By what right, or reason, or priviledge, can man challenge a longer life then other creatures? Is it because he doth better employ it in matters more high and more worthy life? By this reason, he should live less time then all other creatures; for there is none comparable to man, in the ill employments of his life, in wickedness, ingratitude, intemperance, and all manner of disorder and immodelty in manners, as hath been shewed before, in the comparison of man with beast: so that as I asked even now, to what end a long life ferved; now I ask what evils there would be in the world, if the life of man were long? What would he not enterprise, since the shortness of life, which cuts off his way, and (as they fay) interrupts his cast; and the uncertainty thereof, which takes away all heart and courage, cannot flay him, living as it he should live ever? On the one tide he teareth, perceiving himself to be mortal, but notwithstanding that, he cannot bridle himfelf from not coveting, hoping, enterprifing, as if he were immortal. Tanquam semper villuri vivitis, Seneca. nunquam vobis fragilitas vestra succentris: omnia tanquam morrales

ve were always to live; your frailty never comes into your mind: ye fear all things as mortal, but ye defire all things as immortals And to fay the truth, what need hath Nature of all these great and goodly enterprifes and employments, whereby man challengeth a longer life then other creatures? Man therefore had no Subject whereof to complain, but to be angry with himself. We have life enough, but we are not good husbands, we manage it not well; life is not short, but we make it to; we are not in want, but

he shall never know how to do a thing well, by acquitting himfelf of labour, but by care and attention. Others referve their lives until they can live no longer, then take comfort in life, when there is nothing left but the lees and dregs thereof. Oh what folly, what mifery is this! Yea there are some that have sooner ended, then begun to live, and life is past before they thought of it. dam vivere incipiunt, cum definendum; quidam ante defierunt, quâm inceperint. Inter catera mala, boc quoque babet stultitia, semper incipit vivere. Some begin to live, when they should dye; some ended, before they begin; amongst other evils, folly bath this, that it always

prodigal, non inoves vita, sed prodigi: we lose it, we dissipate it, we vilifie it, as if it were nought worth, as if we had more then enough: we all fall into one of these three faults, either we employ it ill, or about nothing, or in vain. Magna vite pars elabitur male agentibus, maxima nibil agentibus, tota aliud agentibus: A great part of life is loft to those that do ill, a greater to those that do nothing, and all to those that do that they should not de. A man fludicth not to live, but rather busieth himself in any other thing;

begins to live. Our present life is but the entrance and end of a Tragedy, a per-A description of petual iffue of errours, a web of unhappy adventures, a pursuit of the life of man. divers miseries inchained together on all sides; there is nothing but evil that it distilleth, that it prepareth; one evil drives forward another evil, as one wave another; torment is ever prefent, and the shadow of what is good deceiveth us; blindness and want of sense possesseth the beginning of our life, the middle is ever in pain and travel, the end in forrow; and beginning, middle, and end

in errour.

- The life of man hath many discommodities and miseries common, ordinary and perpetual; it hath likewife someparticular and distinct, according to the diversity of the parts, ages, and seasons; infancy,

Seneca. Look lib. 3. сар. 6.

infancy, youth, virility, old age; every one have their proper and

particular discommodities.

The greatest part of the world speak more honourably and favourably of old age, as the more wife, ripe, moderate s acculing and A comparison fhaming youth of a vicious, foolish, licentious life, but very unjust betwier youth ly: for in truth the infirmities and vices of old age are more in and old age. number, more great and troublelom then those of youth, it fills the mind more with wrinckles, then the vilage; and there is not a foul!" growing old, grows not fowre and rotten. With the body the spirit is used, and the worse for the use, and at last returns to infancy again, Bis pueri fenes: Old men troice children Old age is at negelfary and puiffant malady, which loadeth us infensibly with many imperfections. It were abfurd to term wildom a difficulty of humours, an anxiety and distaste of things present, an impotency to do as in former times: Wildom is too noble to be ferved with fuch officers. To wax old is not to wax wife, nor to take away vices, but to change them into worfe. Old age condemneth pleasure, but it is because it cannot taste or relish it aright, like Asips dog, it faith it will none of it, but it is because it cannot joy in it : for old age leaveth not pleasure properly, but pleasure disdains old age; for it is always wanton and sporting; and it is no reason that impotency should corrupt judgment, which should in youth know vice in pleasure; and, in old age, pleasure in vice. The vices of youth are temerity, indifcreet forwardness, and unbridled liberty, and over-greedy defire of pleasure, which are natural things proceeding from the heat of the blood and natural vigour, and therefore the more excusable; but the vices of old age are far otherwise. The lighter are a vain and frail protervity, an envious practing, unfociable humours, superstition, care to get riches, even then when the use of them is lott, a sottish avarice, and fear of death, which proceedeth properly, not from the want of spirit and courage, as they fay, but because old men are long acquainted, and as it were cockered in this world, whereby their affections are knit unto it, which is not in young men : but belides these they are envious; from ward, unjust: but that which is most fortish and ridiculous in them, is that they would not only be reverenced, but feared, and therefore they put upon them an auttere look and disdainful, thinking thereby to extort fear and obedience: but they are therein much deceived, for this stately and furious gesture is received of youth with mockery and laughter, being practifed only to blind their eyes,

and of purpose to hide and disguise the truth of things. There are in old age so many faults on the one side, and so many impotencies on the other, and therefore so fit for contempt, that the best way to compass their desires, is love and affection: for command and fear are no longer sit arms for them. It ill bests them to make themfelves to be seared: and though they could do it, yet love and honour is a fairer purchase.

The fourth Confideration of Man, moral, by his Manners, Humours, Conditions, very lively and notable.

THE PREFACE.

LE the descriptions, the wife and such as have taken greatest pains in the study of humane knowledge, have given unto men, feemall to note in man four things : Vanity, Weakness, Inconftancy, Misery; calling him the spoil of times, the play-game of Fortune, the image of inconstancy, the example and spectacle of infirmity, the ballance of envy and mifery, a dream, a phantafie, ashes, a vapour, a morning-dew, a flower that presently fadeth and withereth, a wind, grass, a bladder, or bubble, a shadow, leaves of trees carried with the wind, unclean feed in his beginning, a sponge of ordures, a sack of miseries in his middle age, a stench, a meat for worms in his end; and to conclude, the most miserable and wretched thing in the world. Job, one of the most fufficient in this matter, as well in the practice and contemplation thereof, hath well and at large described him, and after him, Solomon, in their books. To be short, Pliny seemeth very properly to have deciphered him, in calling him the most miserable, and yet the most arrogant creature in the world. Solum ut certum fit nibil effe certi, nec miserius quicquam bomine aut superbius : That it is only certain, that there is nothing certain, neither any thing more proud, and miserable then man. By the first word (milerable) he comprehendeth all those former descriptions, and as much as well the rest have said; but by the other (the most proud) he toucheth another chief point very important : and he seemeth in these two words to have uttered whatfoever can be faid. These are those

two things, that feem to hurt and hinder one the other, Mifery and Pride, Vanity and Prefumption. See then how strange and mon-

strous a patch-coat man is.

Foralmuch as man is composed of two diverse parts, the foul and the body, it is a matter of difficulty well to describe him entire, in his perfection and declining state. Some refer unto the body whatfoever ill can be spoken of man; they make him an excellent creature, and, in regard of his spirit, extol himself above all other creatures; but, on the other fide, whatfoever is ill, either in man, or in the whole world, is forgot and proceedeth from the spirit of man, and in it there is far more vanity, inconfrancy, mifery, prefumption, then in the body, wherein there is little matter of reproach in respect of the spirit, and therefore Democritus calleth it a world of hidden miseries, and Plutarch proveth it in a book written of that subject. Now let us confider man more according to the life, then heretofore we have done, and pinch him where it itcheth not, referring all to these five heads, Vanity, Weakness, Inconfrancy, Mifery, and Presumption, which are his more natural and universal qualities, but the two latter touch him more nearly. Again, there are fome things common to many of these five, which a man knows not to which to attribute it, and especially, imbecillity and misery.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1. Vanity.

Anity is the most effential and proper quality of humane Nature. There is nothing so much in man, be it malice, inselicity, inconstancy, irresolution (and of all these there is always abundance) as base feebleness, sottishness, and ridiculous vanity: and therefore Democritus met better with it, with a kind of dissain of humane condition, mocking and laughing at it, then Heraelitus, that wept and tormented himself, whereby he gave some testimony, that he made some account thereof; and Diogenes who scomed it, then Timon that hater and syer of the company of men. Pindarus hath expressed it more to the life then any other, by the two vainess things in the world, calling it the dream of a shadow, which was a stage of the same of a shadow, which was a stage of the same of a shadow, which was a stage of the same of a shadow, which was a stage of the same of a shadow, which was a stage of the same of a shadow, where was a stage of the same of a shadow, where was a stage of the same of a shadow.

This is that, that both wrought in the wifeft so great a contempt of man, that hearing of some great designment and honourable enterprises. -

enterprife, and judging it fuch, were wont nevertheless to fay, that the World was not worthy a mans labour and pains. (fo answered Statilus to Brutus, talking with him about the conspiracy against Cefar) and that a wife man should do nothing but for himself, for Hisnot reason that wife men, and wisdom should put themselves in danger for fools. The same

Thoughts.

This vanity is shewed and expressed many ways, and after a diverse manner; first in our thoughts and private imaginations, which are many times more than vain, frivolous, and ridiculous, wherein nevertheless we spend much time, and yet perceive it not-We enter into them, we dwell in them, and we come forth again infensibly, which is a double vanity, and great forgetfulness of our felves. One walking in a Hall, confidereth how he may frame his paces after a certain fashion upon the boards of the floor: another discourseth in his mind, with much time and great attention, how he should carry himself if he were a King, a Pope, or some other thing, that he is affured can never come to pais; and so he feedeth himself with wind, yea less then wind, that neither is, nor ever shall be. Another dreameth how he shall compose his body, his countenances, his gestures, his speech after an affected fashion, and pleafeth himfelf therein, as with a thing that wonderfully becomes him, and that every man should take delight in. But what a vanity and fortish weakness in bur defires is this, that brings forth beliefs and hopes far more vain? And all this falleth out, not only when we have nothing to do, when we are swallowed up with idleness, but many times in the midft of our most necessary affairs: so natural and powerful is vanity, that it robbeth and plucketh out of our hand the truth, folidity, and lubstance of things, and fills us with wind, year with nothing (all to bas) actual of mi, vinethooni vio

Care for time to come.

Another more fortish vanity, is a troublesom care of what shall here fall out when we are dead. We extend our defires, and affections beyond our felves, and our being; we would provide that something should be done unto us, when we know not what is done unto us; we defire to be praised after our death: what greater vanity? It is not ambition, as it keemeth, and a man may think it, for that is the defire of a fenfible and perceptible honour : if this praise of our selves when we are gone, might any way profit either our children, our parents, or our friends that furvive us, it were well, there were some benefit, though not to our selves; but to defire that as a good, which shall no way touch us, nor benefit others, is a meer vanity, like that of those who fear their wives will marry after their departure; and therefore they desire them with great passion to continue unmarried, and bind them by their wills so to do, leaving unto them a great part of their goods upon that condition. This is a vanity, and many times injustice. It was contrariwise a commendable thing in those great men in times pass, which, dying, exhorted their wives to marry speedily for the better increase of the Common-wealth. Others ordain, that for the love of them, and for their sakes, a friend keep such and such a thing, or that he do this or that unto their dead bodies, which rather sheweth their vanity, then doth any good to soul or body.

See here another vanity, we live not but by relation unto another; we take not so much care what we are in our selves in effect and truth, as what we are in the publick knowledge of men; in such sort, that we do many times deceive and deprive our selves of our own goods and commodities, and torment our selves, to frame-our outward appearances to the common opinion. This is true, not only in outward things, and such as belong to the body, and the expence and charge of our means, but also in the goods of the spirit, which seem unto us to be without fruit, if others enjoy them not, and they be not produced to the view and approbation of

ftrangers.

Our vanity is not only in our simple thoughts, desires, and discourses, but it likewise troubleth, shaketh, and tormenteth both Agitations of foul and body. Many times men trouble and torment themselves, the Spirit, more for light occasions and matters of no moment, then for the greatest and most important affairs that are. Our soul is many times troubled with small phantalies, dreams, shadows, fooleries, without body, without subject, it is intangled and molested with choler, hatred, forrow, joy, building castles in Spain. The remembrance of a farewel of some particular grace or action, afflicteth us more then a whole discourse of a matter of greater importance. The found of names and certain words pronounced with a pitiful voice, yea with fighs and exclamations, pierceth even to the quick, as Orators and Players, and others that fell wind and smoak, do well know and practife. And this wind catcheth and carrieth away many times men that are most constant and fetled, if they stand not upon their guard: so puissant is vanity over men. And not only light and little things do shake and trouble

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trouble us, but also lies and impostures, even those we know to be fuch (a strange thing) in such fort, that we take pleasure to deceive our felves in good earnest, to feed our phantasies with tales, with nothing. Ad fallendum noimetiplos ingeniofismi sumus : We are! wife to deceive our felves; witness they that weep and afflict them. selves hearing a relation, or seeing a Tragedy, which they know tobe an invention made for delight, even of those things that never were. I could tell you of one that was so besotted, that he died for one whom he knew to be foul, old, deformed, not because he loved her, but because she was well painted, and plaistered or coloured with other impostures, though he always knew them to be fuch.

tefie.

Let us come from the particular vanity of every particular man Visitations and in his common life, to see how much this vanity is tyed to the naoffices of cour-ture of man, not only as a private and personal vice. What vanity and loss of time is there in those vilitations, salutations, congies, and mutual entertainments, those offices of courtelie, orations, ceremonies, offers, praises, promises? How many hyperbolical speeches, hypocrities, and impostures are there in the fight and knowledge of all, both of thole that give them, that receive them, that hear of them! infomuch that it feemeth to be a match and market made together, to mock, lye, and deceive one another. And that which is worth all the rest, he that knows that a man doth impudently lye unto him, must yet give him thanks; and he that knows that when he lyes he is not believed, fets a bold face upon the matter, attending and observing one the other, who shall first begin and end; when they could both be content they were both afunder. What inconveniences doth man endure? He feigneth, counterfeiteth, disguiseth himself; he endureth heat, cold, troubleth his reft, afflicteth his life for those courtly vanities, and leaveth his weighty affairs for the wind. We are vain at the charge of our own eafe, yea of our health and of our life. The ac-'cidents and the lighter things trample under foot the substance, and the wind carrieth the body, so much is man a flave to vanity; and he that will do otherwise, shall be held for a fool, and a man that understands not the world. It is dexterity well to play this Comedy, and folly, not to be vain. Being entred into speech and familiar discourie, how many vain and unprofitable, false, fabulous tales are there (not to fay wicked and permicious, which are not of this count) how many vaunts and vain boaftings ! Man defireth and delighteth

delighteth to speak of himself, and that which is his, and if he think he have either done, or faid, or possessany thing that is worthy estimation, he is not at ease until he hath uttered it, and made it known unto others: when a commodity first cometh, he entreth into an account thereof, he valueth it, he raileth the price, nay he will not feem to attend his commodity, though he feek it with industry; and then to hear what the speech of the people is abroad, he thrusts himself into company, and it tickleth him at the heart to hear his happy fuccess spoken of, and that men effeem of him the more, and of what he effeems.

But better to make known what credit and command this vanity hath over the nature of man, let us call to mind that the great-Publick and eft alterations of the world, the most general and fearful agita-tations. tions of States and Empires, Armies, Battele, Murthers have rifen from light, ridiculous and vain causes, witness the Wars of Troy. and Greece, of Silla and Marins, Cafar and Pompey, Augustus and Anthony. The Poets fignifie as much, when they let all Greece and Asia on fire for an Apple. The first occasions and motives arise of nothing, afterwards they grow and increase: a testimony of the vanity and folly of man. Many times the accident doth more then the principal, the leffer circumstances touch more to the quick then the greateth, nay the causes and subjects themselves. The Robe of Cafar troubled Rome more then his death did, or those two and twenty stabs with a Poinard that were given him.

Lastly, the crown and perfection of the vanity of man is shewed, in that which he most affecteth and seeks after ; he pleaseth Felicity and himself, and placeth his whole selicity in those vain and frivolous contentment, goods, without which he may well and commodiously live, and takes not that care that he should for the true and essential: his chance is wind, his whole good nothing but opinion and dreams, wherein he is matchlefs. God hath all good things in effence, all evil in understanding; man quite contrary possesseth his good things by phantafie, his evil in effence. Beafts content not, nor feed themselves with opinions and phantasies, but with that which is present, palpable, and in verity. Vanity hath been given unto man. as his proper part and condition; he returns, he stirs, he hunts up and down, he catcheth a shadow, he adoreth the wind, he flyes, he dyes, and a most at the last is the hise of his days work; Vanitati creatura subjecta eft etiam notens, universa vanitas omnis bome

wfing.

homo vivens : Every creature is subject to vanity, even against his will, and all men living are but vanity.

CHAP. XXXVII. Debility or Infirmity.

DEhold here the second head of this Consideration and hu-D mane knowledge: for how should vanity be other then frail and feeble? This weakness is confessed, and proved by all that account many things easie to be understood of all, but is not taken to be fuch in those things it should, as in such wherein a man seemeth to be most strong, and least weak; in defiring, possessing, and using those things that he hath and holdeth, and in every good and evil; and to be short, in such wherein he glorieth most, wherein he thinketh to excel others, and to be fomething. These are the true testimonies of his weakness : but we shall see this better apart.

First, touching desire, a man cannot setle his contentment in In defiring and any thing, no not his own defire and imagination. It is not in our chufing. power to chuse what we should; and whatsoever we have desired or obtained, it satisfies us not : but we go bleating after things unknown and to come, because things present content us not, and we more effeem of things absent. If one should put a man to his own choice, make him his own carver, it is not in his power to to chuse, as that he repent not his choice, or which he will not add unto, or take from, or alter some way or other; for he defires that which he knows not how to express: and at the last nothing can content

him, but he is angry, and falleth out with himfelf.

The weakness of man doth more appear, and is greater in the In passing and possession and use of things, and that divers ways: first, in that he cannot make use of any thing in its own purity and simple nature; but he must disguile, alter, and corrupt them, before he can accommodate them to his use: the elements, metals, and all things else in their own nature are not fit for use. Good things, delights, and pleasures cannot be enjoyed without some mixture of evil and discommodity; Medio de fonte leporum surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipfis floribus angat : Even from amidst the fountains of delights do arise always some bitterness, which even in the beight of pleasure do amoy. The highest pleasure that is, bath a figh and a complaint to accompany it; and being come to perfection, is but debility, a dejection

ejection of the mind, languishment. And extreme and full conntment hath more moderate severity, then wanton delight: Isla felicitat, fe nifi temperat, premit : Felicity it felf, unless it temper it felf, vexetb. And therefore it was well faid of him, that God fells unto us whatfoever good thing he fends us: that is to fay, That he giveth nothing unto us purely good, but that we buy it at the scales with an addition of some evil to make up weight. So likewife forrow is never pure, without the alliance of some pleasure; Labor voluptasque diffimillima natura, societate quadam naturali inter fe funt juncla; eft quedam flere voluptas: Labour and pleasure, though in Nature most unlike, yet by a certain natural society, they are linked together, so that even to weep is a certain delight. So all things in this world are mingled and compounded with their contraries: those motions and wrinkles in the visage that serve to laugh, serve to weep, as Painters teach us: and we fee that the extremity of laughter is mingled with tears. There is no good thing in us, that hath not some vicious tincture with it: Omnes justitia nostra funt tanquam pannus menstruate: All our righteousness is as a menstruous cloth, as anon shall be shewed in his due place; nor no evil without some good: Nullum fine authoramento malum est: There is no fin without punishment. Misery it self always serves to some end: for there is no evil without good, no good in man without evil: all is mingled, and there is nothing pure in our hands. Secondly, whatfoever happeneth unto us, we take and enjoy with an ill hand; our taste is unresolved and uncertain, it knows not how to hold and possess any thing after a good manner: and from thence sprang that undetermined question of the soveraign good. The better things many times in our hands, by our infirmities, vice, infusficiency, are made worse, are corrupted, become nothing, are unprofitable unto us, yea sometimes hurtful and contrary.

But humane imbecillity is more richly displayed in good and evil, in virtue and vice: hence it is, that man cannot be, when it is seems good unto himself, either wholly good, or wholly wicked, but he hath his weakness, his impotencies in them both. Touching virtue, three points are to be considered: the first is, that it is not in the power of man to do all good, to put in practice all virtue; insomuch that many virtues are incompatible, and cannot be all together, at least in one and the same subject, as filial or maidenly continency and vidual, which are wholly different; the married and unmarried estate; the two second of widow-hood & marriage.

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being more painful and busie, and having more difficulty and virtue than the two first, of virginity and the unmarried estate, whi have more purity, grace and eafe: Virgo felicior, vidua laboriofior: in illa gratia, in ifa virtus coronatur: the Virgin is the bappier, the Widow the more painful, in the former grace, in the latter virtue is crowned. That constancy which is in poverty, want, adversity, and that which is in abundance and prosperity: patience in beggery and liberality. And this is more true in vices, which are opposite one

against the other.

The second point is, That many times a man cannot perform that, which belongs to one virtue, without the scandal and offence either of another virtue, or of it felf; infomuch that they hinder one the other: whereby it comes to pass, that a man cannot satisfie the one, but at the charge of the other; which we must not attribute unto virtue, or think that the virtues cross and contrary one another, for they agree well enough; but unto the weakness of our humane condition, all the fufficiency and industry thereof being fo short and so feeble, that it cannot find any certain universal and constant rule, whereby to make an honest man: and such order cannot be taken, but that the means to do well, do many times hinder one the other. Let us take for example, Charity and Justice; If I encounter my father or my friend in the wars, on the enemies. part, in justice I ought to kill him, but in charity I should spare and fave him. If a man be wounded to death and past all remedy, and there remained nothing but a grievous languishing, it were a deed of charity to make an end of him, as he did that killed Sanl at his earnest entreaty; but this charity is punished by justice, as he was by Davids and that justly, David being the minister of publick juflice, not private charity: yea to be found neer unto a man in fuch a case, in a suspicious place, and where there is doubt of the murderer, although he be there to perform some office of humanity, is very dangerous; and the best thing that can happen unto him, is to be called into question, and put to answer to that accident, whereof he is innocent; So that we fee that justice doth not only offend charity, but it hampereth and hindereth it felf: and therefore it was very well faid, and truly, Summum jue, summa injuria: Extreme right, extreme wrong.

The third point and the most notable is, that a man is constrained many times to use bad means for the better avoidance of some great evil, on the execution of what is good, in such fort that he must

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fometimes approve as lawful, not only those things that are not good, but that are stark naught; as if to be good, it were necessary to be somewhat wicked. And this is seen in every thing, in Policy,

Justice, Verity, Religion.

In Policy, how many evils are there permitted, and publickly acted, not only by connivance or permillion, but also by the approbation of the laws themselves? as shall hereafter be said in his due place; Ex Senatuconsultis & plebiscitis scelera exercentur : Crimes are committed by the decrees of the Senate, and approbations of the people. To disburden a State or Common-wealth, either of too great a number of people, or of fuch as are inflamed with a defire of wars, which the state, like a body replete with bad or abundant humours, cannot bear, it is the manner to fend them elfewhere, and to ease themselves at the charge or disease of another. As the French, Lombards, Goths, Vandals, Tartarians, Turks have been accustomed to do. To avoid a civil war, it is the manner to entertain a strange war. To instruct others in the virtue of Temperance, Lycurgus caused the Ilotes their servants to be made drunk, that by the ugly deformity of their superfluous inundation, others might grow into an horror and detestation of that fin. The Romans to prepare their people to valour, and a contempt of the dangers of death, ordained of purpose those furious spectacles of the Fencers, which at the first they ordained for offenders; afterwards for slaves or fervants, but innocents; and lastly for free-men that gave themfelves thereunto. Brothel-houses in great Cities, usuries, divorces, under the law of Moses, and in divers other nations, and religions, have been permitted for the better avoiding of great mischiefs, Ad duritiem cordis corum : For the bardness of mens bearts.

In Justice, which cannot sublist, cannot be executed, without the mixture of some wrong, not only justice commutative, for that is Justice, not strange; it is after a sort necessary, and men could not live and traffick together, without mutual damage, without offence, and the laws allow of the loss which is under the moyety of the just price. But also justice distributive as it telf confesseth; Summum jus, summa injuria, & omne magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniqua, quod contra singulos utilitate publica rependitur: Extreme right is extreme wrong, and all great examples have some injustice which for the common good is practifed against all: Plato alloweth, and it is not against the law, by deceits and salse hopes of savour and pardon, to draw the offender to consess his fault. This is by injustice, deceit

by injuriec,

and

Of Tortures.

and impudency to do justice. And what should we say of the invention of tortures, which is rather a proof of patience, then verity? For, both he that can suffer them and cannot, will conceal the truth. For, why thould grief cause a man rather to speak that which is, then that which is not? If a man think that an innocent is patient enough to endure torments, why should not he that is guilty, being a means to fave his life? Illa tormenta gubernat dolor, moderatur natura, cujufque tum animi, tum corporis regit quafitor, fledit libido, corrumbit fbes, infirmat metus, ut in tot rerum angultis nil veritati loci relinquatur; Grief governeth those torments, Nature doth moderate, the fearcher both of the body and mind doth rule, luft boweth, hope corrupteth, fear weakneth, lo that in fo many extremities, there is no place for truth. In defence hereof it is faid, that tortures do aftonish and quell the guilty, and extort from him a truth; and contrariwife strengthen the innocent: but we do so often see the contrary that this may be doubted; and to fay the truth, it is a poor means full of uncertainty, full of doubt. What will not a man fay, what will he not do, to avoid such torment? Etenim innocentes mentiri cogit dolor : For grief enforceth innocents to lie; in fuch fort that it falleth out that the Judg which giveth the torture to the end an innocent should not die, causeth him to die an innocent, and tortured too. A thousand and a thousand have falsly accused their own heads, either to fhorten their torments, or their lives. But in the foot of this account, is it not a great injustice and cruelty to torment and to rack a man in pieces, for that offence which is yet doubted of? To the end, they may not kill a man without just cause, they do worfe then kill him: if he be innocent and bear the punishment, what amends is made him for his unjust torture? He shall be quit; a goodly recompence, and much reason he hath to thank you. But it is the least evil that the weakness of man could invent.

If a man be weak in virtue, much more is he in verity, whether it be eternal and divine, or temporal and humane. That aftonisheth him with the lightening, and beats him down with the thunder thereof, as the bright beams of the Sun, the weak eyes of the Owl: if he prefume to behold it, being oppressed, he presently fainteth; Qui scrutaror est majestatis, opprimetur à gloris: The curious searcher of Gods majesty shall be oppressed by bis glory: in such sort, that to give himself some breath, some taste, he must disguise, temper, and cover it with some shadow or other. This, that is, humane verity, offendeth and woundeth him, and he that speaks it, is many times hol-

Verity.

holden for an enemy : Veritar odium parit, Truth breedeth bared. It is a strange thing, man defireth naturally to know the truth and to attain thereunto, he removeth all lets whatfoever, and yet he cannot attain it, if it be present; he cannot apprehend it, if he apprehend it, he is offended with it. The fault is not in the truthfor that is always amiable, beautiful, worthy the knowledg; but it is humane imbecillity that cannot endure the folendour thereof. Man is ftrong enough to defire, but too weak to receive and hold The two principal means, which he useth to atwhat he defireth. tain to the knowledg of truth, are reason and experience. Now both Chap. 14. of them are fo feeble and uncertain (though experience the more weak) that nothing certain can be drawn from them. Reason hath so many forms, is so pliable, so wavering, as hath been said, and experienced much more, the occurrents are always unlike; there is nothing so universal in Nature, as diversity, nothing so rare and difficult, and almost impossible, as the likeness and similitude of things: and if a man cannot note this diffimilitude, it is ignorance and weaknels; I mean this perfect, pure, and entire similitude, and dissimilitude: for to fay the truth, they are both whole and entire, there is no one thing that is wholly like or dillike to another. This is an ingenious and marvellous mixture of Nature.

But after all this, what doth better discover this humane imbecillity than Religion? yea, the very intention thereof, is to make Religion. man feel his own evil, his infirmity, his nothing, and to make him to receive from God his good, his thrength, his all things. First, it preacheth it unto him, it beats it into our memory, it reproacheth man, calling him dult, ashes, earth, flesh, bloud, grafs. Afterwards it infinuateth it into him, and makes him feel it after an excellent and goodly fashion, bringing in God himself, humbled, weakned, debased for the love of him, speaking, promiting, swearing, chiding, threatning: and to be brief, converfing and working with a man after a base, feeble, humane manner, like a father that counterfeits his speech, and plays the child with his children-The weakness of man being such, so great, so invincible, that to give it some access and commerce with the Divinity, and to unite it unto God, it was necessary that God should debase himself to the baselt: Deus quis in altitudine sua à nobis parvulis apprehendi non poteratideo fe stravis bominibus : God becanfe in bis beight be could not be apprehended by us little ones, did humble himfelf to men. Again, it makes him fee his own weakness by ordinary effects; for all the prin-

Debility or Infirmity.

Sacrifices.

cipal and holieft exercises, the most solemn actions of religion, are they not the true symptoms and arguments of humane imbecillity and sickness? Those facrifices that in former times have been used thorowout the world, and yet in some countries continue, not only of beafts, but also of living men, yea of innocents, were they not shameful marks of humane infirmity and mifery? First, because they were figns and symbols of his condemnation and malediction (for they were as publick protestations, that he had deferved death, and to be facrificed as those beafts were) without which there had never been any bloudy offerings, propitiatory and expiatory facrifices. Secondly, because of the baseness of the purpose and intent, which was to think to appeale, flatter, and gratifie God by the maffacre and bloud of beafts, and of men; Sanguine non colendus Deus: que enim ex trucidatione immerentium voluptas est? God is not worshipped with bloud: for what pleasure can there be in shedding innocent blond? It is true, that God in those first ages, yet the feeble infancy of the world, and Nature remaining simple, did well accept of them at the hands of religious men, even for their devotion, or rather Christ his fake: Respexis Dominus ad Abel, & ad munera ejus: God bad respect to Abel, and to bis gifts, taking in good part that which was done, with an intent to honour and serve him; and also afterwards, the world being as yet in its apprentiship, sub padagoga, was wholly seasoned in this opinion so universal, that it was almost thought Natural. I touch not here that particular mystery of the religion of the Jews, who used them for figure (that is a point that belongs to religion) and with whom it was common to convert that which was humane, or natural and corporal, to a holy and facred use, and to gather from thence a spiritual fruit. But this was not because God took pleature in them, nor because it was by any reason in it self good: witness the Prophets, and the cleared ighted amongst them, who have always freely faid; Si voluisses, facrificium dediffem, utique bolocaustis non delectaberis, Sacrificium & oblationem noluifti, bolocauftum pro peccato non pofiulafti, non accipiam de domo tua vitales, erc. If thou wouldest have facrifice, I had given it thee, but thou delightest not in burnt offerings, neither wilt thou have any facrifice, or oblation, nor requireft any burnt offering for fin, I will not receive the calves from thy boule, e.c. And have called back and invited the world to another facrifice more high, fpiritual, and worthy the Divinity ; Sacrificium Deo Spiritus : aures autem perforafti mibi, nt face-

facerem voluntatem tuam, & legem tuam in medio cordis mei : Immola Deo Caerificium laudis : Misericordiam volo, non facrificium : The fpirit is a facrifice to God, thou baft boared mine ears, to the end I might do thy will, and keep thy law in the midt of my heart : Offer unto God the facrifice of praise and thanksgiving: I will have mercy and not facrifice. At the lait, the Son of God, the Doctor of Truth, being come to secure and free-denize the world, did abolish them wholly: which he had not done, if it had been a thing in it felf and effentially good, and that it had pleased his father: for contrarily Pater non tales querit, fed tales qui adorent in spiritu & veritate : My Father doth not feek fuch, but those that worship him in spirit and truth. And to fay the truth, it is one of the godliest effects and fruits of Christianity after the abolition of Idols. And therefore Tulian the Emperour, his capital enemy, as in despight of him, offered more facrifices than ever any other did in the world, attempting to fet them up again with Idolatry. Wherefore let us here leave them, and let us fee those other principal parts of Religion.

The Sacraments in a matter base and common bread and wine, 3 acraments. and an outward action as bale, are they not testimonies of our poverty and basenes? Repentance, the universal remedy of our maladies, is a thing in it felf shameful, feeble, yea evil: tor to repent, Repentance. to be forry, to afflict the spirit, is evil, though by consequent it be good. An oath, what is it, but a symptom and shameful mark of di- An oath. thrust, infidelity, ignorance, humane infirmity, both in him that requires it, that gives it, that ordains it? Quod amplies eft, à malo eft : That which is more, is from the devil. See then how religion healeth our evils by means not only small and feeble, our weakness fo requiring: Stulta & infirma mundi elegit Deus: God batbebofen the foolish and simple of the world; but such as by no means are of any value, nor are good in themselves, but good in that they lerve and are employed against evil, as medicines are: they sprang from an ill cause, yet they drive away ill: they are good as gibbets and wheels are in a Common-wealth, as vomits and other discharges proceed from ill causes, are to the body: to be brief, they are such good things, as that it had been far better we had never had them; and never had we had them, if man had been wife, and preserved himself in that estate wherein God had placed him; neither shall he have them any more, fo foon as he is delivered from this captivity, and arrived to his perfection.

le evil.

All this sheweth how great this humane weakness is to any thing that is good, in Policie, Justice, Verity, Religion toward God, but that which is more strange is, that this weakness is as great in what is evil: for man, though he be willing to be wicked. vet he cannot be wholly fuch, but when he hath done his worft. there will be more to do. There is always some remorfe and fearful consideration, that mollifieth the will, and maketh it relent. and still reserveth something to be done; which hath been the eause of the ruine of many, although perhaps they made it a proich for their fafety. This is imbecillity and fottishment, and from hence did arise that Proverb at their cost; That a man must not play the fool by halfes. A speech uttered with judgment; but that may have both a good and ill sense. To say that a man when he is once in, must still proceed to worse, and worse, without any refervation or respect, it is a very pernicious doctrine, and the Proverb faith well against it; the shorter follies are the better. But yet in some certain cases, the middle way is very dangerous; as when a man hath a ftrong enemy by the throat, like one that holdeth a Wolf by the ears, he must either win him altogether by courtesse, or utterly undo him and extinguish him; which was always the practice of the Romans, and that very wifely: amonest others. concerning the Latines or Italians, at the exhortation of Camillus; Pacem in perpetuum petere, vel serviendo, vel ignoscendo: To get perpetual peace, either ferving, or in pardoning: For in such a case to do things by halfes, is to lose all, as the Samnites did, who for want of putting in practice that counsel given them by an old weather-beaten fouldier, concerning the Romans, whom they had then inclosed and thut up, paid dearly for it; Aut conciliandus, aut tollendus bostis: An enemy is either to be reconciled, or made out of the may. The former course of courtesie is the more noble, honourable and rather to be chosen; and we ought not to come to the second but in extremities, and then when the enemy is not eapable of the first. By this that hath been said, is shewed the extreme imbecillity of man, in good and evil; and that good or evil which he either doth, or flieth, is not purely and entirely good or evil: fo that it is not in his power to be wholly deprived of all good, not altogether wicked.

Reprebenfions and repulses. Let us likewise note many other effects and testimonies of humane weakness. It is imbeeillity and pusillanimity not to dare, or not to be able to reprehend another, or to be reprehended: he

that

that is feeble or couragious in the one, is fo in the other. Now it is a strange kind of delicateness, to deprive either himself, or another of so great a fruit, for so light and verbal a wound, that doth only touch and pierce the ear. Near neighbour unto this it is, not to be able to give a denial with reason, nor to receive and suffer a

repulle with patience.

In false accusations and wicked suspitions, which are done in place of justice and judgment, there is double imbecillity; the one Falle suspitions in those that are accused and suspected, and that in justifying and excuting themselves too carefully, and, as it were, ambitiously. Mendax infamia terret quem nisi mendacem? Whom doth an infamous lie fear but a lier? This is to betray their own innocency, to put their conscience and their right to comprimise and arbitrement; for by fuch plea Perspicuitas argumentatione elevatur: Perspicuity by argument is made more apparent. Socrates in judgment it felf would not do it, neither by himself, nor by another, refusing to use the learned plea of great Lyfias, and chose rather to die; the other is in a contrary case, that is when the accused is so couragious, that he takes no care to excuse or justifie himself, because he scorneth the accusation and accuser, as unworthy his answer and justification, and he will not do himself that wrong to enter the lists: this course hath been practised by generous men; by Scipio above all others, many times out of the marvellous constancy of his mind. Now others are offended herewith, thinking it too great a confidence and pride, and it stingeth them, that he hath too sensible a feeling of his innocency, and will not yield himfelf: or imputing this silence and contempt to the want of heart, distrust of the law and inability to justify himself. O feeble humanity! the accused or fuspected, whether he defend or defend not himself, it is imbecillity and cowardiness. We wish a man courage to defend himself, and when he hath done it, we shew our own weakness by being offended with it.

Another argument of imbecillity is, when a man shall subject and addict himself to a certain particular form of life; this is a bale delicacie. kind of tenderness, and effeminate delicacy, unworthy an honest man, and makes us unprofitable, different in conversation, and may be hurtful too, in a case where change of manners and carriage is necessary. It is likewise a shame, either not to dare, or not to be able to do that which he feeth every man do besides himself. It were fittest that such people should live, and hide themselves in-

and accufations

the Chimny-corner in their private houses. The fairest form of living is to be pliable to all, even to excess it felf, if need be; to be able, to dare, to know how to do all things, and yet to do nothing

but what is good. It is good to know all, not to use all.

Search of

It is likewise imbecillity, and a great vulgar sottishness, to run after strange and Scholastical examples, after allegations, never to settle an opinion without testimonies in print, nor to believe men but such as are in Books, nor truth it self, but such as is ancient. By this reason, sooleries and toies, if they once pass the Press, they have credit and dignity enough. Now there are every day many things done before our eyes, which if we had but the spirit and sufficiency well to collect, to search with dexterity, to judge of, and to apply to their time, which should frame and find miracles and marvellous examples, which yield not in any thing to those of times past, which we so much admire, and therefore we admire because they are ancient and in Print.

Again, another testimony of weakness is, that man is not capable but of indifferent things, and cannot endure extremities; for if they be small and in outward shew base, he contemneth and disdaineth them as unworthy, and it is offensive unto him to consider of them: if they be very great and over splendent, he fears them, he admires them, and is offended with them. The first doth principally concern great and high minds; the second is common with

those that are weak.

Sudden occurgents.

16.

This weakness doth likewise appear in our hearing, sight, and in the sudden stroke of a new unexpected occurrent, which surpriseth and seizeth upon us unawares. For they do in such fort astonish us, that they take from us, both our sense and speech,

> Diriguit visu in medio, calor offa reliquit, Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur: Stiff in our fight he grew, heat left his hones, He falls, and scarce at length breaths out these mones.

Yea, sometimes life it self: whether they be good; witness that Roman Dame, who died for joy, seeing her son return safe from the wars, Sophicles and Dionysius the tyrant: or whether they be evil; witness Diodorus, who died in the field for shame, because he was not able to resolve a doubt, nor answer an argument.

8. Yet there is another imbecillity, and it is two-fold, and after Braveries and two contrary manners; Some yield and are overcome by the tears submiffions.

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and humble supplication of another, and their courage and gallantry is wounded with their words: others quite contrary are not moved by all the submissions and complaints that may be, but are rather more obdurate and confirmed in their constancy and resolution. There is no doubt but the former proceeds of weakness, and it is commonly found in effeminate and vulgar minds: but the fecond is not without difficulty, and is found in all forts of people. It should feem that to yield unto virtue, and to manly and generous firength and vigour, is the part of a valorous and generous mind. It is true, if it be done in a reverent efteem of virtue, as Scanderbee did, receiving into grace a fouldier whom he had feen to carry himself valorously in fight even against himself; or as Pompey did, pardoning the City of the Mamertians, for the virtue of Zenon a Citizen thereof; or as the Emperour Conradus did, forgiving the Duke of Baviers, and others belieged with him, for the magnanimity of their women, who privily conveyed them away, and took the danger upon their own heads. But if it be done with a kind of aftonishment and affright of the power of virtue, as the people of Thebes, who loft their hearts hearing Epaminondas then accused, recount unto them his honourable acts, and severely reproaching them with their ingratitude, it is debility and cowardize. The fact of Alexander, containing the brave resolution of Betis taken with the City of Gaza where he commanded, was neither weakness nor courage, but choler, which in him had neither bridle, nor moderation.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

3. Inconstancy.

MAN is a subject wonderfully diverse, and wavering, upon whom it is very difficult to settle an assured judgment. I say a judgment universal and entire, by reason of the great contrariety and disagreement of the parts of our life. The greatest part of our actions, are nothing else but eruptions and impulsions enforced by occasions, and that have reference to others. Tresolution on the one part, and afterwards inconstancy and instability, are the most contition and apparent vices in the nature of man. Doubtless our actions do many times so contradict one the other, in so strange a mauner, that it seems impossible they should all come forth of one and the same shop; we alter and we feel it not, we cleape

escape as it were from our selves, and we sob our selves; Iff mobis furto subducimur : Being ftolen as it were from our selves. We go after the inclinations of our appetite, and as the wind of occasions earrichus, not according to reason; As nil potest effe aquabile quod non à certa ratione proficifcatur : nothing can be just which proceedeth not from reason. Our spirits also and our humours are changed with the change of time. Life is an unequal motion, irregular, of many fashions. In the end we stir and trouble our selves, by the instability of our behaviour. Nemo non quotide confilium mutat & votum: modo uscorem vult, modo amicam; modo regnare vult, modo non eft es officiofior ferous; nunc pecuniam spargit, nunc rapit, modo frugi videtur O gravis, modo prodigus & vanus; mutamus subinde personam. No man there is, who daily changeth not bit mind, purpose, and defires; fometimes be will have his Wife, fometimes a Concubine; fometimes be will domineer, again, no servant more bumble and officious than be; now be prodigally spends bis own, at another time be violately raketh after other mens goods; sometimes be would seem grave and thrifty, another time a spend-thrift and vain; so every moment we are changed.

> Quod petiit, Spernit, repetit quod nuper amifit, Atuat, & vita disconvenit ordine toto. Scorns what be bonor'd, feeks what be loft, to find, Swells and abates, inconstant as the wind.

Man is a creature of all those the most hard to be founded and known, for he is the most double and artificial covert, and counterfeit, and there are in him so many cabinets and blind corners. from whence he comes forth, sometimes a man, sometimes a Sature: fo many breathing holes, from whence he breaths formetimes heat, fometimes cold, and from whence comes forth fo much smoak: all his carriage and motion is a perpetual race of erroups; in the morning to be born, in the evening to die; formetimes in the rack, fometimes at liberty; fometimes a god, fometimes a flie, he laughs and weeps for one and the same thing; he is content, and discontent; he will, and he will not; and in the end he knows not what he will: now he is filled with joy and gladness, that he canot flav within his own skin, and presently he falleth out with himself, may dares not truft himfelf; Modo amore noftri, modo tadio laborarus; ometimes we love, Sometimes me loath our felves.

forth in one and the fame thop; we after and we teel it not, we

cicipe

CHAP. XXXIX.

4. Mifery.

Ehold here the main and principal line and lineament of the pi-D cture of a man, he is (as hath been faid) vain, feeble, frail, Misery proper inconstant in good, in felicity, in pleasure, but strong, constant, unto man. and hardned in milery: he is milery it felf quick and incarnate, and this is in a word to express humanity, for a man is all misery, and without him there is not any in the world. It is the property of a man to be miscrable, only man and all man is always miscrable. Homo natus de mulicre brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis mis feris: Man born of a woman bath but a foort time to live; and is full of miferies. He that will take upon him to represent unto us all the parts of humane misery, had need to discover his whole life, his substance, his entrance, his continuance, his end. I do not therefore undertake this bufinefs, it were a work without end, and besides it is a common subject handled by all: but I will here only quote certain points which are not common, nor taken for mileries, either because they are not felt, or sufficiently considered of. although they be such as prefs man most, if he know how to judge of them.

The first point and proof of the mifery of man, is his birth; his entrance into the world is shameful, vile, base, contemptible; his in his beginning and his departure, his death, ruine, glorious and honourable : whereby it end, feemeth that he is a monster, and against Nature, since there is shame in making him, honour in dettroying him: Noftri nofmet panitet & pudet: We are assumed and repent our selves of our selves: Hereof a word or two The action of planting, and making man is shameful, and all the parts thereof; the congredients, the preparations, the instruments, and whatsoever serves thereunto is called and accounted thameful; and there is nothing more unclean, in the whole Nature of man. The action of destroying and killing him honourable, and that which ferves thereunto glorious: we guild it, we enrich it, we adorn our felves with it, we carry it by our fides, in our hands, upon our shoulders. We disdain to go to the birth of man; every man runs to fee him die, whether it be in his bed, or in some publick place, or in the field. When we go about to make a man, we hide our felves, we put out the candle, we do it by Realth. It is a glory and pomp to unmake a man,

chis.

Tertul de Spectac. Seneca.

5.

to kill himself; we light the candles to see him die, we execute him at high noon, we found a trumpet, we enter the combat, and we flaughter him when the fun is at highest. There is but one way to beget, to make a man, a thouland and a thouland means, inventions, arts to destroy him. There is no reward, honour or recompence affigned, to those that know how to encrease, to preserve humane nature; all honour, greatness, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophies are appointed for those that know how to afflict, trouble, destroy it. The two principal men of the world, Alexander, and Cefar, have unmade, have flain, each of them (as Pliny reporteth) more then a million of men, but they made none, left none behind them. And in ancient times, for pleasure only and pastime, to delight the eyes of the people there was publick slaughters, and maffacres of men made. Homo facra res per jocum & lu-Sum occiditur : fat: Spectaculi in bomine mors eft : innocentes in ludum veniunt, ut publice voluptatis bestie frant : Man, though a facred thing, is flain even for fort and delight; death in man is spectacle enough: Innocents come to the game, that they may be made the facrifices of the publick pleasure. There are some nations that curse their birth, bless their death. How monstrous a creature is this, that is made a horror unto himfelt? None of all this in any other creature, no not in the whole world befides.

The second point and testimony of the misery of man, is, the diminishing of his pleasure, even those small and slight ones that appertain unto him, (for of such as are great and sound he is not capable, as hath been shewed in his weakness) and the impairing of the number and sweetness of them. If it be so, that he do it not for Gods cause, what a monster is that? this is an enemy unto himself, robs and betrays himself, to show his pleasures are a burthen and a cross. There be some that slie from health, joy, comfort, as

from an evil thing.

O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent!
O wretched man, whose very goods are naught,
And whose indifferences worse, whose joys have fault!

We are not ingenious but to our own hurt, it is the true diet of

the force of the spirit.

But there is yet that which is worse, the spirit of man is not only a diminisher of his joy, a trouble-seast, and enemy to his small, natural and just pleasures, as I mean to prove; but also a forger of those that are evil: it faineth, searcth, slieth, abhorreth

Forging of evils.

as great mischiefs, things that are not any way evil in themselves, and in truth, which beafts themselves fear not, but that by his own proper discourse and imagination they are faigned to be such, as not to be advanced in honour, greatness, riches, as cuckoldship, flerility, death: for to fay the truth, there is nothing but grief it felf that is evil, and which is felt. And though some wife men feem to fear thefe things, yet it is not for their own fakes, but because of that grief which sometimes doth accompany them afterwards, for many times it is a fore-runner of death, and sometimes followeth the loss of goods, of credit, of honour. But take from these things grief, the rest is nothing but fantasie, which hath no other lodging but in the head of man, which quits its felf of other butinels to be miserable; and imagineth within his own bounds false evils besides the true, employing and extending his misery in flead of lessening and contracting it. Beasts feel not these evils, but are exempted from them, because Nature judgeth them not to be fuch.

As for forrow, which is the only true evil, man is wholly born thereunto, and it is his natural property. The Mexicanes thus He is born falute their infants coming forth of the womb of their mother : forrow. Infant, thou art come into the world to fuffer: endure, suffer and hold thy peace. That forrow is natural unto man, and contrariwife, pleafure but a ftranger, it appeareth by these three reasons. All the parts of man are capable of forrow, very few of delight. The parts capable of pleasure, cannot receive more then one or two forts, but all can receive the greatest number of griefs, all different heat, cold, pricking, rubbing, trampling, flaying, beating, boyling, languishing, extension, oppression, relaxation, and infinite others, which have no proper name, (to omit those of the foul) in such fort, that man is better able to fuffer them, then to express them. Man hath no long continuance in pleasure; for that of the body, is like a fire of fraw; and if it could continue, it would bring with it much envy and displeasure: but sorrows are more permanent, and have not their certain seasons as pleasures have. Again, the empire and command of forrow is far more great, more universal, more powerful, more durable, and (in a word) more natural, than that of pleasure.

To these three a man may add other three: Sorrow and grief is more frequent, and falls out often, pleasure is rare. Evil comes easily of it less, without seeking; Pleasure never comes willingly, it

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must

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must be sought after, and many times we pay more for it then it is worth. Pleasure is never pure, but always distempered, and mingled with some bitterness, and there is always something wanting; but forrow and griet is many times entire and pure. After all this. the worst of our market, and that which doth evidently shew the mifery of our condition, is, that the greatest pleasures touch us not fo neer, as the lightest griefs. Segnins homines bona, quam mala l'entiunt : men more flowly feel that which is good, then that which is evil. We feel not to much our foundest health, as the least malady that is: Pungit in cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus, quando valere nil quenquam movet.

anticipation.

It is not enough that man be indeed and by Nature miserable and By memory and besides true and substantial evils, he fain and forge false and fantaffical, as hath been faid; but he must likewise extend and lengthen them, and cause both the true and false to endure, and live longer then they can, so avarous is he of misery; which he doth divers ways. First, by the remembrance of what is past, and the anticipation of what is to come, so that we cannot fail to be miserable, fince that those things which are principally good in us, and whereof we glory most, are instruments of misery. Future torquemur & praterito, multa bona noftra nobis nocent, timoris tormentum memoria reducit, providentia anticipat, nemo presentibus tantum miser eft: We are tormented with that which is past, and with that which is to come, even our own goods do barm us, memory reduceth the torment of fear, providence anticipateth, no man is miserable only by things present. It is not enough to be miserable, but we must increase it by a continual expectation before it come, may seek it, and provoke it to come, like those that kill themselves with the fear of death; that is to fay, either by curiofity or imbecillity, and vain apprehension to preoccupate evils and inconveniences, and to attend them with so much pain and ado, even those which peradventure will never come neer us. These kind of people will be miserable before their time, and doubly miserable, both by a real fense or feeling of their misery, and by a long premeditation thereof, which many times is a hundred times worse then the evils themselves .. Minns afficit sensus fitigatio, quam cogitatio: The conceit of affliction, doth burt more then affliction it felf. The effence or being of milery endureth not long, but the mind of man must lengthen and extend it, and entertain it before hand. Plus dolent quam necesse eft, qui ante dolet quam necesse eft. Quedam magis. quedam

quedam antequam debeant, quedam cum omnino non debeant, nos torquent. Aut augemus dolorem; aut fugimus, aut pracipimus: He forroweth more then he needs, that lamenteth before he hath need: Some things afflict us more then they should, Some before they should, Some when they should not at all; either we encrease our grief, or we flie it, or we command it. Beafts do well defend themselves from this folly and mifery, and are much bound to thank Nature that they want that spirit, that memory, that providence that man hath. Cefar faid well, that the best death was that which was least premeditated. And to fay the truth, the preparation before death, hath been to many a greater torment, then the execution it felf. My meaning is not here to speak of that virtuous and philosophical premeditation, which is that temper, whereby the Soul is made invincible, and is fortified to the proof against all affaults and accidents, whereof we shall speak hereafter: but of that fearful and Lib.2.cap.7. fometimes falle and vain apprehension of evils that may come, which afflicteth and darkeneth, as it were with smoke, all the beauty and serenity of the Soul, troubleth all the rest and joy thereof. informuch that it were better to fuffer it felf to be wholly furprifed. It is more easie and more natural, not to think thereof at all. But let us leave this anticipation of evil, for simply every care and painful thought, bleating after things to come by hope, defire, fear, is a very great milery. For, besides that we have not any power over that which is to come, much less over that which is past; (and so it is vanity, as it hath been faid) there doth still remain unto us that eviland damage, Calamitosus est animus, futuri anxius; That mind is in a lamentable case, which is troubled for future things: which robbeth our understanding, and taketh from us the peaceable comfort of our present good, and will not suffer us to settle and content our felves therein.

But this is not yet enough. For, to the end man may never want matter of mifery, yea that he may always have his full, he By unquiet never ceafeth fearching and feeking with great study, the causes fearch. and aliments of milery. He thrusteth himself into butiness even with joy of heart, even tuch as when they are offered unto him, he should turn his back towards them, and either out of a miserable disquiet of mind, or to the end he may shew himself to be industrious, a man of employment and understanding, that is a fool and milerable too, he enterprifeth, moveth and removeth new bufnels, or else he putteth himself into that of other mens. To be short,

he is so strongly and uncessantly molested with care, and thoughts not only unprofitable and superfluous, but painful and hurtful, tormented with what is present, annoyed with what is past, vexed with that which is to come, that he feemeth to fear nothing more, then that he shall not be sufficiently miserable. So that a man may justly cry out, O poor and wretched creatures that you are, how many evils do you willingly endure, besides those necessary evils that Nature hath bestowed upon you! But what? Man contenteth himself in milery, he is obstinate to ruminate and continually to recal to mind his passed evils. Complaints are common with him. and his own evils and forrows feem many times dear unto him, yea it is a happy thing for small and light occasions, to be termed the most miserable of all others: Est quadam dolendi voluptas: There is a certain delight in grief. Now this is a far greater misery to be ambitiously miserable, then not to know it, not to feel it at all. animal querulum, cupide fuis incumbens miferiis: Man is a complaining creature, willingly yielding to bis own miseries.

We will not account it a humane milery, fince it is an evil common to all men, and not to beafts; that men cannot accommodate themselves and make profit of one another, without the loss and burt, the fickness, folly, fin, death of one another. We hinder, wound, oppress one the other in such manner, that the better fort even without thought or will thereunto, out of an infensible defire, innocently thirst after the death, the evil, the pain, and punishment of a-

nother.

of misery.

By incompati-

bility.

So that we fee man miserable, both naturally and voluntarily, in Intheremedies truth and by imagination, by obligation and willingness of heart. He is too miserable, and yet he fears he is not miserable enough, and laboureth to make himfelf more miserable: let us now see how. When he feels any evil, and is annoyed with some certain misery (for he is never without many miseries that he feels not) he endeavoureth to quit himself thereof; but what are his remedies? Truly fuch as importune him more then the evil it felf, which he would cure; in such fort, that being willing to get forth of one misery, he doth but change it into another, and perhaps into a worfe. But what of that? the change it felf, perhaps delighteth him, or at least yields him some solace: he thinketh to heal one evil with another, which proceedeth from an opinion which the bewitched and miserable world holdeth: that is, That there is nothing profitable, if it be not painful; That is worth nought, that cofts nothing,

thing, yea ease it self is much suspected. This doth likewise proceed from an higher cause. It is a thrange thing but true, and which convicteth man to be miserable, That no evil can be taken away, but by another evil, whether it be in body or in foul. Spiritual maladies and corporal, are not cured and chased away, but by torment, forrow, pain. The spiritual by repentance, watchings, fast- It was errones ings, imprisonments, which are truly afflictions, and such as gaul our, but corrett. us too, notwithstanding the resolution and devotion willingly to ed. endure them: for if we use them either for pleasure or profit, they can work no effect, but are rather exercises of pleasure, of covetousnels, of houshold government, then of repentance and contrition of heart. The corporal in like fort be medicines, incisions, cauteries, diets, as they well feel that are bound to medicinal rules, who are troubled on the one fide with the disease that asslicts them, on the other with that rule, the thought whereof continually annoys them. So likewise other evils, as ignorance is cured by great, long, and painful study: Qui addit scientiam, addit & laborem: He that increaseth knowledg, increaseth labour. Want and poverty, by great care, watchings, travel, fweatings: In sudore vultus tui: In the sweat of thy brows: So that both for the soul and for the body, labour and travel is as proper unto man, as it is for a bird to fly.

All these miseries above mentioned are corporal, or common both to the spirit and to the body, and mount little higher then the Spiritual misimagination and phantalie. Let us consider of the more subtile and feries. spiritual, which are rather to be called miseries, as being erroneous and malignant, more active and more our own, but less felt and confessed, which makes a man more, yea doubly miserable, because he only feeleth those evils that are indifferent, and not the greater; yea a man dares not touch them, or speak of them, so much is he confirmed, and so desperate in his miseries. We must therefore by the way as it were, and gently, fay fomething, at least with the finger point afar off, to give him occasion to consider and think thereof, fince of himself he hides it not. First, in regard of the understanding, is it not a strange and lamentable misery of humane Nature, that it should wholly be composed of errour and blindness? The greatest part of common and vulgar opinions, yet the more plaufible, and fuch as are received with reverence, are false and erroneous, and which is worfe, the greater part unprofitable for humane fociety. And although fome of the wifelt, which are but few in num-

ber, understand better then the common fort, and judg of these opinions as they should, nevertheless sometimes they suffer themselves to be carried, if not in all and always, yet in some and sometimes. A man had need be firm and constant, that he suffer not himself to be carried with the stream, yea found and prepared to keep himself cleer from so universal a contagion. The general opinions received with the applause of all, and without contradiction, are as a fwift river which carrieth all with it; Prob Superi, quantum mortalia pectora caca nocti babent! O miseras hominum mentes & pedora caca, qualibus in tenebris vita, quantisque perielis degitur boc evi quodounque est! O God, bow much sottish blindness rests in the breasts of men! O the senscless and miscrable blindness of mens minds; in what darkness is our life, and bow many dangers dotb this age what sever it is, pass through! Now it were too long and too tedious a thing, to run over all those foolish opinions by name, wherewith the whole world is made drunken: yet let us take a view of some few of them, which in their due place shall be handled more at large.

1. To judge of advice and counsel by the events, which are See lib.3.cap.1. no way in our own hands, and which depends upon the heavens.

Lib. 2. cap. 8.

2. To condemn and reject all things, manners, opinions, laws, customes, observations, as barbarous and evil, not knowing what they are, or feeing any inconvenience in them; but only because they are universal, and different from such as are ordinary and common.

Lib. 2, cap. 3.

3. To effeem and commend things, because of their novelty, or rarity, or strangeness, or difficulty, four messengers which have great credit in vulgar spirits; and many times such things are vain, and not to be esteemed, if they bring not with them goodness and commodity. And therefore that Prince did justly contemn him that glorified himself, because he could from far cast a grain of millet, thorow the eye of a needle.

4. Generally all those superstitious opinions wherewith children,

women, and weak minds are infected.

5. To esteem of men for their riches, dignities, honours, and to contemn those that want them, as if a man should judg of a horse by his faddle and bridle.

6. To account of things not according to their true, natural, and effential worth, which is many times inward and hidden,

but according to the outward flew, or common report.

7. To think to be revenged of an enemy, by killing him; for that is to put him in fafety, and to quit him from all ill, and to bring a vengeance upon himself: it is to take from his enemy all sense of revenge, which is the principal effect thereof. This doth likewise belong unto weak

8. 10 account it great min, or to think a man miferable, because he is a cuckold: for what greater folly in judgment can there be, then to esteem of a man the less for the vice of another, which

he never allowed? As much may be faid of a baffard.

9. To account less of things present, and that are our own, and which we peaceably enjoy; and to esteem of them most, when a man hath them not, or because they are another mans: as if the presence and possession of them did lessen their worth, and the want of them increase it.

Virtutem incolumem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quarimus invidi:
Absence endears, we weigh not what we have,
And yet in others, would envy and crave.

And this is the cause, why a Prophet is not esteemed in his own country. So likewife, mastership and authority, ingendreth contempt of those that are subject to that authority; husbands have a careless respect of their wives, and many fathers of their chil-Wilt thou (faith the good fellow) love her no more? then marry her. We esteem more the horse, the house, the servant of another, because he is anothers and not ours. It is a thing very strange to account more of things in imagination, then in substance, as a man doth all things absent and that are not his, whether it be before he have them, or after he hath had them. The cause hereof in both cases may be, because, before a man possess them, he effeemeth not according to that they are worth, but according to that which he imagineth them to be, or they have by another been reported to be; and possessing them, he esteems them according to that good and benefit he getteth by them, and after they are taken from him, he confidereth and defireth them wholly, in their perfection and declination, whereas before he injoyed them and used them but by piece-meal successively: for a man thinketh he shall always have time enough to enjoy them, and by that means they are gone before he was aware that he had them. And this is the reafon, why the grief is greater in having them not, then the pleature in

Bee eap. 27.

coffelling them. But herein there is as much imbecillity as mifered We have not the fufficiency to enjoy, but only to delire. There is another vice clean contrary to this, and that is, when a man fetleth himself in himself, and in such fort conceits himself and whatsoever he hath, that he prefers it belone all, and thinks nothing comparable to his own. Though these kind of people be no wifer then the other, yet they are at least more happy.

10. To be over-zealous in every question that is proposed, to bite all, to take to the heart, and to flew himself importunate and opinative in every thing, so he may have some fair pretext of justice,

religion, the weal-publick, the love of the people.

11. To play the mourner, the afflicted person, to weep for the death, or unhappy accident of another, to think that not to be moved at all, or very little, is for want of love and affection. There

is also vanity in this.

12. To esteem, to make account of actions that are done with rumour, clatter, and clamor, and to contemn these that are done otherwise, and to think that they that proceed after so sweet and calm a manner, do nothing, are as in a dream, without action; and to be brief, to esteem Art more then Nature. That which is puffed up, swollen and elevated by frudy, fame, report, and striketh the fense, (that is to say artificial) is more regarded and esteemed, then that which is fweet, simple, plain, ordinary, that is to fay,

Natural; that awaketh, this brings us afleep.

13. To give an ill and wrong interpretation of the honourable actions of another man, and to attribute them to base and vain, or vicious causes or occasions; as they that attributed the death of young Cate, to the fear he had of Cefar, wherewith Plutareb feems to be offended; and others more foolishly, to ambition: This is a great malady of the judgment, which proceedeth either from malice, and corruption of the will and manners, or envy against those that are more worthy then themselves, or from that vice of bringing their own credit to their own door, and measuring another by their own foot, or rather then all this, from imbecillity and weakness, as not having their fight fo strong and fo certain, to conceive the brightness of virtue, in its own native purity. There are some that think they shew great wit and subtilty, in depraving and obscuring the glory of beautiful and honourable actions, wherein they shew much more malice then sufficiency. It is a thing eafy enough to do, but bale and villanous.

14. To

To defame and to chastife over-rigorously, and shamefully, certain vices, as crimes in the highest degree, villanous, and contagious, which are nevertheless but indifferent, and have their root and excuse in Nature: and not so much to detest, and to chastife with so greedy ado those vices that are truly great, and against Nature, as pretended and plotted murders, treasons, and treachery, cruelty, and so forth.

15. Behold also after all this, a true testimony of spiritual mifery, but which is wily and fubtile, and that is, that the fpirit of man in its best temper, and peaceable, setled, and soundest estate. is not capable but of common, ordinary, natural, and indifferent To be capable of divine and supernatural, as of divination, prophesie, revelation, invention, and as a man may say, to enter into the cabinet of the Gods, he must be fick, displaced from his natural feat, and as it were corrupted, corruptus, either by extravagancy, extaly, inspiration, or by dreaming; insomuch that the two natural ways to attain thereunto, are either fury, or dead fleep: So that the spirit is never so wife, as when it is a fool, nor more awaked, then when it fleepeth; it never meeteth better, then when it goes on one fide, or croffeth the way; it never mounts or flies so high, as when it is most dejected. So that it must needs be miserable, because to be happy, it must be as it were lost, and without it felf. This toucheth not in any fort the Divine disposition, for God can to whom, and when it pleafeth him, reveal himfelf; man in the mean time continuing fetled in his fense and understanding, as the Scripture makes mention of Moses and divers others.

not to esteem of judgement, not to exercise it, and to prefer the memory, and imagination, or phantasy before it? We see those great goodly, and learned orations, discourses, lectures, sermon-books, which are so much esteemed and admitted, written by men of greatest learning in this age (I except some few) what are they all, but a heap and collection of allegations, and the labours of other men (a work of memory and reading, and a thing very easy, being all culled and disposed to their hands, and hereof are so many books composed) with some few points handled, with a good instruction or two (a work of imagination) and here is all. This is many times a vanity, and there appeareth not in it any spark of judgment, or excellent virtue: so likewise the authors themselves,

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are many times weak and common in judgment, and in will corrupted: how much better is it, to hear a country swain, or a Merchant talking in his counting-house, discoursing of many goodly proportions and verities, plainly and truly without art or form, and giving good and wholsome countel, out of a sound, strong, and solid judgment?

of the Will.

In the will there are as many, or rather more miseries, and more miserable; they are without number, among which these following are some few of them.

1. To be willing rather to feem an honest man, then to be, and

rather to be such to another, then to himself.

To be far more ready and willing to revenge an offence, then
to acknowledg a good turn, in such fort, that it is a corrosive to his
heart to acknowledg, pleasure and gain to revenge, a proof of a

malignant nature, gratia oneri eft, ultio in questa habetur.

3. To be more apt to hate, then to love; to flander, then to commend; to feed more willingly and with greater pleasure upon the evil, then the good of another, to enlarge it more, to display it more in his discourse and the exercise of his style: witness Lawyers, Oratours, and Poets, who in reciting the good of any man are idle; eloquent in evil. The words, inventions, figures, to speak ill, to scoff, are far otherwise, more rich, more emphatical and significant, then to praise, or speak well.

4. To fly from evil, to do what is good, not properly for the good effect by natural reason, and for the love of virtue; but for some other strange consideration, sometimes base and idle, of gain and profit, vain-glory, hope, fear, of custom, company; and to be brief, not simply for himself and his duty, but for some other outward occasion, and circumstance: all are honest men by occasion and accident. And this is the reason why they are such, unequal-

ly, diverfly; not perpetually, constantly, uniformly.

5. To love him the less whom we have offended, and that beeaule we have offended him, a strange thing; and which
proceedeth not always from sear that he will take occasion to be
revenged, for it may be he wishesth us never the worse; but it is
because his presence doth accuse us, and brings to memory our fault
and indiscretion. And if the offender love not the offended the
worse, it is because the offence he committed was against his will;
for commonly he that hath a will to offend, loves him the less whom
he hath offended; Chi offende, mai non pardona: He that offends
never sorgives.

6. As

8. As much may be faid of him to whom we are much bound for courtefies received, his presence is a burden unto us, he putreth us in mind of our band and duty, he reproacheth unto us our ingratitude and inabilities: and we wish he were not so, we were discharged of that duty. Villains by nature: Quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt : leve as alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum : 'Some, the' more they ought to love, the more they bate: a little debt alienateth a

little, a great maketh bim an enemy.

7. To take pleasure in the evil, hurt, and danger of another, to grieve and repine at his good advancement, prosperity, (I mean when it is without cause of hatred, or private quarrel, for it is another thing when it proceedeth from the ill defett of man.) I speak here of that common and natural condition, whereby, without any particular malice, men of indifferent honefty, take pleasure to fee others adventure their fortunes at lea, and are vexed to fee them thrive better then themselves, or that fortune should smile more upon others, then them, and make themselves merry with the forrow

of another: this is a token of a malicious feed in us.

To conclude, that I may yet thew you how great our milery is, let me tell you that the world is replenished with three forts of The conclusion people, who take up much room therein, and carry a great sway rual miferies. both in number and reputation: the Superflitious, Formalifts, Pedents, who notwithstanding they are in divers subjects, jurisdictions, and theatres, (the three principal, religion, life or conversation, and doctrine) yet they are all of one stamp, weak spirits, ill born, or very ill instructed, a very dangerous kind of people in judgment, and touched with a difease incurable. It is lost labour to speak to these kind of people, or to perswade them to change their minds, for they account themselves the best and wifest in the world, opinative obstinacy is there in his proper seat; he that is once stricken and touched to the quick with any of these evils, there is little hope of his recovery: who is there more fortish, and withal more brain-fick and heady then these kind of people? Two things there are that do much hinder them, (as hath been spoken) natural imbedillity; and incapacity, and afterwards an anticipated opinion to do as well and better then others. I do here but name them, and point at them with the finger, for afterwards in their places here quoted; their faults shall be shewed at LEATER WEIGH WE HE VEGITIO large.

The Superstitions, injurious to God, and enemies to true religion,

cover themselves with the cloak of piety, zeal and love towards God, even to the punishing and tormenting of themselves more then is needful, thinking thereby to merit much, and that God is not only pleased therewith, but indebted unto them for the rest. What would you do to these kind of people? if you tell them that they do more then they need, and that they receive things with the left hand, in not understanding them aright, they will not believe you, but tell you, that their intent is good (whereby they think to fave themselves) and that they do it for devotion. Howsoever, they will not quit themselves of their gain, nor the satisfaction which they receive, which is to bind God unto them.

Pormaliss.

The Formalists do wholly tie themselves to an outward form and fashion of life, thinking to be quit of blame, in the pursuit of their passions and defires, so they do nothing against the tenor of the Laws, and omit none of their formalities. See here a miserable churle, which hath overthrown and brought to a desperate state many poor families; but this hath fallen out, by demanding that which he thought to be his own, and that by way of justice. Who then can affirm that he hath done ill? O how many good works have been omitted, how many evils committed, under this cloak of formes which a man fees not! And therefore it is very truly faid, That the extremity of law, is the extremity of wrong: and as well faid, God shield us from Formalists.

£Q. 13.

The Pedanty or houshold School-master, having with great study Pedants. lib.3. and pains filched from other mens writings their learning, they let it out to the view and to fale, and with a questuous and mercenary oftentation they disgorge it, and let it flie with the wind. Are there any people in the world so sottish in their affairs, more unapt to every thing, and yet more prefumptuous and obstinate? in every tongue and nation, Pedant, Clerk, Master, are words of reproach. To do any thing fottifhly, is to do it like a Clerk. These are a kind of people, that have their memories stuffed with the wisdom of other men, and have none of their own: their judgments, wills, consciences are never the better, they are unapt, simple, unwise, in such fort, that it feems that learning ferves them for no other use, then to make them more fools, yea more arrogant pratters: yea they diminish, or rather swallow up their own spirits; and bastardize their understanding, but puff up their memory. Here is that misery feated which we now come to speak of, and is the last of those of the understanding.

CHAP.

CHAP. XL.

5. Presumption.

Behold here the last and leudest line or lineament of this picture; it is the other part of that description given by Pliny; the plague of man, and the nurse of false and erroneous opinions, both publick and particular, and yet a vice both natural and original in man. Now this presumption must be considered diversly, and in all senses, high, low, collateral, inward and outward; in respect of God, things high and celestial, in regard of things base, as of beasts, man his companion, of himself, and all may be reduced to these two, To esteem too much of himself, and not to esteem sufficiently of another: Qui in se considerant, & aspernahamur alios: Trust-zue, 18:

ad in themselves, and despised others. A word or two of either.

First in respect of God (and it is a horrible thing) all superstition and want in Religion, or falle service of God, proceedeth from Presumption this; That we efteem not enough of God, we understand him not, in regard of and our opinions, conceits, and beliefs of the Divinity, are not God. high and pure enough. I mean not by this enough, proportion answerable to the greatness of God, which being infinite receiveth not any proportion, for it is impossible in this respect to conecit or believe enough; but I mean enough, in respect of what we can and ought to do. We foare not high enough, we do not elevate and tharpen fufficiently the point of our spirit, when we enter into an imagination of the Divinity; we over-bafely conceit him, our services are unworthy his Majesty, we deal with him after a baser manner then with other creatures, we speak not only of his works, but of his Majesty, will, judgments, with more confidence and boldness, than we dare to do of an earthly Prince or man of honour. Many men there are, that would forn such kind of fervice and acknowledgment, and would hold themselves to be abused, and their honours in some fort violated, if a man should fpeak of them, or abuse their names in so base and abject a manner. We enterprise to lead God, to flatter him, to bend him, to compound or condition with him; that I may not fay, to brave, threaten, despise, murmur against him. Cefar willed his Pilot not to fear to hoise up fails, and commit himself to the fury of the Seas, even against destiny and the will of the heavens, with this

5. Presumption.

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See lib. 1. cap. only confidence, That it was Cefar whom he carried. Augustus

o. having been beaten with a tempest at sea, defied god Neptune, and
in the chiefest pomp of the Circean sports, caused his image to be
taken down, from where it was placed amongst the rest of the gods,
to be revenged of him. The Thracians when it thundrest and
lightnests, shoot against heaven, to bring God himself into order.

Xernes scourged the sea, and wrote a bill of defiance against the hill

See lib. 2. eap. Athor. And one telleth of a Christian King, neer neighbour of ours, who having received a blow from God, twore he would be revengSee lib. 3. cap. 1. ed, and gave commandment that for ten years no man should pray unto him, or speak of him.

Audax Lapeti genus;
Nil mortalibus arduum est;
Calum ipsum petimus stultitis, neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Jovem postere fulmina.
Audacious Christians, Japbets backward sced,
Go the contrary way (to beaven) with speed,
Whose sins incessant, minute, bour, and day,
Provoke Gods rod to walk, bis staff to stay.

But to leave these strange extravagancies, all the common fort of people, do they not plainly verify that saying of Pliny, That there is nothing more miserable, and the rewithal more glorious then man? For on the one side he faineth losty and rich opinions of the love, care, and affection of God towards him, as his minion and only beloved; and in the mean time, he returneth him no duty or service worthy so great, and loving a God. How can a life so miserable, and a service so negligent on the one side, agree with an opinion and belief so glorious and so haughty on the other? This is at one and the same time, to be an angel and a swine: and this is that wherewith a great Philosopher reproached the Christians, that there were no people more tierce and glorious in their speech, and in effect more dissolute, esteminate, and villanous. It was an enemy that spake it, perhaps to wrong and abuse us, but yet he spake but that which doth justly touch all hypocrites.

It likewife feemeth unto us, that we burthen and importune God, the World, and Nature, that they labour and travel in our affairs, they watch not but for us, and therefore we wonder and are altonished with those accidents that, happen unto us, and espe-

In respect of Nature. eially at our death. Few there are that resolve and believe, that it is their last hour, and almost all do even then suffer themselves to be mocked with vain hopes. This proceedeth from presumption, we make too much of our selves, and we think that the whole world hath great interest in our death, that things fail us according to that measure that we fail them; or that they fail themselves, according to that measure that they fail us; that they go the self-same dance with us, not unlike those that row upon the water, think the heavens, the earth, yea Cities themselves to move, when they move, we think to draw all with us, and there is no man amongst us that

fufficiently thinks he is but one.

Besidesall this, man believeth that the heaven, the stars, all this great celeftial motion of the world, is only made for him. Tot of beaven circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos: And that all the Gods are in contention for him alone. And the poor miterable wretch is in the mean time ridiculous: he is here beneath, lodged in the last and worst stage of the world, most distant from the celestial vault, in the fink of the world, amongst the filth and lees thereof, with creatures of baser condition, made to receive all those excrements and ordures, which rain down and fall from above upon his head; nay he lives not but by them, and to endure all those accidents that on all fides happen unto him; and yet he makes himself believe that he is the master and commander of all, that all creatures, yea those great luminous incorruptible bodies, whereof he knows not the least virtue, and which he is constrained with assonishment to admire, move not but for him, and to do him service. And because he beggeth (wretch that he is) his living, his maintenance, his commodities from the beams, light and heat of the Sun, from the rain and other distillations of heaven, and the air, he sticks not to fay, that he injoyeth the heavens and the elements, as if all had been made, and still move only for him. In this sense a gosling may fay as much, and perhaps more justly and peremptorily. For man, who many times receiveth many discommodities from above, and of all that he receiveth hath nothing in his own power or understanding, nor can divine of them, is in continual doubt and fear, left those superiour bodies should not move aright, and to that end and purpole which he hath proposed, and that they procure unto him sterility, sickness, and whatsoever is contrary to his defignment, and so he trembleth under his burthen, whereas beafts receive whatfoever cometh from above, without ftir or apprehention

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hension of what shall happen unto them, and without complaint, of that which is happed, which man cannot do. Non nos cansa mundo sumus byemem astatemque referendi, suas ista leges babent, quibus divina exercentur: minus nos suspicimus, si digni nobis videmur propter quos tanta moveantur, non tanta calo nobiscum societas est, ut nostro sato sit ille quoque siderum sulgor. We are not the cause why the world bath course and recourse of winter and summer, these things bave their rules and laws, by which the will of God is executed: we honour our selves the less, if we think our selves worthy, that for our sakes so many things should be moved: we have not that society with the beavens, that stars should only shine for us.

of sreatures.

In respect of things bale and earthly, that is to say, all other creatures, he disdaineth and contemneth them, as if they did not appertain to the same master-workman, and came not of the same mother, did not belong to the same family with him, as if they did not any way concern him, or had any part or relation unto him. And from hence proceedeth that common abuse and cruelty that is practised against them, a thing that reboundeth against that common and universal master which hath made them, which hath care of them, and hath ordained laws for their good and preservation, hath given them preheminence in certain things, and sent man unto them as to a school. But this belongs to the subject of the Chapter

following.

Now this derogateth not any thing at all from that common doctrine, that the world is made for man, and man for God: for besides the instruction that man draweth in general, from every high and low thing, whereby to know God, himself, his . duty, he also draweth in particulars from everything, either profit, pleasure, or service. That which is above him, which he hath least in understanding, and nothing at all in his power, the azured heaven so richly decked and counterpointed with stars, and rowling torches never ceasing over our heads, he only enjoyeth by contemplation, he mounteth and is carried with admiration, fear, reverence of the author and foveraign Lord of all; and therefore in this fense it was truly said by Anaxagoras, That man was created to contemplate the Heaven and the Sun, and as truly by other Philosophers was he called, vertorior from base and inferiour things, he draweth help, service, commodity; but for a man to perswade himself that in the framing of all these things, no other thing was thought upon but man, and that he is the only end and butt of all

these luminous and incorruptible bodies, it is a great folly and an

over-bold prefumption.

Finally, but especially, this presumption is to be considered in man himself, that is to say, in regard of himself, and of man his of man bimcompanion, but within, in the progress of his judgment and opi-felf. nion; and without in his communication and conversation with another. Concerning which, we are to consider three things, as Three degrees three heads which follow on the other, where humanity bewrai- of humane eth in a fottish imbecillity the foolish presumption thereof. The presumption. first in believing or misbelieving (here is no question of Religion, 1 To misbelive, nor of faith and belief Theological, and therefore we must still misbelief. call to mind the advertisement given in the Preface) where we are to note two contrary vices, which are common in humane condition; the one and the other more ordinary, is a kind of lightnels, qui citò credit, levis est corde; be that lightly believeth, is light in beart: and too great a facility to believe and to entertain whatfoever is proposed, with any kind of appearance of truth or authority. This belongeth to the folly, simplicity, tenderness and imbecillity of the weaker fort of people, of spirits effeminate, sick, Superstitious, astonished, indiscreetly zealous, who like wax do eatily receive all impressions, suffer themselves to be taken and led by the ears. And this is rather an error and weakness, then malice, and doth willingly lodg in minds gentle and debonaire. Credulitas error est magis quam culpa, & quidem in optimi cujusque mentem facile irrepit: Credulity is rather an error than a fault, which eafily creepeth into the best mans heart. We see almost the whole world led and carried with opinions and beliefs, not out of choice and judgment, yea many times before they have either years, or difcretion to judg, but out of the custom of the country, or instruction in youth received, or by fome fudden encounter as with a tempeft, whereby they are in fuch fort fastened, subjected, and enthralled, that it is a matter of great difficulty, ever to unlearn them again. Veluti tempestate delati ad quamcunque disciplinam tanquam ad faxum adhærescunt: They cleave to any discipline as to a stone, being carried thither as with a tempest. Thus is the world led, we trust our selves too much, and then perswade others to believe us. Unusquisque mavult credere quam judicare; versat nos & precipitat traditus per manus error, ipsa consuetudo assentiendi perionlosa & lubrica: Every one bad rather believe then judg; errour coming by tradition, doth precipitate and tofs us, the very custom of assenting

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is dangerous and flippery. Now this popular facility, though it be in truth weakness and imbecillity, yet is not without prelumption. For, so lightly to believe and hold for truth and certainty, that which we know not, or to enquire of the causes, reasons, consequeuts, and not of the truth it felf, is to enterprife, to prefume too much. For from what other cause proceeds this? If you shall anfwer from a supposition that it is true; why this is nothing: a man handleth and ttirreth the foundations & effects of a thousand things which never were, whereby both pro and contra are falle. many fables, false and supposed miracles, visions, revelations, are there received in the world, that never were? And why should a man believe a miracle, a thing neither humane nor natural, when he is able by Nature and humane means to confute, and confound the truth thereof? Truth and lying have like vilages, like carriage, relish, gate, and we behold them with one and the same eye. Ita funt finitima falfa veris, ut in pracipitem locum non debeat fe fapiens committere: Falshood is so neer unto truth, that a wife man ought not to suffer bimself to be unadvisedly carried away. A man ought not to believe that of a man which is not humane, except he be warranted by supernatural and superhumane approbation, which is only God, who is only to be believed in that he faith, only because he faith it.

The other contrary vice, is an audacious temerity, to condemn and reject as false, all things that are not easily understood, and that please not the palate. It is the property of those that have a good opinion of themselves, which play the parts of men of dexterity and understanding, especially Hereticks, Sophists, Pedanties, for they finding in themselves some special point of the spirit, and that they see a little more cleerly then the common fort, they assume unto themselves law and authority, to decide and determine all This vice is far greater, and more base than the former: for it is an enraged folly, to think to know as much as possibly is to be known, the jurisdiction and limits of Nature, the capacity of the power and will of God to frame unto himself and his sufficiency the truth and falthood of things, which must needs be in so certain and affured resolution and definition of them: for see their ordinary language, that is false, impossible, absurd: and how many things are there, which at one time we have rejected with laughter as impossible, which we have been constrained afterwards to confess and approve, yea and others too, more strange than they? And

And on the other fide, how many things have we received as articles of our faith, that have afterwards proved vanities and lies?

The second degree of prefumption, which followeth and com- a. To effirm monly proceedeth from the former, is certainly and obstinately and condemn. to affirm or disprove that which he hath lightly believed, or misbelieved; So that it addeth unto the first, obstinacy in opinion, and so the presumption increaseth. This facility to believe, with time is confirmed, and degenerateth into an obstinacy, invincible, and uncapable of amendment; yea, a man proceeds fo far in this obstinacy, that he defends those things that he knows and understands least, Majorem fidem bomines adhibent iis que non intelligunt; cupiditate bumani ingenii lubentius obscura creduntur: Men easily believe those things they understand not; by a natural defire of humane wit, obscure things are easily believed. He speaks of all things with resolution. Now affirmation and opinative obstinacy, are figns of negligence and ignorance accompanied with folly and

arrogancy.

The third degree, which followeth these two, and which is the height of prefumption, is to perfwade others to receive as canonical whatfoever he believeth, yea imperiously to impose a belief as it were by obligation, and inhibition to doubt. What tyranny is this? Whofoever believeth a thing, thinks it a work of charity 2. Toperswade. to perswade another to believe the same; and that he may the better do it, he feareth not to add of his own invention, fo much as he feeth necessary for his purpose to supply that want and willinguels, which he thinks to be in the conceit of another of that he tells. There is nothing unto which men are commonly more prone, then to give way to their own opinions. Nemo fibitantimerrat, fed alis erroris caufa & author eft: No min errs only to himself, but is the author and cause of error to others. Where the ordinary mean wanteth, there a man addeth commandment, force, fire, fword. This vice is proper unto dogmatifts, and fuch as will govern, and give laws unto the world. Now to attain to the end hereof, and to captivate the beliefs of men unto themselves, they use two means: First, they bring in certain general and fundamental propositions, which they call principles and presuppositions, whereof they fay we must neither doubt nor dispute; upon which they afterwards build whatfoever they pleafe, and lead the world at their pleasure: which is a mockery, whereby the world is replenished with errors and lies. And to fay the truth, if a man should examine

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these principles, he should find as great, or greater untruths and weaknesses in them, then in all that which they would have to depend upon them, and as great an appearance of truth in propolitions quite contrary. There have been fome in our time, that have changed and quite altered the principles and rules of our Ancients and best Professors in Astronomy, Physick, Geometry, in Nature, and the motion of the winds. Every humane proposition hath as much authority as another, if reason make not the difference. Truth dependeth not upon the authority and testimony of man: there are no principles in man if Divinity have not revealed them; all the rest is but a dream and smoke. Now these great masters will, that whatfoever they fay, should be believed and received, and that every man should trust them, without judging or examining what they teach, which is a tyrannical injustice. God only (as hath been faid) is to be believed in all that he faith, because that he faith it: Dui à Semetipso loquitur mendax est: He that speaketh of bimself is a liar.

The other mean is a supposition of some miraculous thing done, new and celestial revelation and apparition, which hath been cunningly practifed by Law-makers, Generals in the field, or private Captains. The perswasion taken from the subject it self, possesseth the simpler fort; but at the first it is so tender and frail, that the least offence, mistaking or imprudence that shall happen, undoeth all: for it is a great marvel, how from fo vain beginnings and frivolous causes, there should arise the most famous impressions. Now this first impression being once gotten, doth wonderfully grow and increase, in such fort, that it fasteneth even upon the most expert and skilful, by reason of the multitude of believers, witnesses, years, wherewith a man suffereth himself to be carried, if he see not well into it, and be not well prepared against it: for then it is to small purpose to spurn against it, or to enquire farther into it, but fimply to believe it. The greatest and most powerful means to perswade, and the best touch-stone of truth, is multitude of years and believers: now fools do win the game, fanitatis patrocinium oft infanientium turba: The mad multitude is a patronage for sobriety. It is a very disticult thing for a man to resolve and fettle his judgment against the common opinion. All this may eatily appear, by those many impostures and fooleries which we have feen to go for miraeles; and ravish the whole world with admiration, but instantly extinguished by some accident, or by the exact inquiry inquiry of fuch as are quick-fighted, who have cleared and discovered the conzenage; which it they had but time to ripen, and to have fortified in Nature, they had continued for ever, been generally received and adored. And even such as are divers others, which by the favour of fortune, have passed for current, and gained publick belief, whereunto men afterwards accommodate themselves, without any farther desire, to know the thing in its first form and original, Nusquam ad liquidum same perducitur: Report is never brought to full trial. And this is the reason, why there are so many kinds of religion in the world, so many superstitious customes of the Pagans, which are yet remaining even in Christendom, and concerning which we cannot wholly assure the people. By this whole discourse we see what we are, and to what we tend, since we are led by such guides.

The fifth and last consideration of Man, by those varieties and great differences that are in him, and their comparisons.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the difference and inequality of men in general.

Here is nothing in this lower world, wherein there is found fo great difference as amongst men, and where the differences are so distant and divers in one and the same subject, and kind. If a man should believe Pliny, Herodotus, Plutarch, there are shapes of men in some countries, that have very little resemblance with ours, and some that are of a mixt and doubtful kind, betwixt men and beafts. There are some countries where men are without heads, carrying their eyes and mouths in their breafts; where they are Hermaphrodites; where they go with four feet; where they have one eye in the forehead, and a head more like to a dogs head then a mans; where they are as fish from the navel downwards, and live in the water; where their women bear children at five years of age, and live but eight; where they have their heads and fureheads to hard, that iron cannot pierce them; where they do naturally change into wolves and others beafts, and afterwards into men again; where they are without a mouth, nourishing themselves with the smell of certain odors; where they yield a

feed that is black, where they are very little and dwarfs, where: they are very great and giants, where they go always naked, where they are all hairy, where they speak not, but live in woods. like beafts, hidden in caves and hollow trees. And in our times we have discovered, seen with the eye, and touched with our fingers, where the men are without beards, without use of fire, corn, wine, where that is held to be the greatest beauty, which we account the greatest deformity, as hath been said before. Touching the divertity of manners, we shall speak elsewhere. And to omit many of these strange wonderments, we know that as touching the visage, it is impossible to find two in all things alike; it may fall out that we may mistake, and take the one for the other, because of the great resemblance that may be between two: but this must be in the absence of the one: for in the presence of them both, it is easy to note a difference, though a man know not how to express it. In the souls of men there is a far greater difference, for it is not only greater without comparison, betwixt a man and a man, then betwixt a beaft and a beaft: but there is a greater difference betwixt a man and a man, then a man and a beaft; for an excellent beaft comes nearer to a man of the basest fort and degree, then that man to another great and excellent personage. This great. difference of men, proceedeth from the inward qualities, and from the spirit, where there are so many parts, so many jurisdictions, so many degrees beyond number, that it is an infinite thing to confider. We must now at the last learn to know man by those distinctions, and differences that are in him, which are divers, according to the many parts in man, many reasons, and means to compare and consider of him. We will here let down five principal, unto which all the rest may be referred, and generally all that is in man, Spirit, body, natural, acquired, publick, private, apparent, secret: and. to this fifth and last consideration of man, shall have five parts, which are five great and capital distinctions of men, that is to fay:

The first natural, essential, and universal of all men, soul and

body.

The fecond natural and effential, principally, and in fome fort acquired, of the force and sufficiency of the spirit.

The third accidental, of the estate, condition and duty of man,

drawn from superiority and inferiority.

The fourth accidental, of the condition and profession of life.

The.

2 Spirit.

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A SECTION.

The proofs of trefeare cen-

The fifth and last of the favours and disfavours of Nature, and of Fortune.

CHAP. XLII.

The first distinction and difference of men, natural and effential, drawn from the divers situation of the world.

HE first more notable, and universal distinction of men, which concerneth the foul and body, and whole effence of man, is The divertise taken and drawn from the divers lite of the world, according to of men prohich the aspect and influence of heaven, and the sun, the air, the ceedeth from the divers firm. climate, the country, are diverse. So likewise not only the colour, ation of the the feature, the complexion, the countenance, the manners, are di-world. vers, but also the faculties of the foul: Plaga cali non folum ad robur corporum, sed & animorum facit. Athems tenue calum, ex quo etiam acutiores Attici; crassum Thebis, ideo pingues Thebani & valentes. The temperature of the celeftial Climat, is of great operation, both for the strength of the body, and the vigour of the mind: The Athenian air is delicate, and therefore they of a more sharp and ready mit; The Theban gross, and they fat and strong. And therefore Plato thanked God that he was an Athenian, and not a Theban. As fruits and beafts are divers, according to the divers countries wherein they are: fo men are born more and less warlike, just, temperate, docible, religious, chafte, ignenious, good, obedient, beautiful, found, ftrong. And this is the reason why Cyrus would not agree to the Persians, to abandon their sharp and hilly country, to go to another more plain and pleafant, laying, That fat countries and delicate, made men foft and effeminate, and fertile grounds barren and infertile spirits.

Following this foundation, we may in grofs, divide the world into three parts, and all men into three kinds of nature: we will The division make three general fituations of the world, which are, the two of the world extremities, South, and North, and the middle betwixt them both; into three parts every part and fituation shall have fixty degrees. The Southern part which is under the Equator, hath thirty degrees on this fide the line, thirty on that, that is to fay, all that part which is betwixt the two Tropicks, or somewhat more, where are the hot and Southern countries, Africk, and Athiopia in the middle betwixt the East and the Welt; Arabia, Calicut, the Moluques, Javes, Taprobana towards the Orient; Perwand the great Seas towards the other middle part,

hath thirty degrees beyond the Tropicks, both on this fide the line, and on that towards the Poles, where are the middle and temperate regions, all Europe with the Mediterrane Sea in the middle, bewixt the East and West; all Asia both the less and the greater, which is towards the East, with China, Japan and America, towards the West. The third, which is the thirty degrees, which are next to the two Poles on both sides, which are the cold and Icy countries, the Septentrional people, Tartary, Muscovy, Estotilan, Magellan, which is not yet throughly discovered.

6. Following this general partition of the world, the natures of Their natures. men are likewise different in every thing, body, soul, religion

Middle are

manners, as we may fee in this little Table: For the

Northern people are

[High & great, phlegmatick, fanguine, white, and yellow, fociable, the voice firong, the skin foft and hairy, great eaters and drinkers, puiffant.

[Shirit.]

[Heavy, obtuse, stupid, sortish, facile, light, inconstant.

[Little religious and de-

wont.

(Warriours valient, painful, chaft, free from jeoloufie, cruel and inhumane.

Indifferent Little, melancholick, cold & dryblack, Soand tempelitary, the voice forill, rate in all the skin bard, with those things, little bair, and curled, as neuters abstinent, feeble. or partakers alittle Ingenious, wife, Subof thefe two tile, opinative. extremities, and partici-Superstitions, contempating most plative. of that region to which

No warriours, idle, unchaft, jealous, cruel, and inhumane.

Soutbern are

The proofs of these differences of the body.

Manners.

All these differences are easily proved. As for those of the body, they are known by the eye, and if there be any exceptions, they are rare, and proceed from the mixture of the people, or from the windes, the water, and particular situation of the place, whereby a mountain is a notable difference, in the self-same degree, yea the self-same Country and City. They of the higher part of the City of Athens, were of a quite contrary humour, as Plutarch affirmeth, to those that dwelt about the gate of Pyrens: and they that

they are nee-

rest neigh-

bours.

that dwell on the North fide of a mountain, differ as much from those that dwell on the South side, as they do both differ from those

in the valley.

As for the differences of the spirit, we know that mechanical and manual Arts belong to the North, where men are made for labour; The Spirit. Speculative sciences came from the South. Celar and other ancients of those times, called the Egyptians ingenious, and fubtile: Mifes is faid to be instructed in their wildom; and Philosophy came from thence into Greece, Greatness began rather with them, because of their spirit and subtilty. The guards of Princes (yea in the Southern parts) are Northern men, as having more strength, and less fubtilty and malice. So likewise the Southern people are indued with great virtues, and subject to great vices, as it is said of Hannibal: The Northern have goodness and simplicity. The lesser and middle Sciences, as policies, laws and eloquence, are in the middle nations, wherein the greatest Empires and Policies have flourished.

As touching the third point, religions may come from the South, Egypt, Arabia, Chaldea; more superfitition in Africk, Religion. then the whole world besides, witness their vows so frequent, their Temples so magnificent. The Northern people, faith Cefar, having little care of religion, being wholly given to the wars and to

hunting.

As for manners and first touching wars, it is certain that the greatest armies, Arts, military instruments and inventions have Manners. come from the North. The Scythians, Goths, Vandals, Huns, Tartarians, Turks, Germans, have beaten and conquered all other nations, and ranfacked the whole world; and therefore it is a common faying, That all evil comes from the North. Single combates came from them. The Northern people adored a fword fastned in the earth, saith Solinus. To other nations they are invincible, yea to the Romans, who having conquered the reft of the world, were utterly destroyed by them. They grow weak and languish with the Southern windes, and going towards the South; as the Southern men coming into the North, redouble their forces. By reason of their warlike herceness, they will not endure to be commanded by authority, they love their liberty, at leastwife elective commanders. Touching chaftity and jealoufy in the North, faith Tacinus, one woman to a man: yea one woman fufficeth many men, faith Cefer. There is no jealousie, MA

faith Munfler, where men and women bathe themselves together with strangers. In the South Polygamy is altogether received. All Africk adoreth Venus, faith Solinus: The Southerns dye with jealousie, and therefore they keep Eunuchs, as guardians to their wives, which their great Lords have in great number, as they have stables of horses. Touching cruelty, the two extreams are alike cruel, but the causes are divers, as we shall see anon, when we come to speak of the causes. Those tortures of the wheel, and staking of men alive, came from the North: The inhumanities of the Muscovites and Tartars, are too well known. The Almains, faith Tacitus, punish not their offenders by Law, but cruelly murther them as enemies. The Southerns flay their offenders alive, and their defire of revenge is so great, that they become furious if they be not glutted therewith. In the middle regions they are merciful and humane: The Romans punished their greatest offenders with banishment. The Greeks uled to put their offenders to death, with a fweet drug, made of a kind of Hemlock which they gave them to drink. And Cicero faith, that humanity and courtefie were the conditions of Afia minor, and from thence derived to the reft of the world.

The cause of the aforesoid differences.

The cause of all these corporal and spiritual differences, is the . inequality and difference of the inward natural heat, which is in those countries and people, that is to say, strong and vehement in the Northerns, by reason of the great outward cold, which incloseth and drieth the heat into the inward parts; as caves and deep places are hot in Winter, to mens stomachs, Ventres byeme ealidiores. Our stomachs are bot in minter. Weak and feeble in the Southerns, the inward heat being dispersed and drawn into the outward parts, by the vehemency of the outward heat; as in Summer vaults, and places under the earth are cold. Mean and temperate in the middle regions. From this diverlity, I fay, and inequality of natural heat, proceed these differences not only corporal, which are easie to note, but also spiritual; for the Southerns by reason of their cold temperature, are melancholick, and therefore staid, constant, contemplative, ingenious, religious, wife: for wifdom is in cold creatures, as Elephants, who as they are of all other beafts the most melancholick, to are they more wife, docile, religious, by reason of their cold bloud. From this melancholy temperature it likewise cometh, that the Southeriss are unchalte, by reason of their frothy, freeting tickling melancholy, as we commonly fee in Heres :

Hires; and cruel, because this fretting sharp melancholy, doth violently press the passions and revenge. The Northerns are of a phlegmatick and sanguine temperature, quite contrary to the Southerns; and therefore have contrary qualities, save that they agree in this one, that they are likewise cruel and inhumane, but by another reason, that is for want of judgment, whereby like beasts, they know not how to contain and govern themselves. They of the middle regions are sanguine and cholerick, tempered with a sweet, pleasant, kindly disposed humour, they are active. We could likewise more exquisitely represent the divers natures of these three sorts of people, by the application and comparison of all things, as you may see in this little Table, where it appeareth that there doth properly belong, and may be referred to the

Northern.	Midlers.	Southern.	Qualities of the fond
The common Sense.	tiscourse and reasoning	Understanding.	
Force as of Bears & other beafts.	men.	Subtilty of force, and re- ligion of Divines.	2.4
Mars Warr. The moon hunting.	Mercury S Emperors, Jupiter. Oratours.	Saturn Scontemplation, Venus. love.	Planets.
Art and bandi-	Prudence, Knowledg	Knowledg of truth and fallbood.	Actions and parts of the
	Magistrates, provident, to judg, command.	Prelates, Philosophers to contemplate.	
Young men, unapt.		Grave old men, wife, pen-	

The other distinction more particular, may be referred to this general of North, and South: for we may refer to the conditions of the Northern, those of the West, and that live it mountains, warriours, heree people, desirous of liberty, by reason of the cold which is in mountains. So the wife, they that afe for distant from the Sea, are more simple and innocent. And contrarily, to the conditions of the Southerns, we may refer the Easterlings, such as live in valleys, effectionate and delicate persons by reason of the fertility of the place, which naturally yielded pleatent. So like wife

ple in the

world.

wife they that live upon the Sea coasts are subtile, deceivers by reafon of their commerce and traffick with divers forts of people and nations. By all this discourse we may say, and see that generally those of the North do excel in body, have strength for their part; and they of the South in spirit, and have for their part subtilty; they of the middle Regions partake of both, and are temperate in all. So likewise we may see that their manners, to say the truth, are neither vices nor virtues, but works of Nature, which to amend or renounce altogether is more then difficult; but to sweeten, temper and reduce the extremity, to a mediocrity, it is a work of virtue.

CHAP. XLIII.

The second distinction, and more subtile difference of the spirits and sufficiencies of men.

His fecond diffinction which respecteth the spirit and sufficiency, is not so plain, and perceptible as the other, and comes Three forte and . degrees of peo- as well from nature as atchievment; according unto which there are three forts of people in the world, as three conditions and degrees of spirits. In the first and the lowest are the weak and plain spirits, of base and slender capacity, born to obey, serve, and to be led, who in effect are fimply men. In the second and middle stage are they that are of an indifferent judgment, make profession of fufficiency, knowledg, dexterity, but do not fufficiently understand and judg themselves, resting themselves upon that which is commonly held, and given them at the first hand, without further enquiry of the truth and source of things, yea with a perswafion that it is not lawful; and never looking farther then where they be, but thinking that it is every where io; or ought to be io, and that if it be otherwise, they are deceived, yea they are barbarous. They subject themselves to opinions, and the municipal laws of the place where they live, even from the time they were first hatched, not only by observance and custom, which all ought to do, but even from the very heart and foul, with a perswasion that that which is believed in their village is the true souchstone of truth, (here is nothing spoken of divine revealed truth, or religion) the only, or at least the best rule to live well. These forts of people are of the school and jurisdiction of Aristotle, affirmers, politive men, dogmatifis, who respect more utility then verity, according to the use

and custom of the world, then that which is good and true in it felf. Of this condition there are a very great number, and divers degrees; the principal and most active amongst them govern the world, and have the command in their hand. In the third and highest stage are men indued with a quick and clear spirit, a strong, tirm, and folid judgment, who are not content with a bare affirmation, nor fetle themselves in common received opinions, nor fuffer themselves to be won and preoccupated by a publick and common belief, whereof they wonder not at all, knowing that there are many colenages, deceits and impostures received in the world with approbation and applaule, yea publick adoration and reverence: but they examine all things that are proposed, found maturely, and feek without paffion the causes, motives and jurisdictions even to the root, loving better to doubt, and to hold in suspence their belief, then by a loose and idle facility or lightness, or precipitation of judgment to feed themselves with lies, and affirm or lecure themselves of that thing whereof they can have no certain reason. These are but few in number, of the School of Socrates and Plato, modeft, fober, flayed, confidering more the verity and reality of things then the utility; who it they be well born, having with that above mentioned probity and government in manners, they are truly wife, and fuch as here we feek after. But because they agree not with the common fort, as touching opinions, fee more cleerly, pierce more deeply, are not so facile and easie drawn to believe, they are suspected and little esteemed of others, who are far more in number, and held for phantafficks and Philosophers; a word which they use in a wrong lense, to wrong others. In the first of these three degrees or orders there is a far greater number then in the fecond, and in the fecond then in the third. They of the first and last, the lowest and highest, trouble not the world, make no ftir, the one for infufficiency and weakness, the other by reason of too great sufficiency, stability, and wisdom. They of the middle make all the fir, the disputations that are in the world, a prefumptuous kind of people, always ftirred, and always ftirring. They of the lower rank, as the bottom, the lees, the fink, relemble the earth, which doth nothing but receive and fuffer that which comes from above. They of the middle resemble the region of the air, wherein are formed all the meteors, thundrings and alterations are made, which afterwards fall upon the earth. They of the higher stage resemble the firmament

ment it felf, or at least the highest region pext unto heaven, pure clear, neat and peaceable. This difference of men proceedeth partly from the nature of the first composition and temperature of the brain, which is different, mosts, hot, dry, and that in many degrees, whereby the spirits and judgments are either very solid, couragious, or feeble, fearful, plain; and partly from instruction and discipline; as also from the experience and practice of the world; which serveth to put off simplicity, and to become more advised. Lastly, all these three forts of people are found under every robe, form and condition both of good and evil men, but diversly.

Another di-Stination. There is another distinction of spirits and sufficiencies, for some there are that make way themselves, and are their own guides and governours. These are happy, of the higher sort, and very rare; others have need of help, and these are of two sorts: For some need only a little light, it is enough if they have a guide and a torch to go before them, they will willingly and easily follow. Others there are that must be drawn, they need a spur, and must be led by the hand. I speak not of those that either by reason of their great weakness cannot, as they are of the lower range, or the malignity of their nature will not, as they of the middle, who are neither good to follow, nor will suffer themselves to be drawn and directed, for these are a people past all hope.

CHAP-XLIV.

The third distinction and difference of men accidental, of their degrees, estates and charges.

This accidental distinction, which respecteth the estates and charges is grounded upon two principles and soundations of humane society, which are to command and obey, power and subjection, superiority and inseriority. Imperio & obsequio omnia constant: All things do consist of command and subjection. This distinction we better see, first in gross in this Table.

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This publick power, whether it be foveraign, or subaltern, hath The subdivision other subdivisions, necessary to be known. The soveraign, which (as of the soveraign hath been said) is threefold, in regard of the manner of govern-power. ment, is likewise threefold; that is to say, every one of these three is governed after a threefold manner, and is therefore called Royal, or Signorial, or Tyrannical. Royal, wherein the soveraign (be it one, or many, or all) obeying the laws of Nature, preserveth

the natural liberty and propriety of the goods of his subjects. Ad reges potestas omnis pertineto ad fingulos proprietas: omnia Rex imperio possidet, singuli dominio. All power belongeth to Kings, to every particular man the propriety, the King possesseth all by command, private men by possession. Seignorial or Lordly, where the Soveraign is Lord both of men and goods, by the right of arms, governing his subjects as slaves. Tyraunical, where the Soveraign contemning all Laws of Nature, doth abuse both the persons and goods of his fubjects, differing from a Lord, as a thief from an enemy in war. Of the three foveraign states, the Monarchy, and of the three governments, the Lordly, are the more ancient, great, durable, and majestical; as in former times, Allyria, Perfia, Eg vor. and now Ethiopia the most ancient, that is, Muscowy, Tartary, Turk v. Peru. But the better and more natural state and government, is the Monarchy Royal. The most famous Aristocracies, hath sometimes been that of the Lacedemonians, and now the Venetians. The Democracies, Rome, Athens, Carthage, Royal in their government.

Of particular Lords. The publick subaltern power, which is in particular Lords, is of many kinds and degrees, principally five, that is to say, Lords Tributaries, who pay only tribute.

Fendetaries, simple Vasfals, who owe faith and homage for

tenure of their Land. Thefe three may be Soveraigns.

Vasfals bound to do service, who besides faith and homage, owe likewise personal service, whereby they cannot truly be Soveraigns.

Natural subjects, whether they be Vassals or Censors, or otherwile, who owe subjection and obedience, and cannot be exempted

from the power of their Soveraign, and these are Lords.

of officers. rais

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The publick subaltern power, which is in the officers of the Soveraignty, is of divers kinds, and both in regard of the honour, and the power may be reduced to five degrees.

The first and basest, are those ignominious persons, which should

remain without the City, the last executioners of justice.

The second, they that have neither honour nor infamy, Serjeants, Trumpeters.

The third, such as have honour, without knowledg and power, Notaries, Receivers, Secretaries.

The fourth, they that have with honour, power, and knowledg, but without jurisdiction, the Kings servants.

The

The fifth, they that have with the rest jurisdiction; and these are properly called Magistrates; of whom there are many distinctions, and especially these five, which are all double.

Majors, Senatours, 2 Politicks.

Civil. ? { Titularies in offices of form, who have it by ? Criminal } 4 { Commiffaries. (inheritaires.) (Perpetual, as the leffer both in number and otherwise should be.

Temporal and moveable, as the greater should be-

Of the estates and degrees of Men in particular, following this precedent Table.

An Advertifement

Here we are to speak in particular of the parts of this table, and the distinctions of powers and subjections, (beginning with the private and domestical) that is to say, of every estate and profession of men, to the end we may know them, and therefore this may be called, The Book of the knowledg of man, for the duties of every one shall be set down in the third Book, in the virtue of justice; where in like manner and order all these estates and chapters thall be resumed and examined. Now before we begin, it shall be necessary summarily to speak of commanding and obeying, two soundations and principal causes of these diversities of estates and charges.

CHAP. XLV.

Of commanding and obeying-

These, as hath been said, are the two soundations of all humane society, and the diversity of estates and professions: They are Relatives, they do mutually respect, ingender, and conserve one the other, and are alike required in all assemblies and communities; but are yet subject to a natural kind of envy, and an everlassing contestation, complaint and obtrectation. The popular estate makes the Soveraign of worse condition then a Carter. The Monarchy placeth him above God himself. In command-

ing

ing is the honour, the difficulty (thefe two commonly go together) the goodness, the sufficiency, all qualities of greatness; Command, that is to fay, fufficiency, courage, authority, is from heaven and of God, Imperium non nisi divino fato datur: omnis potestas à Deo est : Empire and dominion is not given but by divine destiny : all power is from God above. And therefore Plato was wont to lay, That God did not appoint and establish men, that is to say, men of a common fort and fufficiency, and purely humane, to rule others, but fuch as by some divine touch, singular virtue, and gift of heaven do excel others: and therefore they are called Heroes. In obeying is utility, proclivity, necessity, in such fort, that for the preservation of the weal publick, it is more necessary then well to command; and the denial of obedience or not to obey as men flould is far more dangerous, therefor a Prince not to command as he should. Even as in marriage, though the husband and the wife be equally obliged to loyalty, and fidelity, and have both bound themselves by promise in the same words, the same ceremonies and solemnities; yet notwithstanding the inconveniences are incomparably far greater, in the fact of adultery, to the wife then the husband : even fo, though command and obedience are equally required in every state and company, yet the inconveniences of disobedience in subjects, are far more dangerous, then of ill government in a Commander. Many States have a long time continued and prospered too, under the command of wicked Princes and Magistrates, the subjects obeying, and accommodating themselves to their government : and therefore a wife man being once asked, why the Common-wealth of Sparta was fo flourishing, and whether it were, because their Kings command well? Nay rather, faith he, because the Citizens obey well. For if the Subjects once refuse to obey, and shake off their yoke, that state must necessarily fall to the ground.

CHAP. XLVI.

Of Marriage.

Otwithstanding the state of marriage be the sirst, more antient, and most important, and as it were the soundation and sountain of humane society, whence arise families, and from them common-weals; Prima societae in conjugio est, quod principium urbu, seminarium Reipublica; the first society is in wedlock, which Yet it hath been contemued and defamed by many great Personages, who have judged it unworthy men of heart and spirit, and have framed many objections against it.

First, they account the band and obligation thereof unjust, a hard and over-fight captivity, infomuch that by marriage, a man is objections abound and enthralled to the cares and humours of another. And gainft marif it fall out, that he hath mistaken in his choice, and have met riage. with a hard bargain, more bone then flesh, his life is ever afterwards most miserable. What iniquity and injustice can there be greater, then for one hours folly, a fault committed without malice, and by meer over-fight, yea many times to obey the advice of another, a man should be bound to an everlasting torment? It were better for him to put the halter about his neck, and to caft himself into the Sea his head downward, to end his miserable life. then to live always in the pains of hell, and to fuffer without intermission on his side, the tempest of jealousie, of malice, of rage, of madness, of brutish obstinacy, and other miserable conditions: and therefore one sticks not to fay, That he that invented this knot and tie of marriage, had found a goodly and beautiful means to be revenged of man, a trap or gin to entangle beafts, and afterwards to make them languish at a little fire. Another faith, That to marry a wife man to a fool, or a fool to a wife man, is to bind the living to the dead, which was the cruellest death invented by tyrants, to make the living to languish and die by the company of the dead. Secondly, they fay, that marriage is a corruption and adulterating of good and rare spirits, insomuch that the flatteries and smooth speeches of the party beloved, the affection towards children, the care of houshold affairs, and advancement of their families, do lessen, dissolve, and mollifie the vigour and strength of the most lively and generous spirit that is, witness Samfon, Solomon, Mare. Antony. And therefore howfoever the matter go. we had not need to marry. But those that have more flesh then fpirit, Arong in body, and weak in mind, tie them to the flesh and give them the charge of small and base matters, such as they are capable of. But fuch as are weak of body, have their spirits great, strong, and puissant; is it not then a pity to bind them to the flesh, and to marriage, as men do beafts in the stable? We see that beafts the more noble they are, the stronger and fitter for fervice, as horfes and dogs, the more are they kept afunder from

the company and acquaintance of the other fex, and it is the manner to put beafts of leaft efteem at random together. So likewife, fuch men and women as are ordained to the most venerable and holiest vocation, and which ought to be as the cream, and marrow of Christianity, Church-men and religious, are (though not by any warrant from the word of God) excluded from marriage. And the reason is, because marriage hindereth and averteth those beautiful and great elevations of the foul, the contemplation of things high, celestral and divine, which is incompatible with the troubles and moleftations of domestical affairs: for which cause the Apostle preferreth the solitary continent life before marriage. Utility may well hold with marriage, but honesty is on the other fide.

Again, it troubleth beautiful and holy enterprises; as Saint Austin reporteth, that having determined with some other his friends, amongst whom there was some married, to retire themfelves from the City, and the company of men, the better to attend to the study of wisdom and virtue, their purpose was quickly broken and altered, by the wives of those that were married. And another wife man did not doubt to fay, that if men could live without women, they mould be visited and accompanied by Angels: Moreover marriage is an hindrance to fuch as delight in travel, and to fee strange countries, whether to learn to make themselves wife, or to teach others to be wife, and to publish that to others which they know. To conclude, marriage doth not only corrupt and deject good and great spirits, but it robbeth the weal-publick of many beautiful and great things, which cannot manifest themselves, remaining in the bosom and lap of a woman, or being spent upon young children. But is it not a goodly fight, nay a great loss, that he that is able for his wildom and policy, to govern the whole world, should spend his time in the government of a woman and a few children? and therefore it was well answered by a great personage being follicited to marry, That he was born to command men, not a woman; to counsel Kings and Princes, not little children.

To all this a man may answer, that the nature of man is not capable of perfection, or of any thing against which nothing may be objected, as hath elsewhere been spoken. The best and most exobjections, c.4. pedient remedies that it hath, are in some degree or other but fickly, mingled with discommodities: They are all but necessary

evils.

the aforesaid

evils. And this is the best that man could devise for his preservation and multiplication. Some (as Plato, and others) would more Subtilly have invented means to have avoided these thorny inconveniencies; but besides that they built castles in the air, that could not long continue in use, their inventions likewise if they could have been put in practice, would not have been without many discommodities and difficulties. Man hath been the cause of them, and hath himself brought them forth by his vice, intemperancy, and contrary passion; and we are not to accuse the state, nor any other but man, who knows not well how to use any thing. Moreover a man may fay, that by reason of these thorns and difficulties, it is a school of virtue, an apprentiship, and a familiar and domestical exercise: and Socrates, a Doctor of wisdom, did once say, to fuch as hit him in the teeth with his wives pettish frowardness. That be did thereby learn even within his own doors, to be constant and patient every where elfe, and to think the crosses of fortune to be sweet and pleasant unto bim. It is not to be denied, but that he that can live unmarried doth best: but yet for the honour of marriage, a man may fay, that it was first instituted by God himself in Paradife, before any other thing, and that in the state of innocency and per-See here four commendations of marriage, but the fourth paffeth all the reft, and is without reply. Afterwards the Son of God approved it, and honoured it with his presence at the first miracle that he wrought, and that miracle done in the favour of that state of marriage, and married men; yea he hath honoured it with this priviledge, that it serveth for a figure of that great union of his with the Church, and for that cause it is called a mystery, and great.

Without all doubt, marriage is not a thing indifferent: It is either wholly a great good, or a great evil; a great content, or a great Wholly good, or
trouble; a paradife or a hell: It is either a sweet and pleasant way, wholly illif the choice be good; or a rough and dangerous match, and a gauling burthensom tye, if it be ill: It is a bargain where truly that is
verified which is said, Homo bomini Deus, aut lupus, Maris to man

either a God or a Wolf.

Marriage is a work that confifteth of many parts; there must be a meeting of many qualities, many confiderations besides the paragraph are ties married. For whatsoever a man say, he marrieth not only for riage a rare himself; his posterity, family, alliance, and other means, are of great sood. importance, and aggreeous burthen. See here the cause why so few

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good are found; and because there are so sew good found, it is a token of the price and value thereof; it is the condition of all great charges: Royalty is full of difficulty, and sew there are that exercise it well and happily. And whereas we see many times that it falleth not out so luckily, the reason thereof is the licentious liberty and unbridled desire of the persons themselves, and not in the state and institution of marriage: and therefore it is commonly more commodious, and beter fitted in good, simple, and vulgar spirits, where delicacy, curiosity, and idleness are less troublesome: unbridled hamours and turbulent wavering minds are not sit for this state or degree.

A fimple defeription and fummary of marriage. Marriage is a step to wisdom, a holy and inviolable band, an honourable match. If the choice be good and well ordered, there is nothing in the world more beautiful: It is a sweet society of life, fall of constancy, trust, and an infinite number of profitable offices, and mutable obligations: It is a fellowship not of love but amity. For love and amity are as different, as the burning sick heat of a sever, from the natural heat of a found body. Marriage hath in it felf amity, utility, justice, honour, constancy, a plain pleasure, but sound, firm, and more universal. Love is grounded upon pleasure only, and it is more quick, piercing, andent. Few marriages succeed well, that have their beginnings and progress from beauty and amorous desires. Marriage hath need of soundations, more solid and constant, and we must walk more warily; this boyling affection is worth nothing, yea marriage hath a better conduct by a third hand.

A description more exall. Thus much is faid summarily and simply; but more exactly todescribe it, we know that in marriage there are two things essential unto it, and seem contraries, though indeed they be not; that
is to say, an equality sociable, and such as is between Peers: and
an inequality, that is to say, superiority and inferiority. The equality consistent in an entire and perfect communication and community of all things, souls, wills, bodies, goods, the sundamental
law of marriage, which in some places is extended even to life and
death, in such sort, that the husband being dead, the wife must incontinently follow. This is practisfed in some places by the Publick
laws of the countries, and many times with so ardent affection,
that many wives belonging to one husband, they contend, and publickly plead for the honour to go first to sleep with their Spouse
(that is their word) alledging for themselves, the better to obtain
their suit and preferment herein, their good service, that they were

beloved, had the laft kiss of their deceased husband, and have had children by them.

> Es certamen babent lethi, que viva fequatur Conjugium; pudor est non licuisse mori. Ardent vietrices, & flamma pectora prabent, Imponuntque fuis ora perufta viris. Strive (and give reasons) each one earnestly To bave the bonour, with their bushand dy; To live is shame and loss, who doth obtain, Imputes to pleasure, that which we count pains. And is fo ardent bot in ber defire; Fearing reverfing judgment more then fire, That the makes haften &c.

In other places it was observed, not by publick laws, but private: compacts and agreements of marriage, as betwixt Marc. Antony and Cleopatra. This equality doth likewife confift in that power which they have in common over their family, whereby the wife is called the companion of her husband, the mistress of the house and family, as the husband, the Master and Lord: and their joynt

authority over their family, is compared to Aristocracie.

The distinction of superiority and inferiority consisteth in this that the husband hath power over the wife, and the wife is fub-Inequality. ject to the husband. This agreeth with all laws and policies, but vet more or less, according to the diversity of them. In all things the wife, though she be far more noble, and more rich, yet is subject to the husband. This superiority and inferiority is natural. founded upon the strength and sufficiency of the one, the weakness and infufficiency of the other. The Divines ground it upon other reasons drawn from the Bible: Man was first made by God alone, and immediately, expresly for God, his head, and according to his Image, and perfect; for nature doth always begin with things perfect. The woman was made in the second place, after man, of the fubstance of man by occasion and for another thing, mulier eft vir occasionatus, A moman is a man occasionate, a mans occasion, and the occaffon of a man, to serve as an aid, and as a second to man, who is her head, and therefore imperfect. And this is the difference by order of generation. That of corruption and fin proveth the fame, for the woman was the first in prevarication, and by her own weakness and will did fin, man the fecond, and by occasion of the woman; the woman, then the last in good and in generation, and by occasion, the first

in evil and the occasion thereof, is justly subject unto man, the first in good, and last in evil.

The power of the Husband. Dion. Halicar. 1.2, Lib.2. Lib,6,bel,Gal.

This superiority and power of the hashand, bath been in some places such as that of the father, over life and death, as with the Romans, by the law of Romalus : and the husband had power to kill his wife in four cases, Adultery, Subarning of ebildren, counterfeiting of false keys, and drinking of wine. So likewise with the Greeks, as Polybins, and the ancient French, as Cafar affirmeth, the power of the husband was over the life and death of his wife. Elsewhere, and there too, afterwards this power was moderated; but almost in all places the power of the husband and the subjection of the wife doth infer thus much, That the husband is mafter of the actions and vows of his wife, and may with words correct her and hold her to the flocks (as for blows, they are unworthy a woman of honour and honesty, faith the Law) and the wife is bound to hold the condition, follow the quality, country, family, habitation and rank of her husband; the must accompany and tollow him in all things, in his journeys if need be, his banishment, his imprisonment, yea a wandring person, a vagabond, a fugitive. The examples hereof are many and excellent: of Sulpitia who followed her husband Lentulus being banished into Cicily; Erithrea her husband Phalaris; Infierates the wife of King Mithridate vanquished by Pompey, who wandred thorow the world. Some add unto this. That wives are to follow their husbands even in the wars, and into those Provinces, whither the husband is sent with publick charge. Neither can the wife bring any thing into question of law, whether the be plaintiff or defendant, without the authority of her husband, or of the Judg, if he refuse; neither can the call her husband into judgment; without the permission of the Magistrate.

Born. Taoit.

The divers rules of marxiage. Marriage is not carried after one and the same fashion, neither hath it in every place the same laws, and rules, but according to the diversity of religious and countries, it hath rules either more case, or more streight: according to the rules of Christianity, of all other the streightest, marriage is more subject, and held more short. There is nothing but the entrance left free, the continuance is by constraint, depending of something else then our own wills. Other nations and religions, to make marriage more easie, free and fertile, have received and practised Polygamy and repudiation, liberty to take and leave wives: they accuse Christianity for taking away

these two, by which means amity and multiplication, the principal ends of marriage, are much prejudiced, inalmuch as amity is an enemy to all constraint, and they do better maintain themselves in an honest liberty; and multiplication is made by the woman, as Nature doth richly make known unto us in wolves, of whom the race is so fertile in the production of their young, even to the number of twelve or thirteen, that they far excel all other profitable creatures: of these there are great numbers killed every day, by which means there are but few; and they, though of all others the most fertile, yet by accident the most barren; the reason is, because of to great a number as they bring, there is one only female, which for the most part beareth not, by reason of the multitude of malesthat concur in the generation, of which the greatest part die without fruit, by the want of females. So likewise we may see how much Polygamy helpeth to multiplication, in those nations that receive it; Tems, Turks, and other Barbarians who are able to raile forces, of three or four thousand fighting men fit for wars. Contrariwise, in Christendom there are many linked together in matrimony, the one of which, if not both, are barren, which being placed with others, both the one and the other may happily leave great posterity behind them. But to speak more truly, all this fertility confifteth in the fertility of one only woman. Finally they object, That this Christian-like restraint, is the cause of many lascivious pranks, and adulteries. To all which we may answer, That Christianity confidereth not of marriage by reasons purely humane, natural, temporal; but it beholds it with another vilage, and weigheth it with reasons more high and noble, as hath been said. Add unto this, That experience sheweth in the greatest part of marriages, that constraint increaseth amity, especially in simple and debonair minds; who do easily accommodate themselves, where they find themselves in such fort linked. And as for lascivious and wicked persons, it is the immodesty of their manners that makes them such, which no liberty can amend. And to fay the truth, Adulteries are as common, where Polygamy and repudiation are in force; witness the Jews, and David, who for all the wives that he had, could not defend himfelf from it: and contrariwife, they have been a long time unknown in policies well governed, where there was neither Polygamy, nor repudiation; witness Sparta and Rome a long time after the foundation. And therefore it is abfurd to attribute it unto religion, which teachethmothing but purity and continency. The.

Polygamy di-

The liberty of Polygainy, which feemeth in some fort natural, is carried diverily according to the diversity of nations and policies. In some, all the wives that belong to one husband live in common, and are equal in degree, and so are their children. In others, there is one who is the principal, and as the mistress, whose children inherit the goods, honours, and titles of the husband: the rest of the wives are kept apart, and carry in some places the titles of lawful wives, in others of concubines, and their children are only pensioners.

Repudiation

The use of repudiation in like fort is different: for with some, as the Hebrews, Greeks, Armenians, the cause of the separation is not expressed, and it is not permitted to retake the wife once repudiated, but yet lawful to marry another. But by the law of Mahomet, the separation is made by the Judg, with knowledg taken of the cause (except it be by mutual confent) which must be adultery sterility incompatibility of humours, an enterprise on his, or her part, against the life of each other, things directly and especially contrary to the ftate and institution of marriage: and it is lawful to retake one another, as often as they shall think good. The former seemeth to be the better, because it bridleth proud women, and over-sharp and bitter husbands. The second which is to express the cause, dishonoureth the parties, and discovereth many things which should be hid. And if it fall out that the cause be not sufficiently verified, and that they must continue together, poylonings and murthers do commonly enfue, many times unknown unto men: as it was difcovered at Rome before the use of repudiation, where a woman being apprehended for poyloning of her husband, accused others, and they others too, to the number of threescore and ten, which were all executed for the same offence. But the worst law of all others hath been, that the adulterer escapeth almost every where without punishment of death, and all that is laid upon him is divorce, and leparation of company, brought in by Justinian, a man wholly posfeffed by his wife, who caused whatsoever laws to pass, that might make for the advantage of women. From hence dotharife a danger of perpetual adultery, defire of the death of the one party, the offender is not punished, the innocent injured remaineth without amends.

The duty of married folk, See Lib. 3. Chap. 12.

voltaries, bus which

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of Parents and Children.

Here are many forts and degrees of authority and humane power, Publick and Private, but there is none more natural, Fatherly power nor greater then that of the Father over his children, (I fay Father, because the Mother who is subject unto her husband cannot properly have her children in her power and subjection) but it hath not been always and in all places alike. In former times almost every where it was absolute and universal, over the life and death, the liberty, the goods, the honour, the actions and carriages of their children, as to plead, to marry, to get goods; as namely with the Romans by the express law of Romulus; Parentum in liberos Dion, Halic, omne jus efto, relegandi, vendendi, occidendi: Let the Parents bave lib. 2. antiq. full liberty to dispose of their children; yea, of banishing, selling or kil-Rom.l. in suis. ling them. Except only children under the age of three years, who post. Aul. as yet could not offend either in word or deed: which Law was af-Gel. lib. 20. terwards renewed by the Law of the twelve Tables, by which the Lib. 8. Eth. Father was allowed to fell his children to the third time: with the cap. 20, Perfians, according to Aristotle; the ancient French, as Cefar and Gal. Prosper affirm; with the Muscovites and Tartars, who might prosper. fell their children in the fourth time. And it should seem from the Aquitan. in fact of Abraham going about to kill his fon, that this power was Epist. Sig. likewise under the Law of Nature: for if it had been against his duty, and without the power of the Father, he had never confented thereunto, neither had he ever thought that it was God that commanded him to do it, if it had been against Nature. And therefore we see that Isage made no resistance, nor alledged his innocency, knowing that it was in the power of his Father; which derogateth not in any fort from the greatness of the faith of Abraham, because he would not facrifice his son by virtue of his right or power, nor for any demerit of Isac, but only to obey the commandment of God. So likewise it was in force by the law of Moses, Dent. 21. though somewhat moderated. So that we see what this power hath been in ancient times, in the greatest part of the world, and which endured unto the time of the Roman Emperours. With the Greeks it was not fo great and absolute, nor with the Egyptians: Nevertheless, if it fell out that the Father had killed his fons wrongfully, and without caute, he had no other punishment, but to be

Of Parents and Children.

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The reasons and fruits thereof.

thut up three days together with the dead body. Now the reasons and fruits of fo great and absolute a power of Fathers over their Children, necessary for the culture of good manners, the chafing away of vice, and the publick good, were first to hold the children in aw and duty: and fecondly, because there are many great faults in children, that would escape unpunished, to the great prejudice of the weal-publick, if the knowledg and punishment of them, were but in the hand of publick authority; whether it be because they are domestical and secret, or because there is no man that will profecute against them: for the parents who know them, and are interessed in them, will not discredit them; besides that, there are many vices and infolences, that are never punished by justice. Add hereunto, that there are many things to be tried, and many differences betwixt Parents and Children, Brothers and Sifters, touching their goods or other matters, which are not fit to be published, which are extinct and buried by this fatherly authority. And the Law did always suppose, that the father would never abuse this authority, because of that great love which he naturally carrieth to his children, incompatible with cruelty: which is the cause that instead of punishing them with rigour, they rather become intercessours for them, when they are in danger of the Law : and there can be no greater torment to them, then to fee their children in pain. And it falleth out very seldom or never, that this

good earnest.

Lib. 1. de Clem. Saluft, in bel. Catil. Val. Max.

Now this fatherly power (as over-sharp and dangerous) is al-The declination, most of it self lost and abolished, (for it hath rather hapned by a kind of discontinuance, then any express law) and it began to decline, at the coming of the Roman Emperours: for from the time of Augustus, or shortly after, it was no more in force, whereby children became so desperate and insolent against their parents, that Seneca, speaking to Nero, said, That he had seen more parricides punished in five years past, then had been in seven hundred years before; that is to fay, fince the foundation of Rome. In former times, if it fell out that the father killed his children, he was not punished, as we may see by the examples of Fulvius the Senatour, who killed his fon, because he was a partner in the conspiracy of Cataline: and of divers other Senators, who have made criminal process against their children in their own houses, and have con-

power is put in practice without very great occasion; so that it was rather a scar-crow to children, and very profitable, then a rigour in

demned .

demned them to death, as Caffin Tratius; or to perpetual exile, as Manlius Torquatus his Son Sillanus. There were afterwards laws ordained, that injoyned the Father to prefent unto the Judg his children offending, that they might be punished, and that the Judg should pronounce such a sentence as the Father thought fit, which is still a kind of foot-step of antiquity: and going about to take away the power of the Father, they durft not do it but by halfs, and not altogether, and openly. These latter laws come somewhat neer the law of Muses, which would, That at the only complaint of the Father made before the Judg, without any other knowledg taken of the cause, the rebellious and contumacious child should be stoned to death; requiring the presence of the Judg, to the end the punishment should not be done, in seeret or in choler, but exemplarily. So that according to Mifes, this fatherly power was more free and greater, then it hath been after the time of the Emperours; but afterwards under Constantine the Great, and Theodofine, and finally under Fustinian, it was almost altogether extinct. From whence it is, that children have learned to deny their obedience to their Parents, their goods, their aid, yea to wage law against them; a shameful thing to see our Courts full of these cases. Yea they have been dispensed herewith, under pretext of devotion and offerings, as with the Jews before Christ, wherewith he reproacheth Mat. 15. them, and afterwards in Christianity, according to the opinion of fome : yea it hath been lawful to kill them, either in their own defence, or if they were enemies to the Common-weal: although to fay the truth, there should never be cause just enough for a Son to kill his Father. Nullum tantum feelus committi poteft à Patre, quod fit parricidio vindicandum, & nullum scelus rationem babet. A Father e innot commit such a crime, as may be revenged with parricide, and no wickedness bath any reason.

Now we feel not what mischief and prejudice hath hapened to the world, by the abolishing and extinction of this fatherly power. The Common-weals wherein it hath been in force, have always flourished. If there were any danger or evil in it, it might in some fort be ruled and moderated; but utterly to abolish it, as now it is, is neither honest nor expedient, but hurtful and inconvenient, as

hath been faid.

Of the reciprocal duty of Parents and Children, See L. 3. C. 14.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Lords and Slaves, Makers and Servants.

The ufe of flaves univer-

He use of flaves, and the full and absolute power of Lords, and Masters over them, although it be a thing common thorowout the world, and at all times (except within these four hundred . fal and against years, in which time it hath somewhat decayed, though of late it revive again) yet it is a thing both monstrous and ignominious in the nature of man, and fuch as is not found in beafts themselves, who confent not to the captivity of their like, neither actively nor passively. The law of Muses hath permitted this as other things, ad duritiem cordis corum, for their bardness of beart, but not such as hath been else-where: for it was neither so great, nor so absolute, nor perpetual, but moderated within the compass of seven years at the most. Christianity hath left it, finding it universal in all places, as likewise to obey idolatrous Princes and Masters, and such like matters as could not at the first attempt & altogether be extinguished, they have abolished. There are four forts, Natural, that is, flaves born; Enforced,

Diftinations.

Tacit.de mor.

German.

and made by right of war; Just, termed flaves by punishment, by reason of some offence, or debt, whereby they are slaves to their Creditors, at the most for seven years, according to the law of the Jews, but always until payment and restitution be made in other . places; Voluntaries, whereof there are many forts, as they that cafts the dice for it, or fell their liberty for mony, as long fithence it was the Custom in Almaigne, and now likewise in some parts of Christendom, where they do give and vow themselves to another for ever, as the Jews were wont to practife, who at the gate, bored a hole in their ear, in token of perpetual servitude. And this kind of voluntary captivity, is the strangest of all the rest, and almost against nature.

The cause of Baves,

. It is covetousness that is the cause of slaves enforced, and lewdness the cause of voluntaries. They that are Lords and Masters, have noped for more gain and profit by keeping, then by killing them: and indeed, the fairest possessions and the richest commodities, were in former times flaves. By this means Craffus became the richest among the Romans, who had besides those that served him five hundred flaves, who every day brought gain and commodity, by their gainful Arts and Mysteries, and afterwards when he had made what profit by them he could, he got much by the fale of them.

It is a strange thing to read of those cruelties practised by Lords upon their flaves, even by the approbation and permission of the The cruelies Laws themselves: They have made them to till the earth being gainft their chained together, as the manner is in Barbary at this day, they flaves. lodge them in holes and ditches: and being old, or impotent, and so unprofitable, they fell them, or drown them, and cast them into lakes to feed their fish withal: They kill them not only for the least fault that is, as the breaking of a Glass, but for the least suspicion, yea for their own pleasure and pastime, as Flaminius did one of the honestest men of his time. And to give delight unto the people, they were constrained in their publick Theatres to kill one another. If a Master hapned to be killed in his house by whomsoever, the innocent flaves were all put to death, infomuch, that Pedonies the Roman being flain, although the murderer were known. vet by the order of the Senate, four hundred of his flaves were put to death.

On the other fide, it is a thing as strange, to hear of the rebellions, infurrections, and cruelties of flaves against their Lords, when The cruelties they have been able to work their revenge, not only in particular gainst their by furprise and treason, as it fell out one night in the City of Tyre, Lords. but in fet battel both by Sea and Land: from whence the proverb is, So many Blaves, fo many enemies.

Now as Christian Religion, and afterwards Mahumetism didencrease, the number of flaves did encrease, and servitude did cease, Diminution of informuch that the Christians, and afterwards the Turks, like Apes laves. imitating them, gave freedom and liberty to all those that were of their Religion; in such fort, that about the twelve hundred year, there were almost no flaves in the world, but where these two religions had no authority.

But as the number of flaves diminished, the number of beggers The increase of and vagabonds increased: for so many flaves being set at liberty, poor people came from the houses and subjection of their Lords, not having and vagabonds wherewith to live, and perhaps having children too, filled the world with poor people.

This poverty made them return to servitude, and to become vothey may have their maintenance and life affured, and be quit of the burthen of their children. Besides this cause, and this voluntary fervitude.

scrvitude, the world is returned to the use of flaves, because the Christians and Turks always maintaining wars one against the other, as likewife against the Gentiles both oriental and occidental, although by the example of the Fews they have no flaves of their own nation, yet they have of others, whom, though they turn to their religion, they hold flaves by force.

The power and authority of Masters over their Servants, is not very great, nor imperious; and in no fort can be prejudicial to the liberty of Servants; only they may chaftise and correct them with discretion and moderation. This power is much less over those that are mercenary, over whom they have neither power nor cor-

rection.

The duty of Masters and Servants, see lib. 3. chap. 15.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of the State, Soveraignty, Soveraigns.

The description and necessity of the ftate.

Aving spoken of private power, we come to the publick, that of the state. The state, that is to say, Rule, dominion, or a certain order in commanding and obeying, is the prop, the cement, and the foul of humane things: It is the bond of fociety, which cannot otherwise subsist; It is the vital spirit, whereby so many millions of men do breath, and the whole nature of things.

The nature of the ftate. Tacit.

Now notwithstanding it be the pillar and prop of all, yet it is a thing not to fure; very difficult, subject to changes, Arduum & Subjedium fortune cundla regendi onus : The burthen of government is a bard matter and subject to fortune: which declineth, and sometimes falleth by hidden and unknown causes, and that altogether at an inflant, from the highest step to the lowest, and not by degrees, as it useth to be long a rising. It is likewise exposed to the hatred both of great and small, whereby it is gauled, subject to ambushments, underminings, and dangers, which hapneth likewise many times by the corrupt and wicked manners of the Soveraigns, and the nature of the Soveraignty which we are about to describe.

Soveraignty is a perpetual and absolute power, without con-The description straint either of time or condition. It consisteth in a power to give of Severaignty, laws to all in general, and to every one in particular, without the confent of any other, or the gift of any person. And as another faith (to derogate from the common law) Soveraignty is so called;

and absolute, because it is not subject to any humane laws, no not his own. For it is against nature to give laws unto all, and to command himself in a thing that dependeth upon his Will. Nulla obligatio confiftere poteft, que à voluntate promittentis fatum capit : No obligation can stand good, which bath his strength from the will of the promiser: nor of another, whether living; or of his predecessors, or the countrey. Soveraign power is compared to fire, to the Sea, to a wild beaff; it is a hard matter to tame it, to handle it, it will not be croft, nor offended, but being, is very dangerous. Poreftas res est que moveri, docerique non vult, & castigationem egre ferat : Pomer is a thing which will neither be admonished nor tanget, and with great difficulty, suffereth any correction.

The marks and properties thereof, are, to judg the last appeals, to ordain laws in time of peace and war, to create and appoint ma. The properties. gistrates and officers, to give graces and dispensations against the Law, to impose Tributes, to appoint mony, to receive homages' ambassages, oaths. But all this is comprehended under the absolute power, to give and make Laws according to their pleasure. Other marks there are of less weight: as the Law of the Sea and shipwrack, confication for Treason, power to change the Tongue, title

of Majesty.

Greatness and Soveraignty is so much desired of all; because all the good that is in it appeareth outwardly, and all the ill is altogether inward: As also because to command others, is a thing as beautiful and divine, as great and difficult: and for this cause they are esteemed and reverenced for more then men. Which belief in the people, and credit of theirs, is very necessary and commodious to extort from the people due respect and obedience, the nurse of peace and quietness. But in the end they prove to be men cast in the tame mould that other men are, and many times worse born, & worse qualified in nature then many of the common fort of people. It feemeth that their actions, because they are weighty and important, do proceed from weighty and important causes: but they are nothing, and of the same condition that other mens are. The same occasion that breeds a brawl betwixt us and our neighbour, is ground enough of a war betwixt Princes: and that offence for which a Lackey deferves a whipping, lighting upon a King, is the ruine of a whole province. They will as lightly as we, and we as they, but they can do more then we, the felf-fame appetites move a Flye and an Elephant. Finally, belides these passions, defects, and natural conditions, which

which they have common with the meanest of those which do adore them, they have likewife vices and discommodities which their greatness and soveraignty bears them out in, peculiar unto themfelves.

Soveraigns.

Seneca. Tacirus.

The ordinary manners of great Personages are, untamed pride, The manners of Durus eft veri infolens, ad redia flelli regius non vult tumor : He that is insolent, is uncapable of the truth, kingly pride will not yield to those that are true. Violence too licentious. Id effe regni maximum pignus Put ant, fi quicquid alis non licet, folis licet : quod non poteft, vult poffe, qui nimium poteft: They think it the greateft testimony of their royalty, that that which is not permitted others, is not lawful for them, be that bath power to do much, will have power to do what he cannot : Their Motto that best pleaseth them is, Quod libet licet; What they lift is lamful: Suspicion, Jealousie, Suapte natura petentie anxii, They are naturally careful of their power, yea even of their own infants; Suf-Dellus femper invidusque, dominantibus quisquis proximus destinamer, adeo ut diffliceant etiam civilia filiorum ingenia : The next who soever destinated to succeed them, is always mistrusted and envied, insomuch that the civil demeanour of their own children doth also displease them. Whereby it falleth out, that they are many times in alarm and fear, Ingenia regum prona ad formidinem, Kings are naturally apt to fear.

The miferies, and discommodities.

The advantages of Kings and Soveraign Princes above their people which feem so great and glittering, are indeed but light, and almost imaginary; but they are repayed with great, true, and solid advantages and inconveniencies. The name and title of a Soveraign, the thew and outfide is beautiful, pleasant, and ambitious; but the burthen and the infide is hard, difficult, and irksome; There is honour enough, but little rest and joy, or rather none at all; it is a publick and honourable fervitude, a noble mifery, a rich captivity, Aures & fulgide compedes, clara miferia; witness that which Augustus, Marcus, Aurelius, Pertinax, Dioclesian, have faid and done, and the end that almost all the first twelve Cefars made, and many others after them. But because few there are that believe this, but fuffer themselves to be deceived by the beautiful shew, I wil more particularly quote the inconveniencies and miferies that accompany great Princes.

First the great difficulty to play their part, and to quit themselves of their charge: for can it be but a great burthen to govern so many people, since in the ruling of himself there are so many

difficulties >

charge.

difficulties? It is an easier matter, and more pleasant to follow, then to guide; to travel in a way that is already traced, then to find the way; to obey, then to command; to answer for himself only then for others too : Ut fatius multo jam fit parere quietum, quam regere imperio res welle: It is far better to procure peace and quiet, then to govern a Kingdom. Add hereunto, that it is required that he that commandeth, must be a better man then he that is commanded : fo faid Cyrus a great Commander. How difficult a thing this is, we may fee by the paucity of those that are such as they ought to be. Vehafian, faith Tacitus, was the only Prince that in goodness excelled his Predecessors: another sticks not to fay, that all the good Princes may be graven in a Ring.

Secondly, In their delights and pleasures, wherein it is thought they have a greater part then other men. But they are doubtless of a. In the steea worse condition then the pleasures of private men: for besides sures and affithat the luftre of their greatness makes them unfit to take joy in ons of life. their pleasures, by reason that they are too clear and apparent, and made as a butt and subject to censure, they are likewise crost and pierced into even to their very thoughts, which men take upon them to divine and judge of. Again, the great ease and facility that they have to do what pleafeth them, because all men apply themselves unto them, takes away the tafte, and fowreth that Iweet which should be in their pleasures, with delight to man, but those that taste them, with some scarcity and difficulty. He that gives no time to be thirfty, knows not what a pleasure it is to have drink : Satiety is noylom, and goes against the stomach.

Pinguis amor nimiumque potens in tadia nobis Vertitur : & stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet. Extremity of Pleasure turns to pain. So Venus Satiates, and boney's bane.

There is nothing more tedious and loathforn then abundance, yea they are deprived of all true and lively action, which cannot be 3. In their marwithout some difficulty and resistance. It is not going living, acting

in them, but fleeping, and an infenfible fliding away.

The third inconvenience that followeth Princes, is in their Marriages. The marriages of the vulgar fort are more free and voluntary; made with more affection, liberty, and contentment. One reason hereof may be, that the common fort of men find more of their degree to chuse, whereas Kings and Princes, who are not of the rout, as we know, have no plentiful choice. But the other rea-

fon

fon is better, which is, that the common fort in their marriages look but into their own affairs, and how they may accommodate it best unto themselves; but the marriages of Princes are many times inforced for Publick necessity: they are great parts of the State, and instruments serving for the general good and quiet of the world. Great Perionages and Sovereigns marry not for themselves, but for the good of the State, whereof they must be more amorous and jealous, then of their wives and children : for which cause they many times hearken unto marriages where there is neither love nor delight; and matches are made between persons, who never knew nor have feen one another, much less affect : yea fuch a great man takes such a great Lady, whom if he were not so great, he would not take: but this is to serve the Weal-publick, to affure the State, and to lettle peace amongst the people.

beneur.

The fourth is, That they have no true part in the attempts that 4. Attempt of men make one against the other in emulation of honour and valour, in the exercises of the mind and of the body, which is one of the most delightful things in the commerce and conversation of men. The reason hereot is, because all the world gives place unto them, all men spare them, and love rather to hide their own valour. to betray their own glory, then to hurt or hinder that of the Sovereign, especially where they know he affects the victory. This, to fay the truth, is by force of respect to handle men disdainfully and injuriously; and therefore one faid, That the children of Princes. Rearned nothing by order and rule, but to manage a horse, because in all other exerciles every one bows unto them, and gives them the prize: but the horse who is neither flatterer nor Courtier, casts as well the Prince to the ground as the Efquire. Many great Perfonages have refused the praises and approbations offered them, faving, I would accept and effeet of them, and rejoyce in them, if they came from free-men, that durft fay the contrary, and tax me. if there were cause...

1 2. Liberty of Kawl.

The fifth is, That they are deprived of the liberty to travel in the world, being as it were imprisoned within their own Countries, yea, within their own Palaces, being always inclosed with people, futers, gazers, and lookers on, and that wherefoever they be, and in all actions whatfoever, prying even thorow the holes of the chair : whereupon Alphonfus the King faid, That in this respect the state of an Als was better then the condition of a King.

The

The fixth mifery. That they are deprived of all amity and mutual fociety, which is the fweetest and perfectest fruit of humane 6. Munual and life, and cannot be but betwixt equals, or those betwixt whom the bearty amity. difference is but small. This great disparity puts them without the commerce and fociety of men; all humble fervices, and base offices, are done unto them by those that cannot refuse them, and proceed not from love, but from subjection, or to increase their own greatness, or of custom and countenance; which is plain, because wicked Kings are as well ferved and reverenced as the good; they that are hated, as they that are beloved; there is no difference, the self-same apparel, the self-same ceremony. Whereupon Fulian the Emperour answered his Courtiers, that commended him for his Justice. Perhaps I should be proud of these praises, if they were boken by such as durst to accuse me, and to dispraise my actions when they shall deferve it.

The seventh misery, worse perhaps then all the rest, and more dangerous to the Weal-publick, is, That they are not free in the 7 Ignerance of choice of men, nor in the true knowledge of things. They are not things. fuffered truly to know the state of their affairs, and confequently not to call and employ such as they would, and as were most fit and neceffary. They are thut up, and befet with a certain kind of people. that are either of their own blood, or by the greatness of their Houses and Offices, or by prescription, are so far in authority, power, and managing of affairs before others, that it is not lawful, without putting all to hazard, to discontent, or in any fort to suspect them. Now these kind of people that cover, and hold, as it were, hidden the Prince, do provide that all the truth of things shall not appear unto him; and that better men, and more profitable to the State come not near him, lest they be known what they are. It is a pitiful thing not to fee but by the eyes, not to understand but by the ears of another, as Princes do. And that which perfecteth in all points this mifery, is, that commonly, and as it were, by destiny, Princes and great Personages are possessed by three sorts of people, the plagues of humane kind, Flatterers, Inventers of Imposts or Tributes, Informers, who under a fair and false pretext of zeal and amity towards the Prince, as the two first, or of loyalty and reformation, as the latter, spoil and ruinate both Prince and State.

The eighth mifery is, That they are less free, and masters of their own wills then all other, for they are inforced in their proceedings 8. Not Mafters

of the State, Sovereignty, Sovereigns.

by a thousand considerations and respects, whereby many times they must captivate their delignments, desires, and wills: In maxima sortuna, minima licentia. In the greatest bosour, the least liberty. And in the mean time instead of being Plaintiss, they are more rudely handled and judged then any other: For men will not stick to divine of their designs, penetrate into their hearts and inventions, which they cannot do: Abditos Principis sensu. O quid occultius parat exquirere; illicitum anceps nec ideo assequare: To pry imo the bidden secret of the Prince, and to search is they can find any thing more secret; neither will they herein forbear, although they know it unsitting: and looking into things with another vilage, where they understand not sufficiently the assays of the State, they require of their Princes what they think should be done, blame their actions, and refusing to submit themselves to what is necessary, they commonly proceed in their business rudely enough.

Finally, It falleth out many times, that they make a miserable end, not only Tyrants and Usurpers, for it belongs to them, but such as have a true Title to their Crown; witness so many Roman Emperous after Pompey the Great, and Casar, and in our time Mary Queen of Scotland, who lost her life by the hand of an Executioner, and Henry the third, wilfully murdered in the middle of forty thousand armed men, by a little Monk; and a thousand the like examples. It seemeth that as lightning and tempest oppose themselves against the pride and height of our buildings, so there are likewise

spirits that envy and emulate greatness below upon earth.

Usque adeo res bumanas vis abdita quedam Obterit & pulchros fasces, sevasque secures Proculcare, at ludibrio sibi babere videtur. So far some bidden Higbness seems to frown On bumane pride in Diadem or Grown, As it both laughs at it, and beats it down.

The conclusion of their mise-

To conclude, the condition of Sovereigns is hard and dangerous: Their life, if it be imnocent, is infinitely painful, if it be wicked, it is subject to the hate and slander of the world, and in both cases exposed to a thousand dangers; for the greater a Prince is, the less may he trust others, and the more must be trust himself. So that we see, that it is a thing, as it were, annexed to Sovereignty, to be betrayed.

Of their duty, See the third Book, Chap. 16.

CHAP.

CHAP. L. Magiftrates.

There are divers degrees of Magistrates as well in honour as power, which are the two things to be considered in the di-The diffinition. Stinction of them, and which have nothing common the one with the other, and many times they that are more honourable, have less power, as Counsellers of the Privy Council, the Secretary of the State. Some have but one of the two; others have both, and that of divers degrees, but they are properly called Magistrates that have both.

The Magistrates that are in the middle betwirt the Sovereign and the Particulars, in the presence of their Sovereigns have no power to command. As Rivers lose both their name and power at the mouth or entrance into the Sea, and the Stars their light in the presence of the Sun; so all power of Magistrates is but upon sufferance in the presence of their Sovereign; as also the power of inferiours and subalternate Magistrates in the presence of their Superiours. Amongst equals there is neither power nor superiority, but the one may hinder the other by opposition and prevention.

All Magistrates judge, condemn, and command either according to the Law, and then their sentence is but the execution of the Law, or according to equity, and such judgment is called the Office, or

Duty of a Magistrate.

Magistrates cannot change nor correct their judgments, except the Sovereign permit it, under pain of injustice: they may revoke their commands, or make stay of them, but not that which shey have judged and pronounced with knowledge of the cause.

Of the Duties of Magistrates, See Lib. 3.

CHAP. LI. midio mode della

Lawyers, Doctors, Teachers.

I T is one of the vanities and follies of man, to prescribe Laws and Rules that exceed the use and capacity of men, as some Philosophers and Doctors have done. They propose strange and elevated forms or images of life, or at leastwise so difficult and authere, that the practice of them is impossible at least for a long time, yea, the

attempt is dangerous to many. These are Castles in the air, as the Common-wealth of Plato, and More, the Orator of Cicero, the Poet of Horace, beautiful and excellent imaginations; but he was never yet found that put them in use. The sovereign and perfect Lawgiver and Doctor took heed of this, who both in himself, his life and his doctrine, hath not fought thele extravagancies and forms divided from the common capacity of men; and therefore, he calleth his voke easie, and his burthen light: Tuzum meum suave, onus meum leve; My yok fweet, and my burthen light. they that have instituted and ordered their company under his name, have very wifely confidered of the matter, that though they make special profession of virtue, devotion, and to serve the Wealpublick above all others, nevertheless they differ very little from the common and civil life. Wherein there is first great justice : for there must always be kept a proportion betwixt the commandment, and the obedience, the duty and the power, the rule and the workmaster: and these bind themselves and others to be necessarily in want, cutting out more work then they know how to finish: and many times these goodly Law-makers, are the first Law-breakers: for they do nothing; and many times do quite contrary to that they enjoyn others, like the Pharifees, Imponunt onera gravia, & nolunt ea digito movere : They impose great burdens, but will not them-Celves touch them with a finger. So do some Physicians and Divines : fo lives the World, rules and precepts are enjoyned, and men not only by an irregularity of life and manners, but also by contrary opinion and judgment follow others.

There is likewise another fall sull of injustice, they are far more scrupulous, exact; and rigorous in things free and accidental then in necessary and substantial, in positive and humane, then in natural and divine; like them that are content to lend, but not to pay their debts; and all like the Pharisees, as the great and heavenly Doctor telleth them to their reproach. All this is but hypocrisic and deceit.

CHAP. LII.

People or vulgar forte.

The people (we understand here the vulgar fort, the popular rout, a kind of people under what covert soever, of base, service, and mechanical condition) are a strange beast with many heads,

and which in few words cannot be described, inconstant and variable, without stay, like the waves of the Sea; they are moved and appealed, they allow and disallow one and the same thing at one and the same instant: there is nothing more easie then to drive them into what passion he will; they love not wars for the true end thereof, nor peace for rest and quietness, but for varieties sake, and the change that there is from the one to the other: consusion makes them desire order, and when they have it, they like it not: they run always one contrary to another, and there is no time pleaseth, but what is to come: Hi vulgi mores, odisse presents, ventura cupere, praterita celebrare: It is the custom of the vulgar sort to despise the present, desire the suture, praise and extol that which is pass.

They are light to believe, to gather together news, especially such as are most hurtful; holding all reports for assured truths. With a whistle, or some sonnet of news, a man may assemble them together

like Bees at the found of the Bason.

Without judgment, reason, discretion. Their judgment and wisdomis but by chance, like a cast at dice unadvised and headlong of all things, and always ruled by opinion or custom, or the greater number, going all in a line, like sheep that run after those that go before them, and not by reason and truth. Plebi non judicium, non Tacic. veritas: ex opinione multa, ex veritate pauca judicat. The common Cic. people have no judgment, no verity; deem many things by opinion, sew by the truth it self.

Envious and malicious, enemies to good men, contemners of virtue, beholding the good hap of another with an ill eye, favouring the more weak and the more wicked, and withing all ill they can to men of honour they know not wherefore, except it is because they

are honourable and well spoken of by others.

Treacherous and untrue, amplifying reports, finothering of truths, and always making things greater then they are, without faith, without hold. The faith or promife of a people, and the thought of a child, are of like durance, which change not only as occasions change, but according to the difference of those reports that every hour of the day may bring forth.

Mutinous, desiring nothing but novelties and changes, seditious, enemies to peace and quietness. Ingenio mobili, seditiosum, discordio-Salust. fum, capidum rerum novarum, quieti & otio adversum: Of a mutable disposition, seditious, a breeder of discord, desirous of novelties, enemies to peace and quietness. Especially when they meet with a leader:

....

Tacit.

Saluft.

11.

leader: for then even as the calm Sea, of nature tumbleth, and foarneth, and rageth, being stirred with the sury of the winds; so do the people swell, and grow proud, wild, and outragious: but take from them their Leader, they become deject, grow mild, are confounded with astonishment: Sine Restore praceps, pavidus, socors, nil ausura plebs Principibus amotis: Headlong without a Governour, searful, careless, daring nothing in absence of their Princes.

Procurers and favourers of broyls and alterations in houshold affairs, they account modely, simplicity; wisdom, rusticity: and contrariwise, they give to fiery and heady violence, the name of valour and fortitude. They prefer those that have hot heads, and active hands, before those that have a settled and temperate judgment, and upon whom the weight of the affairs must lie; boasters and pratters before those that are simple and stayed.

They care neither for the Publick good nor common honesty, but their private good only; and they retuse no base offices for their gain and commodity. Privata enique stimulatio, vile decus publicum: Every one hath bis private spur, contemning the publick honour.

Always muttering and murmuring against the State, always belching out slanders and insolent speeches against those that govern and command. The meaner and poorer fort have no better passing, then to speak ill of the great and rich; not upon cause and reason, but of envy, being never content with their Governours, nor the present State.

They have nothing but a mouth, they have tongues that cease not, spirits that bouge not: they are a monster, whose parts are all tongues; they speak all things, but know nothing; they look upon all, but see nothing; they laugh at all, and weep at all; sit to mutiny and rebel, not to hight. Their property is rather to assay to shake off their yoke, then to defend their liberty: Procacia plebia ingenia, impigra lingue, ignavi animi: The wits of the vulgar sort are shameless, talkative, base-minded.

They never know how to hold a measure, nor to keep an honest mediocrity. Either like flaves they ferve over-basely, or like Lords they are beyond all measure insolent and tyrannical. They cannot endure a soft and temperate bit, nor are pleased with a lawful liberty; they run always to extremities, either out of hope too much trusting, or too much distuiting out of sea. They will make you asraid if you fear not them: When they are frighted, you choose them under the chin, and you leap with both feet upon their bellies. They

are audacious and proud, if a man shew not the cudgel; and therefore the Proverb is, Tickle them, and they will prick thee; prick them, and they will tickle thee. Nil in vulgo modicum terrere ni paveant, ubi pertimuerint impune contemni : audacia turbidum nifi ubi metuat aut Cervit bumiliter, aut Superbe dominatur : libertatem que media, nec Bernere, nec babere.

Very unthankful towards their benefactors. The recompence of all those that have deserved well of the Common-wealth, have always been banishment, reproach, conspiracy, death. Histories are famous, of Mofes, and all the Prophets, Socrates, Arifides, Phocion, Lyourgus, Demoftbenes, Themiftocles. And the Truth it felf hath faid, That he being one that procured the good and health of the people, escaped not: and contrariwise, they that oppress them, are

dearest unto them. They fear all, they admire all.

To conclude, the people are a lavage beaft, all that they think is vanity; all they fay is false and erroneous; that they reprove, is good; that they approve is naught: that which they praise is infamous: that which they do and undertake is folly. Non tam bene Seneca. cum rebus bumanis geritur, ut meliora pluribus placeant; argumentum peffimi turba eft : It goes not fo well in humane affairs, as that the best things do please the most; multitude it an argument of the worst. The Vulgar multitude is the mother of ignorance, injustice, inconstancy, idolatry, vanity, which never yet could be pleased: their mott is, Vox populi, vox Dei: The voice of the people is the voice of God : but we may fay, Vox populi, von stulsorms : The voice of the people is the voice of fools. Now the beginning of wildom is for a man to keep himself clear and free, and not to suffer himself to be carried with popular opinions. This belongs to the fecond Book, Lib. 2. cap. a. which is now near at hand.

The fourth distinction and difference of men, drawn from their divers professions and conditions of life. olligration and ra noise palle

THE PREFACE

halo red por garbini Ehold here another difference of men, drawn from the diverfity of their professions, conditions; and kinds of life. Some follow the civil and fociable life, others flye it, thinking to fave themselves in the folitary wilderness: some love arms. others

12.

others hate them: some live in common, others in private: it pleafeth some best to have charge, and to lead a publick life; others to hide and keep themselves private: some are Courtiers, attending wholly upon others, others court none but themselves: some delight to live in the City, others in the fields, affecting a Country-life; whose choice is the better, and which life is to be preferred, it is a difficult thing simply to determine, and it may be impertinent. They have all their advantages and disadvantages, their good and their ill. That which is most to be looked into and considered herein, as shall be said, is. That every man know how to chuse that which best besits his own nature, that he might live the more easily and the more happily. But yet a word or two of them all, by comparing them together: but this shall be after we have spoken of that life which is common to all, which hath three degrees.

CHAP. LIII.

The distinction and comparison of the three forts or degrees of life.

Here are three forts of life, and as it were three degrees, one private of every particular man within himself, and in the clofet of his own heart, where all is hid, all is lawful : the fecond, in his house and family, in his private and ordinary actions, where there is neither study nor art, and whereof he is not bound to give any reason; the third, is publick in the eyes of the world. Now to keep order and rule in this first low and obscure stage, it is very difficult, and more rare then in the other two; and in the fecond then in the third : the reason is, because where there is neither Judge nor Controller, nor regarder, and where we have no imagination either of punishment or recompence, we carry our felves more loofely and carelelly, as in private lives, where conscience and reason only is our guide, then in publick, where we are still in check, and as a mark to the eyes and judgment of all, where glory, fear of reproach, base reputation, or some other passion doth lead us (for pastion commands with greater power then reason) whereby we keep our selves ready, standing upon our guard: for which cause it falleth out, that many are counted holy, great, and admirable in publick. who in their own private have nothing commendable. That which is done in publick is but a fable, a fiction, the truth in fecret, and in private; and he that will well judge of a man must converte every

day with him, and pry into his ordinary and natural carriage; the rest is all counterseit; Universus mundus exerces histrionism: The whole world plays the Comedian: and therefore said a wise-man. That he is an excellent man, who is such within and in himself, which he is outwardly for fear of the Laws, and speech of the world. Publick actions thunder in the ears of men, to which a man is attentive when he doth them; as exploits in war, sound judgment in counsel, to rule a people, to perform an ambassinge. Private and donestical actions are quick and sure, to chide, to laugh, to sell, to pay, to converse with his own, a man considers not of them, he doth them, not thinking of them: secret and inward actions much more, to love, to hate, to desire.

Again, there is here another confideration, and that is, that that is done by the natural hypocrific of men, which we make most account of, and a man is more scrupulous in outward actions, that are in shew, but yet are free, of small importance, and almost all in countenances and ceremonies, and therefore are of little cost, and a little effect, then in inward and secret actions that make no shew, but are yet requisite and necessary, and therefore they are the more difficult: of those depend the reformation of the soul, the moderation of the passions, the rule of the life: yea, by the attainment of

these outward, a man becomes careless of the inward.

Now of these three lives, inward, domestical, publick, he that is to lead but one of them, as Hermits, doth guide and order his life at a better rate, then he that hath two: and he that hath but two, his condition is more easie, then he that hath all three.

CHAP. LIV.

A Comparison of the civil and sociable life with the solitary.

They that esteem and commend so much the solitary and retired life, as a great stay and sure retrait from the molestations and troubles of the world, and a sit means to preserve and maintain themselves pure and free from many vices, in as much as the worse part is the greater, of a thousand there is not one good, the number of sools is infinite, contagion in a press is dangerous, they seem to have reason on their side; for the company of the wicked is a dangerous thing, and therefore they that adventure themselves upon the league to take heed that no blasphemer, or dissolute and wicked per-

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on enter their thip; not only Jones with whom Ged was angry, had almost lost all ; Biss to those that were in the ship with him crying out in a great danger for help unto their gods, pleafantly faid. Hold you your peace, for the gods perceive not that you are here with me. Albuquerque the Vice-roy of the Indies for Emanuel King of Portugal, in a great danger at Sea, took upon his shoulders a little child, to the end that his innocency might ferve as a furety to God for his fins. But to think that a solitary life is better. more excellent and perfect, more fit for the exercise of virtue, more difficult, tharp, laborious, and painful, as tome would make us believe, they grofly deceive themselves: for certainly it is a great discharge and ease of life, and it is an indifferent profession, yea, a timple apprentiship and disposition to virtue. This is not to enter into bufiness, troubles, and difficulties, but it is to flye them, and to hide themselves from them, to practise the counsel of the Epicures (Hide thy felf) it is to run to death, to flye a good life. It is out of all doubt, that a King, a Prelate, a Paffour is a far more noble calling, more perfect, more difficult then that of a Monk, or a Hermit. And to fay the truth, in times past the companies of Monks were but Seminaries and Apprentiships, from whence they drew those that were fit for Ecclesiastical charge, and their preparatives to a greater perfection. And he that lives civilly having a wife. children, servants, neighbours, friends, goods, bufmels, and formany divers parts which he must fatisfie, and truly and loyally answer for, hath without comparison far more business, then he that hath none of all these, hath to do with none but himself: Multitude and abundance is far more troublesom, then solitariness and want. In abstinency there is but one thing, in the conduct and use of many, divers things, there are many confiderations, divers duties. It is an easier thing to part from goods, honours, dignities, charges, then to govern them well, and well to discharge them. It is easier for a man to live altogether without a wife, then in all points duely to live, and to maintain himself with his wife, children and all-the rest that depend upon him: so is the single life more easie then the married state.

So likewise to think that solitarines is a sanchuary and an assured haven against all vices, temptations, and impediments, is to deceive themselves; for it is not true in every respect. Against the vices of the world, the stir of the people, the occasions that proceed from without, it is good; but solitarines hath its inward and spiritual assured.

affairs and difficulties : Ivit in desertum, ut tentaretur à diabolo : He went into the defart to be tempted of the Devil. To imprudent and unadvised young men folitariness is a dangerous staff, and it is to be feared, that whilft he walks alone, he entertains worse company then himself, as Crates said to a young man who walked all alone far from company. It is there where fools contrive their wicked delignments, begin their own overthrows, tharpen their passions and wicked defires. Many times, to avoid the gulf of Charybdie, they fall into Scylla; to flye is not to escape, it is many times to increase the danger, and to lose himself: Non vitat, sed fugit: magis autem periculis patemus aversi. He doth not eschew it, but flyeth it : we live more open to dangers being averted from them. A man had need be wife and ftrong, and well affured of himfelf, when he falls into his own hands; for it falls out many times that there are none more dangerous then his own. Guarda me dios de mi; God keep me from my felf, faith the Spanish Proverb very excellently; Nemo eft ex imprudentibus qui fibi relinqui debeat; folitudo omnia mala perfuadet. No unwife man should be left alone to bimself; solitariness perswadeth all evil. But for some private and particular consideration, though good in it felf (for many times it is for idleness, weakness of spirit, hatred, or some other passion) to five and to hide himfelf, having means to profit another, and to do good to the Wealpublick is to be a fugitive, to bury his talent, to hide his light, a fault subject to the rigour of judgment.

CHAP. LV.

A Comparison betwire the life led in common and in private.

Some have thought, that the life led in common, wherein nothing is proper to any man, whereby he may say, that is mine, or that is thine, but where all things are common, tendeth most to perfection, and hath most charity and concord. This may take place in the company of a certain number of people, led and directed by some certain rule, but not in a State and Common-weal, and therefore Plato having once allowed it, thinking thereby to take away all avarice and dissention, did quickly alter his opinion, and was otherwise advised: for as the practice sheweth, there is not only not any hearty affection towards that that is common to all, and as the Proverb is, The common Assi is always ill sadded:

Luc.

also the community draweth unto it self contentions, murmurings, hatreds, as it is always seen, yea even in the Primitive Church: Crescente numero discipulorum, sailum est murmur Gracorum adversu Hebraos: The number of the Disciples increasing, there grew a murmur of the Grecians against the Hebrews. The nature of love is such, as that of great rivers, which being over-charged with abundance of waters, being divided, are quit of that charge; so love being divided to all men, and all things, loseth its force and vigour. But there are degrees of community; to live, that is to say, to eat and drink together is very good, as the manner was in the better and most ancient Common-weals, of Lacedemon and Crete; for besides that modesty and discipline is better retained amongst them, there is also a very profitable communication; but to think to have all things common, as Plato for a while would, though he were afterwards otherwise advised, is to pervert all.

CHAP. LVI.

The Comparison of the Country-life with the Citizens.

His comparison to him that loveth wisdom is not hard to make, for almost all the commodities and advantages are on one fide, both spiritual and corporal, liberty, wildom, innocency, health, pleasure. In the fields the spirit is more free, and to it felf: in Cities, the persons, the affairs, both their own and other mens, the contentions, visitations, discourses, entertainments, how much time do they steal from us? Amici fures temporis: Friends steal away time. How many troubles bring they with them, avocations, allurements to wickedness? Cities are prisons to the spirits of men, no otherwise then cages to birds and beasts. This celestial fire that is in us, will not be shut up, it loveth the air, the fields, and therefore Columella Saith, that the Country-life is the cousin of wildom, Confanguinea, which cannot be without beautiful and free thoughts and meditations; which are hardly had and nourished among the troubles and moleflations of the City. Again, the Country-life is more neat, innocent and simple; In Cities vices are hid in the root, and are not perceived, they pass and infinuate themselves pell-mell, the use, the aspect, the encounter so frequent and contagious, is the cause. As for pleasure and health, the whole Heavens lye open to the view, the Sun, the Air, the Waters, and all the Elements are free, expoled

exposed and open in all parts, always sustaining us, the earth discovereth it self, the fruits thereof are before our eyes; and none of all this is in Cities in the throng of houses: so that to live in Cities, is to be banished in the world, and shut from the world. Again, the Country-life is wholly in exercise, in action, which sharpneth the appetite, maintaineth health, hardeneth and fortifieth the body. That which is to be commended in Cities, is commodity either private, as of Merchants and Artificers, or publick, to the managing whereof sew are called, and in ancient times heretofore they were chosen from the Country-life, who returned, having performed their charge.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the Military Profession.

The military Profession is noble in the cause thereof, for there is no commodity more just, nor more universal, then the prote-The praise ction of the peace and greatest of his Country; noble in the exe-thereof. cution, for valour is the greatest, the most generous and hereical virtue of all others: honourable, for all humane actions, the greatest and most glorious is the Warriors, and by which all others honours are judged and discerned; pleasant, the company of so many noble men, young, active, the ordinary view of so many accidents and spectacles, liberty and conversation without Art, a manly sashion of life without ceremony, the variety of divers actions, a couragious harmony of warlike musick, which entertains us, and stirs our blood, our ears, our soul; those warlike commotions which ravish us with their horrour and fear, that confused tempest of sounds and crys, that fearful ordering of so many thousands of men, with so much sury, ardour, and courage.

But on the other side, a man may say, that the Art and experience of undoing one another, of killing, ruinating, destroying our The dispraise. own proper kind, seems to be unnatural, and to proceed from an alienation of our sense and understanding; it is a great testimony of our weakness and impersection, and it is not found in beasts themselves, in whom the image of Nature continueth far more entire. What folly, what rage is it, to make such commotions, to torment so many people, to run thorow so many dangers and hazards both by Sea and Land, for a thing so uncertain and doubtful as the issue of War, to run with such greediness and ficreeness as-

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ter death, which is eafily found every where, and without hope of sepulture, to kill those he hates not, nor ever saw? But whence proceedeth this great fury and ardor, for it is not for any offence committed? What phrensie and madness is this, for a man to abandon his own body, his time his rest, his life, his liberty, and to leave it to the mercy of another? to expose himself to the loss of hisown members; and to that which is a thousand times worse then death, fire and fword, to be trodden, to be pinched with hot iron, to be cut, to be torn in pieces, broken, and put to the gallies for ever? And all this, to serve the passion of another, for a cause which a man knows not to be just, and which is commonly unjust: for wars are commonly unjust, and for him whom a man knows not, who takes so little care for him that fights for him, that he will be content to mount upon his dead body, to help his own stature, that he may see the farther. I speak not here of the duty of Subjects towards their Prince and Country, but of Voluntaries and mercenary Souldiers.

The fifth and last distinction and difference of men, drawn from the favours and disfavours of Nature and Fortune.

THE PREFACE.

His last distinction and difference is apparent enough, and fufficiently known, and hath many members and confiderations, but may all be reduced to two heads, which a man may call with the vulgar fort, Felicity or good Fortune, and Infelicity or ill Fortune. Greatness or littleness. To Felicity and greatness belong health, beauty, and the other goods of the body, liberty, nobility, homour, dignity, science, riches, credit, friends. To Infelicity or littleness, belong all the contraries, which are privations of the other good things. From these things doth arise a very great difference, because a man is happy in one of these, or in two, or three, and not in the reft, and that more or less by infinite degrees: few or none at all are happy or unhappy in them all. He that hath the greatest parts of these goods, and especially three, No. bility, Dignity, or Authority and riches, is accounted great; he that hath not any of these three, little. But many have but one or two, and are accounted midlings betwixt the great and the little. We must speak a little of them all.

Of health, beauty, and other natural goods of the body, hath been Chap. 11.

spoken before; as likewise of their contraries, Sickness, Grief.

CHAP. LVIII.

Of Liberty and Servitude.

Iberty is accounted by some a sovereign good, and Servitude an extream evil, infomuch, that many have chosen rather to die a cruel death, then to be made flaves, or to fee either the publick good, or their own private, endangered. But of this there may be too much, and of these, too many, as of all other things. There is a twofold liberty; the true, which is of the mind or spirit, and is in the power of every one, and cannot be taken away, nor indamaged by another, nor by fortune it felf: contrariwile, the servitude of the spirit is the most miserable of all others, to serve our own affections, to fuffer our felves to be devoured by our own paffions, to be led by opinions. Opitiful captivity! The corporal liberty is a good greatly to be esteemed, but subject to fortune: and it is neither just nor reasonable, (if it be not by reason of some other circumstance) that it should be preferred before life it felf, as some of the ancients have done, who have rather made choice of death, then to lofe it; and it was accounted a great virtue in them: fo great an evil was Servitude thought to be : Servitus obedientia eft fratii animi & abjetti, arbitrio carentis suo: Servitude is the obedience of a base and abject mind, which wanteth his due judgment. Many great and wife men have served, Regulus, Valerianus, Plato, Diogenes, even those that were wicked, and yet dishonoured not their own condition, but continued in effect and truth more free then their masters.

CHAP. LIX.

Nobility.

Obility is a quality every where not common but honourable, brought in and established with great reason, and for publick The description of Nobility.

It is divers, diverfly taken and understood, and according to divers nations and judgments, it hath divers kinds. According to

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the general and common opinion and custom, it is a quality of a race or flock. Aristotle faith, that it is the antiquity of a race and of riches. Plutarch calleth it the virtue of a race, agerd virus, meaning thereby a certain habit and quality contained in the linage. What this quality or virtue is, all are not wholly of one accord. faving in this, that it is profitable to the weal-publick. For to fome, and the greater part, this quality is military, to others it is politick, literary of those that are wife, palatine of the officers of the Prince. But the military hath the advantage above the reft: for besides the fervice that it yieldeth to the weal-publick as the rest do, it is painful, laborious, dangerous, whereby it is recounted more worthy and commendable. So hath it carried with us by excellency, the honourable title of Valour. There must then according to this opinion be two things in true and perfect nobility, protession of this virtue, and quality profitable to the common-weal, which is as the form; and the race as the subject and matter, that is to say, a long continuance of this quality by many degrees and races, and time out of mind, whereby they are called in our language Gentlemen, that is to fay of a race, house, family, carrying of long time the same name, and the same profession. For he is truly and entirely noble, who maketh a fingular profession of publick virtue, serving his Prince and Country, and being descended of parents and ancettours that have done the fame.

The diffination.

There are some that separate these two, and think that one of them sufficeth to true nobility, that is, either only virtue and quality, without any consideration of race or ancestours. This is a personal and acquired nobility, and considered with rigour, it is rude that one come from the house of a Butcher or Vintuer should be held for noble, whatsoever service he hath done for the Common-weal. Nevertheless this opinion hath place in many nations, namely, with the Turks, contemners of ancient nobility, and esseeming of no other but personal, and actual military valour; or only antiquity of race without profession of the quality; this is in bloud and purely natural.

If a man should compare these two simple and impersect nobilities together, that which is purely natural (to judge aright) it is the less, though many, out of their vanity have thought otherwise. The natural is another mans quality and not his own: Genus & proavos & qua non secimus ipsi, vix ea nostra puro: nemo vixit in gloricum nostram i nee quod ante nos suit nostrum est: I scarce account those

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things ours which descend from our linage or Ancestours, or any thing which we our felves have not done; no man hath lived for our glory and renown: Neither are we to account that ours which bath been before And what greater folly can there be, then to glory in that which is not his own? This honour may light upon a vicious man. a knave and one in himself a true villain. It is also unprofitable to another; for it communicateth not with any man, neither is any man bettered by it, as science, justice, goodness, beauty, riches do. They that have nothing elfe commendable in them but this nobility of thefh and bloud, make much of it, they have it always in their mouths, it makes their cheeks swell and their heart too (they will be fure to manage that little good that they have) it is the mark by which they are known, and a token that they have nothing else in them, because they rest themselves wholly upon that. But this is vanity, for all their glory springeth from frail instruments, Ab stero. conceptu. partu; From the womb, the conception, the birth; and is buried under the tomb of their Ancestours. As offenders being purfued have recourse to Altars and the Sepulchres of the dead, and in former times to the statues of Emperours; so these men being destitute of all merit and subject of true honour have recourse to the memory and armories of their Ancestours. What good is it to a blind man, that his parents have been well-fighted, or to him that stammereth, whose Grand-father was eloquent? and yet these kind of people are commonly glorious, high-minded, contemners of others; Contemptor animus & Superbia commune nobilitatus malum: A con- Saluft. temptible and proud mind, are common vices accompanying Nobility.

The personal and acquired honour hath conditions altogether contrary and very good. It is proper to the possession thereof, it is acquired and always a worthy subject and prositable to others. Again, a man personal bemay say, that it is more ancient and more rare then the natural, nour. for by it the natural began; and in a word, that is true honour which consisteth in good and prositable effects, not in dreams and imagination, vain and unprositable, and proceedeth from the spirit, not the bloud, which is the same in noble men that is in others. Quin generosus? advirtutem à natura bene compositus animus facit nobilem, cui ex quacunque conditione supra fortunam licet surgere:

Who is a gentleman? a mind well disposed to virtue maketh noble, who, upon what accident or condition soever is able to raise it self above

fortune.

But they are both oftentimes, and very willingly together, and

Of Honour.

200 Natural and acquired.

fo they make a perfect honour: The natural is a way and occasion to the personal; for things do easily return to their first nature and beginning. As the natural hath taken his beginning and effence from the personal, so it leadeth and conducteth his to it; Fortes ereantur fortibus: boc unum in nobilitate bonum, ut nobilibus imposita necessitudo videatur, ne à majorum virtute degenerent : The valiant beget those that are valiant, this is the only good of nobility, that necessity seemeth to be imposed on these that are noble, not to degenerate from the virtue of their Ancestors. To know that a man is sprung from honourable Ancestors, and such as have deserved well of the Common-weal, is a strong obligation and spur to the honourable exploits of virtue. It is a foul thing to degenerate, and to belye a mans own race. The nobility that is given by the bounty and letters patent of the Prince, if it have no other reason, it is shameful, and rather dishonourable, then honourable; It is a nobility in parchment, bought with filver or favour, and not by blood as it ought. If it be given for merit, and notable fervices, it is personal and acquired, as hath been faid.

CHAP, LX.

Of bonour.

Ome fay (but not so well) that honour is the price and recom-D pence of virtue; or not so ill, an acknowledgment of virtue, or a The description prerogative of a good opinion, and afterwards of an outward duof bonour . ty towards virtue; It is a priviledge that draweth his principalessence from virtue. Others have called it, the shadow of virtue; which sometimes followeth, sometimes goeth before it, as the shadow the body. But to speak truly, it is the rumour of a beautiful and virtuous action, which reboundeth from our fouls to the view of the world, and by reflection into our fouls, bringing unto us a testimony of that which others believe of us, which turneth to a

great contentment of mind.

Honour is so much esteemed and sought for by all, that to attain thereunto, a man enterpriseth, endureth, contemneth whatsoever besides, yea life it self, nevertheless it is a matter of small and slender moment, uncertain, a stranger, and as it were separated in the sir, from him that is honoured; for it doth not only not enter into him, nor is inward and effential unto him, but it doth not

fo much as touch him (being for the most part either dead or abfent, who feeleth nothing) but fettleth it felf and flayeth without at the gate, flicks in the name, which receiveth and carrieth all the honours and dishonours, praises and dispraises, whereby a man is faid to have either a good name or a bad. All the good or evil that a man can fay of Cafar, is carried by his name. Now the name is nothing of the nature and fubstance of the thing, it is only the image which presenteth it, the mark which dittinguisheth it from others, a fummarie which containeth in it a fmall volume, mounteth it, and carrieth it whole and entire, the mean to enjoy it and to use it (for without the names there would be nothing but confusion, the use of things would be loft, the world would decay, as the history of the tower of Babel doth richly teach us:) to be brief, the flickler and middle of the effence of the thing, and the honour or dishonour thereof, for it is that that toucheth the thing it felf, and receiveth all the good or ill that is spoken. Now honour before it arrive to the name of the thing, it goes a course almost circular, like the Sun. performed and perfected in three principal fites or places, the action or work, the heart, the tongue: for it begins and is conceived, as in the matrix and root, in that beauty, goodness, profit of the thing honoured which comes to light and is produced, this is (as hath been faid) the rumour of a beautiful or honourable action. Cali enarrant gloriam Dei: pleni funt Cali & Terra gloria tua: The Heavens declare the glory of God, the Heavens and Earth are full of thy glory (for whatloever valour, worth, and perfection the thing have in it felf and inwardly, if it produce nothing that is excellent, it is altogether uncapable of honour, and is as if it were not at all) from thence it entreth into the spirit and understanding, where it takes life, and is formed into a good, haughty, and great opinion, finally fallying forth from thence, and being carried by the word verbal or written it returns by reflection, and as it were dissolveth, and endeth in the name of the author of this beautiful work, where it had the beginning, as the Sun in the place from whence it departeth, and then it bears the name of honour, praise, glory, and renown.

But the question is, what those actions are to which honour is due. Some think that it is generally due to those that perform their duty in that which belongs to their profession, although it be neither famous nor profitable, as he that upon a Stage plays the part of a servant well, is no less commended, then he that presente the person

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of

of a King, and he that cannot work in flatues of Gold, cannot want those of leather or earth, wherein he may as well shew the perfection of his Art. All cannot employ themselves, neither are they called to the managing of great affairs, but the commendation is, to do that well that he hath to do. This is too much to lessen and vilifie honour, which is not a common and ordinary guest for all perfons; and all just and lawful actions. Every chaste woman, every honest man is not honourable. The wifest men require thereunto two or three things, the one is difficulty, labour or danger, the other is publick utility, and this is the reason why it is properly due to those that administer, and well acquit themselves of great charges, that be the actions as privately and generally good and profitable as they will, they shall have approbation and sufficient renown with those that know them, and the safety and protection of the laws, but not honour which is publick, and hath more dignity, fame, and splendour. Some add unto these a third, and that is, that it be not an action of obligation, but of supererogation.

Defires of ho-

The defire of honour and glory, and the approbation of another, is a vicious, violent, powerful passion, whereof we have spoken in the passion of ambition; but very profitable to the weal-publick, to contain men in their duty, to awaken and instante them to honourable actions, a testimony of weakness and humane insufficiency, which for want of good mony useth light and salse coin. Now in what, and how far forth it is excusable, and when not commendable, and that honour is not the recompence of virtue, shall be said hereafter.

Lib. 3. in the vertue of Temperancy.

Marke of be

The marks of honour are very divers, but the better and more beautiful are they that are without profit and gain, and are such as a man may not strain, and apply to the victous, and such as by some base office have served the weal-publick. These are the better and more effected: they are in themselves more vain that have nothing of worth in them, but the simple mark of men, of honour and virtue, as almost in all policies, crowns, laurel garlands, oak, a certain form of accountrements, the prerogative of some surname, precedency in assemblies, orders of Knighthood. And it falleth out sometimes, that it is a greater honour not to have the marks of honour, having deserved them, then to have them. It is more honourable unto me, said Cato, that every man should ask me, why I have not a statue exceed in the market place, then they should ask why I have it.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

Cience, to fay the truth, is a beautiful ornament, a very profitable instrument to him that knows well how to use it; but in what rank to place it, and how to prize it, all are not of one opinion: and therein they commit two contrary faults some by esteeming it too much, fome too little. Some make that account of it, that they prefer it before all other things, and think that it is a fovereign good, some kind and ray of Divinity, seeking it with greedinels, charge and great labour, others contemn it, and delpile those that profess it: the mediocrity betwixt both is the more just and most affured. For my part, I place it far beneath honesty. finctity, wisdom, virtue, yea, beneath dexterity in affairs: and See lib 2 c. 14. yet I dare to range it with dignity, natural nobility, military valour: and I think they may very well dispute of the precedency; and if I were called to tpeak my opinion, I should make it to march either fide by fide with them, or incontinently after. As sciences are different in their subjects, and matters, in the apprentiship and acquisition, so are they in their utility, honesty, necessity, as also in their gain and glory: some are Theoricks and in speculations only; others are Practick & in action : again, some are Reals, occupied in the knowledge of things that are without us, whether they be natural or fupernatural; others are particular, which teach the tongues to speak and to reason. Now without all doubt, those sciences that have most honesty, utility, necessity, and least glory, vanity, mercenary gain, are far to be preferred before others. And therefore the Pra-Click are absolutely the better, which respect the good of maniteaching him to live well, and to die well, to command well, to chev well; and therefore they are diligently to be fludied by him that endeavoureth to be wife: whereof this work is a brief and fummary, that is to fay, Moral Science, Oeconomical, Political. After thefe is Natural, which serveth to the knowledge of whatsoever is in the world fit for our use, as likewise to admire the greatness, goodnels, wildom, power of the chief work-mafter. All other knowledges are vain, and are to be fludied curforily, as appendents unto thefe, because they are no ways beneficial to the life of man, and help not to make us honest men. And therefore it is a loss and a folly to employ therein to much time, to much cost, so much labour as we do. It is true that they ferve to heap up crowns and

and to win reputation with the people, but it is in policies that are not wholly found goods.

Of riches and poverty.

The cause of troubles.

Hele are the two fources and elements of all discords, troubless. and commotions that are in the world: for the excessive riches of fome, do ftir them up to pride, to delicacies, pleasures, disdain of. the poor; to enterprile and attempt: the extream poverty of others. provokes them to envy, extream jealousie, sury, despair, and to attempt fortunes. Plato called them the plagues of a Common-wealth. But which of the two is the more dangerous, is not thorowly refolved amongst all. According to Aristotle it is abundance, for a State. needs not doubt of those that desire but to live, but of such as are. ambitious and rich. According to Plato it is poverty, for desperate poor men are terrible and furious creatures; for wanting either: bread or work, to exercise their arts and occupations, or too exceffively charged with imposts, they learn that of the mistress of the School, Necessity, which of themselves they never durst to have learned; and they dare, because their number is great. But yet there is a better remedy for them, then for the rich, and it is an eafier matter to hinder this evil: for fo long as they have bread and employment, to exercise their mysteries, and live, they will never ffir. And therefore the rich are to be feared for their own fakes. their vice and condition: the poor, by reason of the imprudency of governours.

Against the equality, and inequality of riches,

Now many Law-makers, and great States-men, have gone about to take away these two extremities, and this great inequality of goods and fortunes, and to bring in a mediocrity and equality, which they called the nursing-mother of peace and amity; and others likewise have attempted to make all things common, which could never be, but by imagination. But besides this, it is impossible to establish an equality, by reason of the number of children which increase in one family, and not in another; and that it can hardly be put in practice, although a man be ensorted, and it cost much to attain thereunto, it were also inexpedient, and so small purpose, and by another way to fall into the same mischies: for there is no hatred more capital then betwixt equals; the envy and jealousse of equals is the seminary of troubles, seditions, and cruels

wars.

wars. Inequality is good, fo it be moderate. Harmony confifte the not of like founds, but different and well according.

Nihil est aqualitate inaqualius : Nothing can less equal be Then it self, Equality.

This great and deformed inequality of goods proceedeth from many causes, especially two: the one is from unjust lones; as usuries and interests, whereby the one eat the other, and grow fat with the substance of another: Qui devorant plebem siem essam panis: Who devour the people as a morfel of bread. The other from dispositions, whether amongst the living, as alienations, donations, endowments in marriages; or testamentaries by reason of death. By both which means some do excessively increase above others, who continue poor. The heirs of rich men marry with those that are rich, whereby some houses are dismembred and brought to nothing; and others made rich and exalted: All which inconveniencies must be ruled and moderated by avoiding excessive extremities, and in some mediocrity and reasonable equality: for to have either intire, is neither possible, not good, nor expedient as hath been said. And this shall be handled in the virtue of Justice.

FINIS.



WISDOM,

THE SECOND BOOK.

Containing the general Instructions and Rules of Wisdom.

THE PREFACE.

Wherein is contained a general portrait of Wisdom, and the sum of this Eook.

Aving in the first Book laid open unto man many and divers means to know himself, and our humane condition, which is the first part, and a great introduction to Wisdom, we are now to enter into the doctrine, and to understand in this second Book, the general rules and opinions thereof, reserving the more particular to the third and last Book. It is worthiest consideration, and as a Preamble to the rest, to call man unto himself, to taste, sound, study himself, to the end he may know and understand his desects and miserable condition, and so make himself capable of wholsome and necessary remedies, which are the advisements and instructions of Wisdom.

But it is a strange thing, that the world should take so little care of its own good and amendment. What wit is it for a man to be atterly careless that his business be well done? Man would only

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live, but he cares not to know how to live well. That which a man should especially and only know, is that which he knows least, and cares least to know.

Our inclinations, defignments, studies, are (as we see) from our youth divers, according to the diversity of natures, companies, instructions, occasions, but there is not any that casteth his eyes to the other side, that endeavoureth to make himself wise, not any that ruminateth hereupon, or that doth so much as think thereon. And if perhaps sometimes he doth, it is but by chance, and as it were passing by, and he attendeth it, as news that is told, which concerneth him not at all. The word pleaseth some well, but that is all, the thing it self is neither accounted of, nor sought for in this world, of so universal corruption and contagion. To understand the merit and worth of Wisdom, some kind of air or tincture of nature is necessary: for men are willing to use, study, and endeavour, rather for those things that have their effects and fruits glorious, outward, and sensible, such as ambition, avarice, passion have, then for wisdom, whose effects are sweet, dark, inward, and less visible.

O how much doth the world erre in this account, it loveth better the wind with noise, then the body it self, the essence without it; opinion and reputation, then verity! Man (as hath been said in the first Book) is nothing but vanity and misery, uncapable of wisdom. Every man hath a taste of that air which he breatheth, and where he liveth, followeth the train and custom of living, followed by all, how then should he adate himself of any other? We follow the steps of another, yet we press and instance one another? we invest our vices and passions one into another; No man stays us, or cryes bola unto it, so much do we sail and mistake our selves. We have need of some special savour from Heaven, and withal, a great and dangerous force and constancy of nature, to note that common errour which no man findeth, in advising and consulting of that which no man considereth, and resolving our selves quite contrary to the course of other men.

There are some though rare, I see them, I understand them, I smell them with pleasure and admiration; but what, they are all Democrises, or Herselises; the one sort do nothing but mock and gibe, thinking they shew truth and wisdom enough in laughing at errour and solly. They laugh at the world, for it is ridiculous, they are pleasant, but not good and charitable. The other are weak and poor, they speak with a low voice, their mouths half open, they disguise

their

their language, they mingle and shaff their propositions, to make them pals more currently, with so many other things, and with fuch Art, that they are hardly discerned. They spake not distinctly, clearly, affuredly, but doubtfully like oracles: I come after them, and under them, but I fpeak in good footh that which I think, and .

believe cleerly and perspicuously.

I give here a picture, with certain leffons of wisdom, which perhaps may feem to some new and strange, and such as no man in former time hath given in fuch a fashion; and I doubt not but malicious people, who have neither patience, nor power to judge truly and wifely of things, maliciously condemn whatsoever agrees not with their palate, and with that which they have already received. But that is all one, for who is he that can affure himself of the good opinion of all? but my hope is, that the simple and debonaire, the Ætherian and fublime spirits will judge indifferently. These are the two extremities and stages of peace and serenity; In the middle are

the troubles, tempelts, and meteors, as hath been faid.

The division of this book into 4 parts.

Lib. T.

To the end we may have some rude and general knowledge of that which is handled in this book, and the whole doctrine of wifdom, we may divide this matter into four points or confiderations. The first are preparatives to wisdom, which are two: the one an ex-Preparatives, emption and freedom from all that may hinder the attainment thereof, which are either the external errours and vices of the world; or inward, as passions: whe other is a plain, entire, and universal liberty of the mind. These two first, and the more difficult, make a man capable and apt for wisdom, because they empty and cleanse the place, to the end it may be more ample and capable to receive a thing of to great importance as Wildom is. Magna & spatiofa res eft Sapientia, vacuo illi loco opus eft, supervacua ex animo tollenda funt: Great and spacious is Wisdom, and had need of large room: the mind must be freed from things superfluous. And this is the first. Afterwards they make him open, free, and always ready to receive it. This is the fecond.

Foundations.

The second are foundations of wisdom, which are likewise two, true and effential probity, and to have a certain end and course of life. These two respect Nature, they rule and accommodate us thereunto, the first to the universal nature which is reason; for probity or honefty, as shall be said, is no other thing: the second to the particular of every one of us; for it is the choice of the kind of life proper and fit for the nature of every one.

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The third belongs to the raifing of this building, that is to fay, Offices and functions of wisdom, which are six, whereof the three Offices. first are principally for every one in himself, which are piety, inward government of our selves and thoughts, and a sweet carriage in all accidents of prosperity and adversity: the other three respect another, which are such an observation as is necessary of Laws, Customs, and Ceremonies, a sweet conversion with another, and prudence in all affairs. These six do correspond and comprehend the four moral virtues, the first, fourth, and sitth, do properly appertain to Justice, and to that which we ow to God and our neighbour; the second and third, to Fortitude and Temperance, the sixth to Prudence. And therefore these six, are the matter and subject of the third Book, which handleth at large the sour moral virtues, and in particular the offices and duties of a wise man, but in this Book they are handled in general.

The fourth, are the effects and fruits of wisdom, which are two:

To be always ready for death, and to maintain a mans self in true Fruits.

tranquillity of spirit, the crown of wisdom, and the sovereign good.

These are in twelve rules and lessons of wisdom, divided into so many Chapters, which are the proper and peculiar foot-steps and offices of a wise man, which are not found else-where. I mean in that sense wherein we take them, and now describe them: For although some of them, as honesty, the observation of the Laws, seem to be found in others of the common and prosane fort, yet not such as we here require and decipher them to be. He then is wise, who maintaining himself truly free and noble, is directed in all things according to nature, accommodating his own proper and particular to the universal, which is God, living and carrying himself before God, with all, and in all affairs, upright, constant, chearful, content and affured, attending with one and the same foot, all things that may happen; and lastly death it self.

CHAP. I.

Exemption and freedom from errours, and the vices of the world, and from Passions. The first disposition to Wisdom.

I is here necessary for the first lesson and instruction unto Wisdom, to put the knowledge of our selves and our humane condition: dition: for the first in every thing, is well to know the subject wherewith a man hath to do, and which he handleth and manageth to bring to perfection. But we hold that to be already done, for it is the fubicat of our first Book : We can only say here, as a summary repetition of all that hath been spoken, that a man aspiring unto wildom, thould above all things, and before all other works fushciently know himself, and all men belides. This is the true science of man, very profitable, a matter of great study, fruit, and efficacy, for man is all in all. It is proper to a wife man: for, only he that is wife knows himfelf, and he that knows himfelf well is wife It is very difficultat for a man is extreamly counterfeited and difguited, not only man with man, but every man with himself. Every one takes a delight to deceive himself, to hide, to rob, to betray himfelf, Ipfi nobis furto subducimur, flattering and tickling himself to make himself laugh, extenuating his defects, setting a high price of whatfoever is good in himfelf, winking of purpole left he should too cleerly fee himself. It is very rare and sought for by a few, and therefore no marvel if wisdom be so rare; for they are very few that do well know this first lesson, or that do study it; there is not a man that is mafter to himself, much less to another. In things not necessary and strange, there are many Masters, many Disciples. In this point we are never with, nor within our felves, we always muse of outward things, and man better knoweth all things then himself. O misery! O madnels! To the wife in this point, it is neceffary that we know all forts of men, of all airs, climates, natures, ages, estates, professions, (to this end serves the traveller and the hittory) their motions, inclinations, actions, not only publick, (they are least to be regarded, being all feigned and artificial) but private, and especially the more simple and peculiar, such as arise from their proper and natural jurisdiction; as likewise all those that concern them particularly, for in thele two their nature is discovered: aftewards that we confer them all together to make an entire body and universal judgment; but especially that we enter into our felves, tafte and attentively found our felves, examine every thought, word, action. Doubtless we shall in the end learn, that man is in truth on the one fide a poor, weak, pitiful, a miferable thing, and we cannot but pity him; and on the other, we shall find him Iwollen & puffed up with wind, prefumption, pride, defires, and we cannot but disdain and detest him. Now he hath been sufficiently decyphered and presented unto us even unto the life, in the first Book,

Book, by divers means in all fenfes, and according to all his vilages: and this is the reason why we speak no more of this knowledge of man, and of our felves in this place; but we fet down here for the first rule of wisdom, the fruit of this knowledge, to the end, that the end and fruit of the first Book, might be the beginning and entrance of the second. This fruit is to defend and preserve men from the contagion of the world, and of themselves; these are the two evils and formal hinderance of wifdom, the one outward; as popular opinions and vices, the general corruption of the world; the other inward, that is our passions. Now we are to see how dithicult this is, and how a man may defend himself against these two. Wisdom is difficult and rare, and the greatest, yea almost the only endeavour that we have to attain unto it, is to fet at liberty, and to free our felves from that miserable double captivity, Publick and domestical, of another and of our telves: this being attained, the rest will be easie. Let us speak of these two evils distinctly and apart.

As concerning the outward, we have before sufficiently displayed the vulgar nature, and strange humours of the world, and the com- Exemption of mon fort of people: whereby it is easie enough to know what can vulgar errours. proceed from them; for fince they are worshippers of vanity, envious, malicious, unjust, without judgment, discretion, mediocrity, what can they deliberate; think, judge, relolve, speak, do well and justly? We have likewise as it were by example reported and quoted (in prefenting the mifery of mankind) many great faults, which the world doth generally commit in judgment and will, whereby it is easie to know that it is wholly composed of error and vice. whereunto all the fayings of the wilest in the world do accord, affirming that the worler part is the greater, of a thousand there is not one good; the number of fools are infinite, and contagion is

most dangerous in a preass.

And therefore they counsel us, not only to preserve our selves neat and cleer from popular opinions, defignments, and affections, as being all bale, feeble, indigetted, impertinent, and very often falle, at the least imperfect : but also to fly above all things the multitude, the company and conversation of the vulgar fort, because a man cannot approach neer unto it, without some loss and impeachment. The frequentation of the people is contagious and very dangerous, even to the wifest and best settled men that are: for who is able to withfland the force and charge of vices, coming with fo

great a troop? One example of covetousness or incontinency doth much harm. The company of one delicate, effeminate person, doth soften and make nice by little and little, those that live with him. One rich neighbour gives light and life to our covetousness. One dissolute person worketh (if I may so say) and applieth his vice, like rust, into the nearest and purest mind. What then can we look for from such manners, after which the world runneth, and as it were with a loose bridle?

But what? it is very rare and difficult to to do. It is a plaufible thing, and that hath great appearances of goodness and justice, to follow the way approved by all: the great beaten way doth eafily deceive : Lata eft via ad mortem, & multi per cam; mundus in malieno positus: Broad is the way to death, and many walk therein: The world is given unto wickedness: we go one after another like bealts for company; we never dive into the reason, the merit, the equity of the cause; we follow examples and customs, and as it were of envy and emulation, we flumble, and fall one upon another; we throng one another, and draw every one to a head-long downfall. We borrow our own overthrow, and perilli upon credit: Alienis perimus exemplis; We perish by other mens examples. Now he that would be wife, must always suspect whatsoever pleafeth, and is approved by the people, by the greater number, and must look into that that is true and good in it self, and not into that which seemeth to them; and that is most used and frequented, and not fuffer himself to be cunny-catcht and carried by the multitude, which should not be accounted but for one: Unus mihi pro populo, & populus pro uno : One is to me for the people, and the people for one. And when to stop his mouth, and to beat him down at a blow, it thall be faid, That the whole world fayeth it, believes it, doth it; he must say in his heart. It is so much the worse, it is but a simple and wicked caution; I esteem it the less, because the world esteems it so much: likewise Phocion, who seeing the people higly to applaud fomething which he had spoken, turned to his friends that stood by him, and faid unto them, Hath any folly unwitting of my felf escaped my mouth, or any loofe or wicked word, that all this people do fo approve me ? Quis placere potest populo, cui placet virtus? malis artibus quaritur popularis favor: Who is be to whom virtue is pleafing, that can please the people? The favour of the people is attained by ill means. We must then as much as is possible fly the haunt and company of the fottish, illiterate, ill-composed people, but above

all oseferre our felves from their judgments, opinions, vitious lies haviour, and without any für keep always our own thoughts spare by themselves : Land feio non probat popular, qued probat popular ego nefeio : Sapiens non reficit quid bomines judbeent : non it qui populas, fed se fidera mundi contrariam iter incendent, jet bit afterfus piniones omninen vadis : What I know, the people allow not : what the people allem, I hann not : A wife man refellet not what men judge of bim : He goes not the fame way with the people, but, at the Rars run a contrary course to the world, fo be to the opinions of all men. Remaining in the world, without being of the world, like the kidnies covered with fat, but have none themselves. Non estis de moinde, ideo edit vos mundus : Odi profamma vulgus & arcee : Tou are nos of the world, therefore the world bateth you: The profane multitude, I both bate and abandon. This is that solitariness so much commended by the wife, which is to disburthen the foul of all vices and popular opinions, and to free it from this confusion and captivity, to draw it to it felf, and to fet it at liberty.

The other evil and hinderance to wifdom which a man muft carefully avoid, and which is inward, and therefore the more dan- Toe feesad gerous, is the confusion and captivity of his passions, and turbulent part, Exemptiaffections, whereof he must disfurnish and fees him it is affections, whereof he must disfurnish and free himself, to the end he may be empty and neat, like a white paper, and be made a subject more fit to receive the tincture and imprefious of wildons against which the passions do formally oppose themselves; and therefore the wifest were wont to fay, That it was impossible even for Impiter himself to love, to be in choler, to be touched with any passion, and to be wife at one time. Wisdom is a regular managing of our foul with measure and proportion : It is an equability, and fweet harmony of our judgments, wills, manners, a constant health of our mind; whereas the passions are contrariwise but the furious reboundings, accessions and recessions of folly, violent and rash sallies and motions.

We have fufficiently decyphered the passions in the first Book, and faid enough to bring us into horrour, and deteffation of them : General remethe general means and remedies to overcome them (for the parti- dies against cular in every one, are in the third Book, in the virtue of Fortitude the paffices. and temperance) are many and different, good and evil. And not to focak of that goodness and felicity of nature, so well tempered and feafoned, that it maketh us calm and clear, exempt and quit from firong paffions and violent motions, and keepeth its in good

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Supidity.

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The first improper, and by no means commondable, is a kind of standity and information from the perceiving and apprehending of things, a brutish pampering food of base minds, of such as have their apprehension wholly dulled, a spiritual seprote, which seemeth to have some shew of health, but it hath not: for it is not possible there should be wisdom and constancy, where there is not knowledge and understanding, and imployment in affairs: so that it is only a complexion, and not a wirtue. This is not to feel the disease, and therefore not to care it: nevertheless this state is nothing so bad, as to know and feel, and understand; and yet to suffer himself to be gulled and overcome.

Prainlerim delirm intrique videri,
Dum mea delettent me, vel denique fallant,
Quàm sapere & ringi.

I rather chuse to seem a sool with ease,
Then to be wise indeed, and yet displease.

Counterpaffi-

The fecond remedy is little better then the evil it felf, but yet more in use, that is, when a man conquereth and extinguisheth one passion by a stronger then it: for passions are never of equal force, but there is always one or another (as in the humours of the body) which is the predominant, which ruleth and devoureth the rest, and we attribute many times very untruly that unto virtue and wisdom, which ariseth from passion: but it is not enough in these men, when those passions that bear sway in them, are not of the worst.

Precaution.

The third remedy and good (though it be not the best) is wise and artificial, whereby a man avoideth, styeth, and hideth himself from all such accidents whatsoever, as may stir, awaken, or kindle his passions. This is a kind of study and Art, whereby a man prepareth himself before the occasions, in diverting of evils, and providing that we feel them not; like that King, who brake a beautiful and rich cup that one gave him, to take away in a good hour all matter of brawl and anger that might happen about it. The prayer of these kind of people is, No not induction temperation. By this remedy, he that sets himself forward to the sport, sports not himself:

Men officeour, prompt and cholerick; flye contentions; alexestichidvand flav themselves up the finteenlet and petalion of peffend For when a min's disce entred, it is no esticimaster to darry blusfelf wifely and discreetly. We guide our affictions in the beginnings and hold them at our mercy; butiafter they are once a foot, and throughly heated, they guide and earry us! Passions 4re far more calily avoidedy then moderated preferadment brime for iling and remort ment o because all things a transheir dieft birthetechicaniscope their their weakness we discover not the danger and in their full growth and firength we know no bow to with fland them in a we may fee in divers, who eafily and lightly enterinto want by and law and contentions, but Mentierwards enforced to the ourse they est with this primary sail tercons to 34 stronger periods to bale and difficuous hie, graisb look false intelligention and to prefer the sale and the sale an fact which are all remedies a hundred times world then the cyil they go about to heal; Melike non incipient, quan definent They fool mor begin bester, show they and from the water of wildow, they fall into the want of his on This is contisty to shall suit you file - Merespring and hyperferendentify il It is like fools by hog put of 3 wittens flame, live eatily perfunded to a me to what for ven a man demands, and as eafily flye from their words, and approve that they have spoken. We must therefore in all our affairs and commerce with men, from the beginning be predent and advised.

The fourth and best remedy of all, is a lively Virtue, resolutions and confinoy of the initial where bearing fach and con-Virtue. fronteth all accidents without trouble, she wastleth and entreth into a combate with them. It is valiant, noble, and glofious impassibility courte contrasy to the field which we have Gooding of the Hopkilon with the confirmation and bed attain unto Herriense de moching more (mocellangeben a programmilise une Dieburie inche intere milouis Palians) promeditationis interes which giveth the temper to the foul, and males its hard a start Welly, and impenocrable against whatforest would wound or part, tibert of the propositions, one of the proposition of the state Tohopin hocketownhist will, its minimum of characteristic power of the policy of the p - did by the witness and warings shell of Bur she to all, the Towne light comedy in the believed and mos to filler himfell 19the cavital wide opinion, which in the mhigh oberiffeth and binds the output fines in fact beth been faid ble foolish jinconstant,

Prefemption.

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inconfiant, and uncertain, the guide of fools and the sulgar fort; but to fulfer himself to be freezely led by reason and nature, which is the guide of the wifer fort, sipe, solid, and settled. But hence, hencefore at large, he was all the set of the second of the sec

11. Prefumption,

But above all other passions, it is necessary that we do carefully guard and defend our felves from felf-love, prelimption, and fool-In viorage of our felver, the plague of mankind, the capital enemy of wifeen, the true management corruption of the foul, whereby we adore our felves, and reflicantented with our felves, we hearken to none other, and believe none other but out felves. Now we should know that we are not in greater danger in the hands of any, then of our felves. It is an excellent Motto originally come from the Spanis scorner O God heep my felf from my felf. This profumption and toulish love of our selves, proceeds from the ignosance we have of our felves, of our weakness, and that little that is in us. Not only in general of the intimity and mitery of manhind, but also of our own proper and personal imperfections; but whofoever he be that bath the leaft grain or touch of this folly, Sall sever attain unto wifdom Faith, modelty, a hearty and lerions acknowledgment of that little that we have, is a great sefticellent disposition unto wisdom.

With men, from the beginning (Antiget and advited. The fourth and but retailly of all, is a lively Victor, while

An univerful and plain liberry of finit, both in Indgrant and

The other disposition unto wisdom, which sollowesh the fast of which doth quit as from this act ward and inward captivity and confision popular and passionate) is a plain, entire, generous, and load-like liberty of the mind swhich is twofold, that is to say, of sudament, and Wills

de the fift part, liberty of Judgment.

The first, of Judgment, tunssites in the consideration, judgement, eminimation of all things, and not in tring himself to any one; his remaining feet in timeself, almire field, many, and open for all. And this is the highest point, the proper law and true pripiledge of a wife and active man. But few they are that will underfined it; and actions hidgest, slewer that practice is as they should a and this is the resident why we must here establish it, against left 45

are incapable of wifdom. And furt, to avoid all miscountings, we explain the words, and give the fente. There are here three things which maintain, cause, and conserve one the other, that itis, to judge of all things, not to be married or bound to any, to continue open and ready for all. When I fay, to judge, my meaning is not to refolve, affirm, determine: this were contrary to the fecond, which is, not to bind themselves to any thing : but it is to examine, and weigh the reasons and counter-reasons on all parts, the weight and merit of them, and thereby work out the truth. So likewife, not to bind our felves to any thing, is, not to fettle our felves, and to remain fhort of what we thould, bleating in the air, and to ceafe our endeavours, and to proceed in our necessary actions and deliberations: For I will that in all outward and common actions of our life, and in whattoever is ordinarily used, a man should agree and accommodate himfelf to the common fort; for our rule extendeth not it self to that which is outward, and to the action, but to that which is within, the thought, and fecret and inward judgment: yea and therein likewife I content, that a man fettle and apply himfelf to that which feemeth most agreeable to the truth, most honest and profitable; but yet that it be without determination, refolution, affirmation, or condemnation of contrary or divers judgments, old, and new, but always to hold himfelf ready to entertain better if it appears yea, not to be offended, if another shall contest with him against that which he thinketh better, but rather desire to hear what may be faid; for this is the mean, to exercise the first, which is to judge, and always to enter into the fearch of the truth. Thefe three, I say, do maintain, and conserve one the other; for he that judgeth well, and without passions of all things, findeth in every thing appearances of reason, which hinder his resolution, whereby he feareth to fettle his judgment, and so remaineth undetermined, indifferent, and universal; whereas contrariwise, he that resolveth, judgeth no more, but fetleth and resteth himself upon that which he holdeth, and so makes himself a partaker, and a particular. To the former, fools, simple and weak people are contrary: to the fecond, obstinate opinative affirmers; to the third, both of them, which are particulars: but all three are practifed by the wife, modell, discreet, and temperate searcher of the truth and true Philosophy. It remaineth for the explication of this our propolition, that I let you know, that by all things, and some thing, (for it is faid, to judge of all things, not to be affired of any.) we understand not those di-

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wine verities which have been revealed unto us, which we are to reseive simply with all humility and submission, and, without all controversie and discussion, submit our selves, and captivate our mindsthereunto, captivantes intellection ad obsequium fidei: Submitting our understanding to the obedience of faith: but we understand hereby. all other things without exception. This timple explication would be fufficient perhaps to perswade an indifferent spirit to receive thisrule of wildom : but I fee and perceive a fort of people, glorious. affirmative, which would rule the world, and command it as it. were with a rod s, and, as others in former times have fworn to certain principles, and married themselves to certain opinions, so they would that all others should do the like, whereby they oppose. themselves to this noble liberty, of the spirit. It shall be necessary. therefore to establish it more amply, and by order to confirm and handle these three points and members thereof.

of all.

The first is, To judge of all. It is the property of a wife and spi-First, To judge ritual man, faith one of the first and wifeft of the world, Spiritualu omnia dijudicat, & à nemine judicatur : The firitual man judgeth all, and is judged of none. The true office of man, his most. proper and natural exercise, his worthiest profession is. To judge. Why is he a man discoursing, reasoning, understanding? Why hath he a spirit? to build (as they say) Cattles in the air, and to feed himself with fooleries and vanities, as the greatest part of the. world doth? Quit unquam oculos tenebrarum causa babuit? Who bud ever eyes given bim to keep them fout? No doubtless, but to understand, to judge of all things, and therefore he is called the governour, the superintendent, the keeper of nature, of the world, of the works of God. To go about to deprive him of this right, is. to make him no more a man, but a beaft; to do it fingularly, excellently, is the part of a wife man; if, not to judge, hurts the simple. and proper nature of man, what shall it do in a wife man, who is as far above the common fort of men, as a common man is above beafts? It is then strange that so many men (I speak not of idiots, and the weaker fort, who have not the faculty, and mean to exercife it) who either are, or make thew of understanding and sufficiency, deprive themselves willingly of this right and authority so. natural, fo juft, and excellent, who without the examining or judging of any thing, receive and approve whatloever is presented. either because it hath a fair semblance and appearance, or because it is in authority, credit, and practice; yea, they think that it is not. Ewful :

lawful to examine or doubt any thing; in fuch fort do they debale and degrade themselves : they are forward and glorious in other things, but in this, they are fearful and fubmis, though it do justly appertain unto them, and with fo much reason. Since there are a thousand lies for one truth, a thousand opinions of one and the same thing, and but one that is true, why should not I examine with the instrument of reason, Which is the better, the truer, the more reasonable, honest and profitable? Is it possible, that amongst fo many laws, customs, opinions, different manners, and contrary to ours, as there are in the world, there are none good but ours? Hath all the world befides been miltaken? Who dares to fay fo? and who doubteth but others fay as much of ours, and that he that thus condemneth others, if he had been there born and brought up, would think them better, and prefer them before those he now accounteth the only good, and all because he hath been accustomed unto them? To conclude, to him that thall be fo fool-hardy to fay it; I answer, that this rule shall at the least be good for all others, to the end that they judging and examining all may find ours to be the better. Go to then, the wifeman shall judge of all, nothing shall escape him which he bringeth not to the bar, and to the ballance. It is to play the part of profane men and beafts, to fuffer themselves to be led like oxen. I will that men live, and speak, and do, as others and the common fort do; but not that they judge like the common fort, but judge them. What can a wife man, or a holy man have above a profane, if he must have his spirit, his mind, his principle and heroical part, a flave to the vulgar fort? The publick and common should content it self, if a man conform himself thereunto in all apparent things; what hath he to do with our infide, our thoughts, and judgments? They shall govern as long as they will my hand, my tongue, but not my spirit; for that, by their leave, hath another mafter. It is a hard thing to bridle the liberty of the spirit and if a man would do it, it is the greatest tyranny that may be : a wife man will take heed thereof actively and passively, will maintain himself in his liberty, and not trouble that of other men.

Now a wife man enjoying this his sight to judge and examine 2. all things, it many times comes to pals, that the judgment and the The effect of hand, the mind and the body, contradict one another, and that he this first trea-will carry himself outwardly after one manner, and judge inward-A wife man is ly after another, will play one part before the world, and an one within, another in his mind, which he much do to preferve equity and justice other without.

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in all. That general Caying, University munder excrees bifries nem. All the world corrieth two faces in one bood, should properly and truly be understood of a wife man, who is another man within then he outwardly shews. If he were without, such as he is within, he should not be accounted of, but in all things offend the world: If he were within, such as without, he should be no more a wife man, he should judge amis, be corrupted in his mind. He must do, and carry himself outwardly, for publick reverence, and to as he offend no man, according to the law, cuftom, and ceremony of the Country; and inwardly judge of the truth asit is, according to the universal reason, whereby it many times comes to pass, that he condemneth that which outwardly he doth. Sapiens faciet que non probabit, ne ad majora transitum inveniue, nec relinquet bonos mores, fed tempori aptabit omnia: que imperiti facium & Inxuriofi, faciet ; fed non codem modo, nec codem propofito : multa fapientes faciunt qua bomines funt, non qua lapientes. A mile man will do that which bimfelf will not allow, to make a way unto greater matters thereby : neither will be forfake good manners, but accommodate all things to the time : What muskilful and diffolute perfons do, that will be do; but not in the fame manner, or to the fame purpofe-Many things wife men do as they are men, but not as wife men. He will carry himself in things and actions as Cicero in words, who faid. I leave the use or custom of speech to the people, and observe the true science and knowledge of words: Loquendum & extra vivendum ut multi, Sapiendum ut pauci : We must feak and carry our felves outmardly at the greater number, and be wife as the smallen-Some few examples hereof; and first of things of less moment. In all humility I take off my hat, and keep my head uncovered before my fuperiour, for so doth the custom of my Country require; but vet I will not leave to judge, that the custom of the East is far better, to falute and do reverence, by laying the hand upon the breaft. without uncovering the head, to the prejudice of our health, and other inconveniencies. Contrariwife, if I were in the East, I would take my repast sitting upon the earth, or leaning on the elbow, or half-lying, looking upon the table fide-ways as they do there, and as our Saviour with his Apofiles did use to do, recombenitus, differmbentilies: and yet I would not cease to judge, that the manner of fitting upright at table, our faces towards it, as the custom is here, is more honest, more fit, and commodious. These examples are of Small weight, and there are a thousand the like : let us take another

ther of better importance. I will, and I yield my confent, that the dead be interred and left to the mercy of the worm of rottenness and stench, because it is now the common custom almost every where : but yet I will not ceafe to judge, that the ancient manner of burning them, and gathering their ashes together, is more noble, and more neat, to commit and commend to the fire. the excellentest element, enemy to putrefaction and stench, neighbour to heaven it felf, a fign of immortality, a shadow of the Divinity, and whereof the use is proper and peculiar unto man, rather then to the earth, which is the ordure, lees, dregs of the elements, the fink of the world, the mother of corruption; and to the worms. which is the extremest ignoming and horrour, and so to couple and handle alike a man and a beaft. Religion it felf teacheth and commandeth to dispose after this manner of all things, as of the paschal. lamb which might not be eaten, and (where Popery beareth fway) the confecrated hoft, and divers the like ; why then should not the like respect be had of our bodies? What can a man do that is more dishonourable to the body, then to cast it into the earth there to cornupt? It feemeth to me, to be the uttermost punishment that can be inflicted upon infamous persons and hainous offenders, and that the carcaffes of honest and honourable men should be handled. with better respect. Doubtless of all the manners in disposing of dead bodies, which may be reduced to five, that is, to commit them. to the four elements, and the bowels of wild beatles, the vilett, and baleft, and most shameful, is to interre them; the most noble and honourable, to burn them. Again, I will and confent, that this my Wife-man in things natural be modeft, that he hide and cover those parts and actions that are called thameful, dishonourable; and he that should do otherwise, I would detest, and think hardly of him, because it is almost the custom of the whole world; but yet I will nevertheless, that he judge that simply in themselves, and according to nature, they are no more thanieful then the nose or the mouth, to drink and to eat. Nature, that is, God, having made nothing sharmeful; but it is from another cause, not from nature, that is to fav. from the enemy of nature, which is Sin. Divinity allomore chaft then Philosophy telleth us, that to entire nature, not yet altered by the fin of man, these parts and actions were not shameful, for then shame was not; it is the enemy of nature, the fruit of fin. I content to apparel my felf like thole of my Country. and Professions and if I had been born in those Countries where they

go naked, I would have gone so too; but yet I cease not to judge, that neither of the two tashions is very good; and if I were to chuse and ordain, I would chuse a fashion andisserent betwirt both, out of those Countries where they cover themselves with one only and simple covering, light and easie enough, without fashion, or cost; Forour-manner of attiring is not good, yea worse then to go naked, to be so fast wrapped and bound, with such a multitude and variety of coverings of divers stuffs, even to the number of sour, sive, six, one upon another, and whereof some are double, that they hold us prest and packt up with so many ties, bindings, butnings (not to speak of that dissolute and abominable excess condemned by all good laws) that we can hardly str our selves in them. I will content my self with these examples. The self-same, a man may say of all laws, customs, manners, and of that which is de fusio; and much more of opinions, and that which is de jure.

An Objecti-

If any man shall say, that I have judged amiss in these examples. and that generally, if liberty be given to judge of all things, the fririt will wander and lofe it felf, tilling and furnishing it felt with tollies and false opinions: I answer to the first, which toucheth me in particular, that it is very easie to erre in finding the truth in all these instances, and yet it is over-boldness to accuse any man; for it is as much as if he should say, that a man knows where and what the truth is in things, which who can perfectly know or judge of? Now not to find the truth, is not to judge amis; to judge amis, is to weigh and ballance, and compare amis, that is to say, not to examine the reasons, and to ponder them according to the first and universal nature, (both which though a man do, yet it followeth not, that he must needs find out the truth.) Now I believe nothing that is but simply affirmed, if it be not likewise proved; but if any man by contrary reasons more strong and forcible, shall make good what he faith, of all others he is the welcomest man unto me, and the man I look for: Oppositions and contradictions well urged, and with reason, are the true means to exercise this judging-office. I had never let down these opinions, but that I looked that tome one or other should abrogate them, and help me to better, and to answer more effectually, and to that general objection of the danger that there is in this liberty, besides that which hath been spoken. and shall more expresly be faid in the third Lesson of Wisdom and Chapter following, that the rule which we ought to hold in judging and in all things, is Nature, natural and univerfal Reason, followine which a man can never erre. See here the other member of this judicious liberty which we are about to handle, which will furnish

us with a remedy against this pretended danger.

The other point of this lord-like liberty of spirit, is an indiffe- 5. Not to bind rency of tafte, and a deferring of a fetled resolution, whereby a wife our selves to man confidering coldly, and without passion, all things, as is said, any thing. is not obstinate, doth not swear, tye, bind himself to any opinion ; keeping himself always ready to receive the truth, or that which. feems to him to have best semblance of truth, and saying in his inward and secret judgment, that which our Ancients were wont to fay in their outward and publick, Liavidetur, It feemeth to, thereis great appearance of truth on this fide and if any man do contradict and oppose himself, with patience he is ready to understand the contrary reasons, and to receive them, finding them more strong and better; and when he hath heard what he can hear, he still thinketh that either there is, or may be better, though asyet it appeareth not. This dilation and putting off of a mans judgment, is founded first upon those propositions so much celebrated among the wife, That there is nothing certain, that we know nothing, that there is nothing in nature but doubt nothing certain but incertain-Solum certum, nibil effe certi; boc unum fcio, quod nibil fcio: The only thing certain, is that nothing is certain's this one thing. know I that I know nothing : That of all things a man may dispute alike; that we do nothing but fearch, inquire, and grope after appearances: Scimus nibil, opinamur verifimilia: We know nothing; and imagine likeliboods. That verity is not a thing of our own invention and purchase, and when it yields it self into our hands, we have nothing in our felves whereby we may challenge it, possels it, or affure our felves of it : That truth and falthood enter into us by one and the same gate, and there hold the same place and credit, and maintain themselves by the same means: That there is no opinion. held by all, or current in all places, none that is not bated and difputed, that another hath not held and maintained quite contrary. unto it : That all things have two handles and two vifages, and there is reason for all, and there is not any that hath not his contrary, it is of Lead, it turneth and accommodate that felf to what foever a man will have it: To be thort, It is the doctrine and pra-Aice of all the wifelt, greatelt, and most noble Philosophers, who have made profession of ignorance, doubting, inquiring, searching, Others, notwithstanding they have been dogmatists, and athrmers,

vet it hath been of gestures and works only, and that to shew. how far they could wade in the purchase and search of the truth. Quam dolli fingunt magis quam norunt : Which the learned rather imagine, then know : giving unto all things no other nor fronger title, then probability and true likelihood, and handling them diverily, fometimes with one vilage and in one fense, sometimes in another, by problematical questions, ratherinquiring then instructing; and many times shewing that they speak not in earnest, but in sport and for exercise: Nontam id sensiffe quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materia difficultate voluisse widentur. They will seem not to much to think what they fay, as to exercise their wits with the difficulty of the matter. And who will believe that it was the purpose of Plato to tye men to his Common-wealth, and his Idea's; of Pythagoras, to his numbers 4 of Epicarus, to his Atomes, or to give them for current coin? They took pleasure to solace their ipirits with pleasant and subtile inventions, Que ex ingenio finguntur, non ex scientie vi : Which they rather feign wittily, then know skilfully. Sometimes likewise they have fludied after dishculty, to cover the vanity of their subject, and to employ the curiofity of their spirits. And Ariftotle, the most resolute of all the rest, the Prince of Dogmatists, and peremptory affirmers, the God of Pedanties, how often hath he been croft in his opinions, not knowing what to resolve in that point of the Soul, wherein he is almost always unlike to himself; and in many other things more base, which he knew not how to find or understand, ingenuously confessing fometimes the great weakness of man in finding and knowing the truth.

Objects.

They that have come after, of a pedantical and prefurptuous spirit, who make Aristotle and others say what they please, and are more obstinate in their opinions then ever they were, disavowing those for Disciples that faint in their opinions, hate and arrogantly condemn this rule of wildom, this modesty, and Academical staidness, glorying in their obstinate opinions, whether they be right or wrong, loving better a heady froward affirmer against their own opinions, and against whom they may exercise their wit and skill, then a modest peaceable man, who doubteth and maketh stay of his judgment, against whom their wits are dulled, that is to say, a sool then a wite man: like to women, who love better to be contradicted, even with injury, then that a man either out of the coldness of his nature, or contempt, should say nothing to them, where-

whereby they imagine they are either fcorned or condemned, wherein they thew their iniquity. For why should it not be as lawful to doubt, and confider of things as doubtful, not determining of any thing, as it is to them to affirm? Why should it not be lawful ingenuously to confess that which a man knoweth not, since in verity he knoweth it not, and to hold in suspence that which he is not affined of, and against which there are many reasons and oppolitions? It is certain according to the opinion of the wifelt, that we are ignorant of much more then we know, that all our knowledge is the leffer part, and almost nothing in segard of that we know not: the causes of our ignorances are infinite, and both in respect of the things themselves, either too far from us, or too near, too great, or too little, too durable, or not durable enough, perpetually changing, and in respect of our selves, and the manner of knowing them, which as yet is not fisheiently learned. And thet which we think we know, we know not, neither can we hold it well, for with violence it is got from us ; and if it may not be gotten because our obstimacy in opinion is strong, yet we are uncontented with it, and much troubled. Now how fhould we be capable to know more or les, if we grow refolute in our opinions, fettle and repose our selves in certain things, and in such manner, that we seek no farther, nor to examine any more that which we think to hold? They think this suspension a shame and a weakness, because they know not what it is, and they pesceive not that the greatest men that are, have made profession thereof; they blush, and have not the heart freely to fay, I know not ; fo much are they possessed with the opinion and prefumption of science; and they know not that there is a kind of ignorance and doubt, more learned, and more certain, more noble and generous, then all their science and certainty. This is that that hath made Seraces fo renowned, and held for the wifeft man: It is the feience of feiences, and the fauit of allons findjes: It is a modell, mild, innocent, and hearty acknowledgment of the myflical height of truth, and of the poverty of our humane condition full of darkness, weakness, uncertainty, Cogisationer morralium timide, meerre inventiones noftre ; Dem novis cogitastones bentimes, quanties views flow. More thoughts are fearful, and our functions arrevalites God himse the thought of man, how main wis. Here I would tell you, that I caused to be graven over the gate of my fittle house which I built at Condon, in the year 1600. this word, I how met.

h But they will needs that we fubmit out felves in all duty to cortain principles, which is an unjust tyranny, I vield my content, that a man employ them in all judgment, and make use of them, but yet not so, as that a man may not fourn against them, for against that opinion I oppole my felf. Who is he in the whole world, that hath right to command, and give Laws to the world, to subject the spirits of men, and to give principles, which may be no more examined, that a manasty no more deny or doubt of ; but God bimfelf, the for deign spinit, and true principle of the world, who is only so be believed, because he faith it? All other things are Tubjecto to tryal and oppolition and it is weakness to subject our felves unto it. If they will that I fubmit my felf to principles, I will fay to theme as the Curate foid to his Pavilbiohers, in a matter of teime, and ast Prince of ouresto the Secretaries of this age in a point refReligion b De Jou full state se their principles, and then I will fullande my fielf unto them. Now there is as great doubt and dilpute inghe principles as in the conclusions, in the Thejes, as in the Hypa-- thefer whereby there are formany letts among them, that it I yield complete so the anti I offend all the reft. They fax like wife, that is is languteraffication not to be refolved to remains ways in doubt, was abarit, is a matter of difficulty for a man to continue long in that flate. They have reason to say it for they had it ib in themfelves, being the property of fools and weak minds, of prefumptunous fools, passionate and obstinate in sertain opinions, who conrederon all others and althoughebby be preserve, never yield themelelves, resing and putting themselves inspechaler, never acknowledge any realon ! If they be confirmined to change their opinions, being altered they are as refolute and obstinate in their new, as they owere before in their first opinion, not knowing how to hold any sching without pation, and never disputing to learn and and the felstesantos y Thefekind of people know nothing, neither know they what it is to know, because they think to know and to hold the truth in their fleeves. Because thou thinkest thou feelt, thou feelt nothing, faith the Dector of mutate the glorious and prefumpty-Lous trien & Si quie miftiment le Soint pliquie muchen collinger alle Mente have not itength to keep themselves upright upon their feet, be keep up with props; they cannot live but in bonds not maintain themlelves

John 9.

2 Cor. 8.

themselves free, a people born to servicude, they fear Bug-bears, or that the Wolf will cat them if they be alone. But in wile, modeft, and staid men, it is quite contrary, the surest stay and most happy estate of the spirit, which by this means keepeth at left firm, upright, constant, inflexible, always free and to it left bee liberiores & folmiores fumus quia integra nobu indiaandi posetta manet. Herein me are free because in our selves me base full pomer to judge It is a very (weet, peaceable, and pleafant lojourn or defay, where a man feareth not to fail or milcount himfelf, where a man is in the calm, under covert, and out of danger of participating for many errours produced by the phantafie of man, and whereof the world is full of entangling himself in complaints divisions disputes, of offending divers parties, of belying and gaintaying his own bel lief, of changing, repenting, and re-adviting himfelf. For how often hath time made us fee that we have been deceived in our thoughts, and hath enforced us to change our opinions? To be brief, it is to keep the mind in peace and tranquillity, far from agitations and vices, which proceed from that opinion of science which we think' to have in things; for from thence do fpring pride, ambition, immoderate defires, obstinacy in opinion, presumption, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience. From whence come trouble, sects, hereties feditions, but from men fierce, obstinate, and resolute in opinion? not from Academicks, neuters, modell, indifferent, staid, that is to lay, wife men. Moreover let me tell them, that it is a thing that doth more fervice to Piety, Religion, and Divine operation, then any thing whatfoever : I fay, fervice as well in the generation and propagation, as the conservation thereof. Divinity, yea, the mystical part thereof, teacheth us, that well to prepare our fouls for God and the receiving of his holy Spirit, we must empty, cleanse, purifie them, and leave them naked of all opinion, belief, affection; make them like a white paper, dead to it felf and to the world, that God might live and work in it, drive away the old mafter, to establish the new ; Expurgate vetus fermentum, exuite veterem bominem: Purge the old leaven, and put off the old man. So that it feemeth. that to plant and establish Christianity among Infidels, or mis-believing people, as in these days in China, it were a very excellent method to begin with these propositions and persivasions: That all the wildom of the world is but vanity and leating; That the world' is wholly compoled, torn, and vilined with the torged phantaffical opinions of every private mans brain: That God hith created

man to know the truth, but that he cannot know it of himfelf, nor by any humane means : And, that it is necessary that God himself. in whose bosom it resideth, and who bath wrought a defire thereof in man, should reveal it as he doth. But, The better to prepare himfelf for this revelation, man must first renounce and chafe away all opinions and beliefs, wherewith the spirit is already anticipated and beforted, and present himself white, naked, and ready to receive it. Having well beaten and gained this point, and made men as it were Academicks and Pyrrhonians, it is necessary that we propose the Principles of Christianity as sent from Heaven. brought by the Embaffadour and perfect Meffenger of the Divinity, authorized and confirmed in his time by fo many marvellous proofs and authentical testimonies. So that we see that this innocent and modest delay from resolution, is a great means to true picty, not only to receive it, as hath been faid, but to preferve it; for with it there never are herefies, and felected particular extravagant opinions. An Academick or Pyrrbonian was never heretick, they are things opposite. It may be some man will say, that he will never be either good Christian or Catholick, because he will as well be a neuter and irresolute in the one, as the other. This is to underfland amiss that which hath been spoken, because there is no delay to be made, nor place to judge, nor liberty in that which concerneth God; but we must suffer him to put and engrave that which pleafeth him, and none other. I have made here a digression for the honour of this our rule against such as contradict it. Let us now return to the matter.

After these two, To judge of all, To be slow in determining, there cometh in the third place, the Universality of spirit, whereby Part, univerfa- a wife man taketh a view, and entreth into confideration of the taineth in his affection all humane kind, he walketh through all, as if they were near unto him, he feeth like the Sun, with an equal. lettled, and indifferent regard, as from a high Watch-Tower, all the changes and interchangeable courses of things, not changing himfelf, but always continuing one and the fame, which is a livery of the Divinity, and a high priviledge of a wifeman, who is the image of God upon earth; Magna & generofs res animus bumanus, nulles fibi poni nifi communes & cum Deo terminos patitur. Nou idem supientem, qui cateros, terminus includit; omnia illi fecula. ut Deo, fervium. Nullum feculum magnis ingenin elaufum, mullum

non cogitationi pervium tempus. Quam naturale in immensum men-tem suam extenderes, in boc à natura formaine bomo, ur paria disevelit, ac fe in Spatium finim extendat. Great and generous it the mind of man; it endurers no bounds, but fuch as belong to God bimfelf. The fame boldeth not a wife man, which includeth all other things; all times obey bim as God bimfelf. No times are bid from great wits, nor any not subject to their thoughts. It is natural for mans mind to reach bevond the moon, wherein nature bath framed in man a defire to be equal to the gods, and to extend himself to his greatness. The most beautiful and greatest spirits are the more universal, as the more base and blunt are the particular. It is a fottish weakness to think that a man must believe, do, live, in all respects as at home in his own village and countrey; or that the accidents that fall out here, concern, and are common with the rest of the world. A fool, if a man tell him that there are divers manners, customs, laws, opinions, contrary to those which he seeth in use, either he will not believe them; and faith they are fables, or he presently refuseth and condemneth them as barbarous, fo partial is he, and fo much enthralled with those his municipal manners; which he accounteth the only trues materal, universal. Every man calleth that barbarous, that agreeth not with his palate and custom; and it seemeth that we have no other touch of truth and reason, then the example and the Idea of the opinions and customs of that country where we live. Thefe kind of people judge of nothing, neither can they withey are flaves to that they hold, a strong prevention and anticipation of opinions. doth wholly polles them, they are so belotted, that they can neither fay, nor do, otherwise. Now partiality is an enemy to liberty, and over-ruleth the mind already tainted and preoccupated with a particular cultom, that ir cannot judge aright of others, an indifferent man judgeth all things. He that is fastned to one place, is banished and deprived from all others. The paper that is blurred with anolther colour, is no more capable of any other, whereas the white is fit to receive any. A Judge that hears a cause with a prejudicate opinion, and inclineth to one part more then to another, cannot be a just, upright, and true Judge. Now a wife man must free himself from this brutish blockishness, and prefent unto himself as in a table this great image of our Mother-nature in her entire majesty, mark and confider her in a realm, an empire, yea in this whole vifible world, as in the figure of a small point, and there read that general and conflant variety in all things, fo many humours, judg-

of Spirit, both in judgment and wilt, &c.

ments, beliefs, customs, laws, so many alterations of States, changes of fortune; so many victories and conquests buried and forgotten, so many pomps and greatnesses vanished, as if they had never been. Hereby a man may learn to know himself, to admire nothing, to think nothing new, or strange, to settle and resolve himself in all things. For the better attaining of this universal spirit, this general indifferency, we are to consider these sour or sive-points.

The great inequality and difference of men in their nature, form,

composition, whereof we have sooken.

The great divertity of laws, customs, manners, religions, opini-

ons, whereof we will speak hereafter.

The divers opinions, reasons, sayings of Philosophers, touching unity and plurality, the eternity and temporality, the beginning and end, the durance and continuance, the ages, estates, changes, and interchangeable causes of the world, and the parts thereof: The Egyptien Priests told Herodotw, that fince their first King, (which was above eleven thousand years before; the picture and flatue of whom, and of all that succeeded him, they shewed him drawn to the life) the Sun had changed his course four times. The Cheldenn in the time of Diodorus (as he faith) and Cicero, had a register of Seven hundred thousand years. Plate faith, they of the City of Sais had memorials in writing of eight thouland years, and that the City of Athens was built a thouland years before the faid City of Sais. Zoroafter. Pline, and others have affirmed, that Socrates liwed fix thousand years before the time of Plato. Some have faid. that the world hath been from all eternity, mortal, and growing, and being again by interchangeable courses. Others, and the more noble Philosophers, have held the world for a god, made by another god greater then it; or as Plate averreth, and others argue from the motions thereof, that it is a creature composed of a body, and of a foul, which foul ledging in the center thereof, differleth and foreadeth it felf by mufical numbers into the circumference, and parts thereof, the heaven, the flars, composed of bodies, and of a foul, mortal, by reason of their composition; immortal, by the dearce and determination of the Cacaton. Plate faith, shat the world changeth countenance in all respects, that the heaven, the slass, the fan change and quite alter by turns their motion, in fuch fort, that that which was first, is last, the East is made the West; and according to the ancient and most authentical opinion, and of the mose

famous foirits, worthy the greatness of God, and founded upon reason, there are many woulds, informuch that there is nothing one and only in this world, all kinds are multiplyed in number, whereby it feemeth not to have femblance of truth, that God hath made this only world, without companion, and that all is concluded in this one individuous at the least Divinity faith, that God could make many, and infinite worlds; for if he could make no more but this one vilible, his power should be finite, because the world is fuch.

By that which we have learned of the discovery of the new world, the East and West-Indies, we see first, that all our ancient Writers have been deceived, thinking to have found the measure of the habitable earth, and to have comprehended the whole Cofmography, except some scattered Islands, doubting of the Anipodes: for now behold another world, almost such as ours is, and that all upon firm land inhabited, peopled, politickly governed, diftinguished by Realms, and Empires, beautified with Cities, that excell in beauty, greatness, opulency, all those of Afia, Africa, Europe, many thousand years ago: And who doubteth, but that in time hereafter, there will be discovered divers others? If Prolomy, and other our ancient Writers, have been heretofore deceived, why should not he be likewise deceived that affirmeth, that all is already found and discovered: Say it he that will, I will believe him as I lift.

Secondly, we see that the Zones, which were thought inhabitable

by reason of their excessive heat and cold, are habitable.

Thirdly, that in these new countries, almost all things which we so much esteem of here, and hold that they were first revealed and fent from Heaven, were commonly believed and observed, (from whence they came, I will not fay, who dares determine it?) Yea many of them, were in use a thouland years before we heard any tydings of them, both in the matter of Religion, as the belief of one only Man, the father of us all, of the universal deluge, of one God who fometimes lived in the form of a man undefiled and holy, of the day of judgment: the refusection of the dead circumcifion like to that of the Jews, and Mahomet: And in the matter of policy, as that the elder son should succeed in the inheritance, that he that is exalted to a dignity, loseth his own name, and takes a new; tyrannical fublidies, armouries, tumblers, mulical informents, all forts of sports, Artillery, Printing. From all these discourses, we may

the world is not that which we think and judge it to be; That neither in the whole, 'nor parts thereof, it is always the fame, but in perpetual flux and reflux; That there is nothing laid, held, believed at one time, and in one place, which is not likewife faid, held, believed in another, yea and contradicted, reproved, condemned elfewhere; the spirit of man being capable of all things; the world always tumbling, fometime the fame, fometimes divers; That all things are fetled and comprehended in their course and revolution of nature, subject to encrease, changing, ending, to the mutation of times, places, climates, heavens, airs, countries. And from thefe conclusions we learn, to marry our felves, to swear to nothing; to admire, to trouble our felves at nothing; but whatfoever shall happen, whatfoever men talk of and trouble themselves about, to resolve upon this point, that it is the course of the world, that it is nature that worketh these things; but yet wisely to provide that nothing hurt us by our own weakness and dejection of mind. Enough is faid of this perfect liberty of judgment, established by these three parts, To judge of all, To judge nothing, To be universal: wherein I have the rather infifted, because I know that it pleaseth not the palate of the world; it is an enemy to pedantry as well as wisdom, but it is a fair flower or ornament of wisdom, which preserveth us from two contrary rocks, whereon the vulgar fort do commonly lose themselves, that is to say, from being heady, opinative, shameful gainsayers, repenters, mutable; and a man maintaineth himself in a sweet, peaceable, and affured modesty, and great liberty of spirit, noble and magnifical universality. This is that great quality and fufficiency of Socrates, the Coryphans of the wife, by the confession of all, of whom it is said, as Placarch discourseth, That he never brought forth, but ferving as a Midwife, he made others to bring forth. This is very neer, and in some fense, the disorder of the Pyrrbonians, the neutrality and indifferency of the Academicks, from whence proceedeth, not to be aftonisht at any thing, not to admire any thing, the lovereign good of Pythegoras, the magnanimity of Ariftotle.

Nil admirari, prope res est una, Namici, Soláque, qua possis facere, & servare beatum. One thing, at nothing wonder up to take, It is, that may you happy keep and make.

It is a ftrange thing that man will not formuch as taste it, yea is affended to hear speech thereof, loveth better to continue a slave, to

run from one part to another, then to be to himself, to live of his own, to be above all, and to pass equally thorow all. s. Hath he not reason to cry with Ciberias, and far more justly. O bamber ad Groitutem nati I O men born to [croitude! What monfler is this. to defire to have all things free, his body, his members, his goods, and not his doirie, which nevertheless is only born unto liberty? A man will willingly make benefit of whatfoever is in the world. that comes from the East or the Wett, for the good and service of his body, nourishment, health, ornament, and accommodate it all unto his use, but not for the culture of his foirit, benefit, and enriching; giving his body the liberty of the fields, and holding his fpi-

rit in close prilon.

The other liberty which is of the Will, must likewise be in high efteem with a wife man. We speak not here of the free will of 2. The fecand man, according to the manner of Divines : we lay, that a wife min ty of Will to maintain himself in reft and liberty, must manage his will and his affections, in giving himfelf to and affecting but few things, and those just (for the just are but few in number, if a man judge well) and that without violence and afperity. There enter here into combate (or to speak more mildly, there are to be explicated and underflood) two popular and plaulible opinions in the world; the one teacheth to be ready and willing in the fervice of another, to forget our selves for our neighbour, and principally for the Wealpublick, in respect whereof, the particular is not to be respected; the other to carry our felves couragiously with activity, zeal, affect Ction. He that doth not the first, is accused not to have any charity? He that doth not the fecond, sufpected to be cold not to be a friend. and not to have that zeal of fufficiency that he ought. Some would have these two opinions to prevail beyond reason and measure, and there is not any thing which hath not been spoken hereof: for the heads or chieftains many times preach things according to that ne for which they ferve, not according as they are: And many times the truest opinions are not the more profitable. And afterwards feeing we hold our felves too much to our felves, and with a tyo too natural; they would diffract us and draw us along, as they that go about to fireighten a crooked flash, bend it as much more the contrary way.

But thele opinions ill understood and ill taken, as they are by divers, bring with them injuffice, trouble, pain, and much evil, as a man may fee in those who back-bite, and detract from all, giving

IC.

themselves to hire, and the service of another : They do not only fuffer themselves to be carried, and seized upon, but they like wife thrust themselves into all matters, as well into those that concern them not, as those that do ; as well into small as great, and many times for no other cause, but to employ and busie themselves; Li negotiis funt, negotii caufa : They bufie themselves, because they mould be buffe: And because they cannot hold and stay themselves, as if they had nothing to do, with and within themselves, and that for want of inward, effential, proper, and domeffical affairs, they feek and undergo those that are strange unto them. They are good husbands and frugal enough of their purfe, but prodigal of their fouls. their lives, their time, affection, and wills, the good husbandry whereof is only profitable and commendable. And if they give themselves to any thing, it is with such passion and violence, that they are no more their own men, fo wholly do they engage and infinuate themselves thereinto. Great men seek after such people, that will grow into passion and kill themselves for them, and they allure them with fair promises and much Art, to win them unto them; and they always find fools enough that believe them; but they that are wife will take heed of them.

This is first unjust, it wholly troubleth the State, drives away the rest and liberty of the spirit. It is, not to know that which every one ought to know, and by how many offices every man is obliged unto himself; whilst they seek to be officious and serviceable to another, they are unjust to themselves. We have all business enough with and within our selves, and need not seek means to lose our selves without, and to give our selves unto others: every man must hold him to himself. He that knows not how to live honestly, healthfully, and merrily, is ill-advised, and takes an ill and unnatural course, if he think to do it by serving another. He must affect and

tye himself but to a few things, and those just,

Secondly, This sharp intention and passionate affection, troubleth all, and hindreth the conduct of those affairs to which he so much giveth himself, as in a precipitate pace, too much haste makes a man shumble and enterfere, and so stays him whether he will, or no; spla sevelocites implicat, unde sessionate tarda est. Qui nimium properat, series absolvit: Haste makes waste, and binders it self: He that makes too much speed, distancent too late. So likewise a man being drunken with this violent intention, he entangleth and settereth himself, commits, many indiscretions and wrongs, grows into hard.

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hard conceits and fulpicions of others, becomes impatient in crofs or flow occurrents, that fall not out according to his own defire: Male cundla ministrat imperus : Violence doth nothing well. This is feen not only in lerious affairs, but allo vain and frivolous; as in play, where he that is carried with an ardent thirst of gaining, troubleth himfelf; and the more he troubleth himfelf, the more he loseth. He that walks moderately, is always with himself, directeth his butiness with better advantage, and more furedly and cheerfully: he directeth, applyeth, deferreth all to his own leifure, and as his occasions shall fall out: if he chance to be contradicted in a matter, it is without torment and affliction, being always ready for a new change : he always matcheth with the bridle in his hand,

festinat lente.

Thirdly, This violent affection infecteth and corrupteth even the judgment it felf: for following one part, and defiring the advantage thereof, they wax madif they be contradicted, attributing to their party falle praises and conditions, and to the contrary falle acculations; interpreting all prognoffications and occurrents at their own pleafure, and making them ferve their own delignments. All that are of the contrary part, must needs be wicked and of contrary conditions; yea, and they that speak any good, or descry any good thing in them, are likewile sufpected to be of their part. Can it not possibly be, that a man honest in all things else, or at least in fome thing, may follow a wicked person, maintain a wicked cause? It is enough that passion enforce the will, but that it carry likewise the judgment, and make that a fool, this is too much. It is the foveraign and last part that should always maintain its own authority: and we must ingenuously, and in good footh acknowledge the good that is in our adverfaries, and the evil that is in those whom we follow. The ground and foundation of the controverlie being laid aside, we must keep moderation and indifferency, and out of the bufiness it self banish all choler, all discontent. And thus we see the evils that this over-great affection to any thing whatfoever bringeth with it; of all, yea of goodness and wildom it self, a man may have too much.

But for a rule herein, we must remember, that the principal and most lawful charge, that we have, is, in every man, the conduct and An Advertiseguide of himself. The reason why we are here, is, that we should ment. maintain our felves in tranquillity and liberty. And to do this, the best remedy is, to lend our felves to others, and to give

our felves to mone, but to our felves, to take our affairs into our hands not to place them in our hearts; to take bufiness upon us, but not incorporate them into us; to be diligent; not paffiorate; not to the our felves but to a few but rather always to referve our felves unto our felves. This counfel condemneth not those offices due to the Weal-publick, to our friends, our neighbours; yea it is fo far. from it, that a wife man must be officious and charitable apply unto himself the customs of other men and the world. And the rather to do it, he must contribute to publick fociety, those offices and duties. which concern him. Dei fibi amient eft, butto omnibut feite effe amienn : He that is a friend to bimfelf, is a friend to all. But I require a double moderation and discretion herein; the one, that a man apply not himself to all that is presented unto him, but to that which. is just and necessary; and that is not hard to be done; the other. that it be without violence and trouble. He must defire little, and that little moderately.; bufie himfelf little, and that peaceably: and in those charges that he undertaketh, employ his pate, his. freech, his attentions, his fweatings, his means, and if need be, hisblood, his life : but yet without vexation and pattion, keeping him-Telf always to himfelf, in health and tranquillity. A man may perform his duty sufficiently without this ardency, and this so great contention of Will. And they deceive themselves very much, that think that a bufiness is not well done, and there is no manner of affection, if it be not done with tempelt, clamour, and clatter : for. contrariwife it is, that that hindreth and troubleth the good guide and conduct thereof, as both been faid. O how many men bezard. their lives every day in those wars which no way concern them. and thruft themselves into the danger of that battel, the loss whereof doth no way trouble their fleep : and all to the out they may not fall in their duty! whilst there is another, in his own house. that dares not cater the danger, or look the enemy in the face, is more affected with the iffue of that War, and both his mind more troubled, then the fouldier that adventureth his blood and life in. the field.

Finally, We must know how to distinguish and separate our selves from our publick charges: Every one of us playeth two parts, two persons to the one strange and apparent, the other proper and essential: we must discern the skin from the shirt. An active man will perform his charge, and yet withat not leave to judge of the folly, see, deseit that is therein; he will conform himself to every thing, because.

Because the custom of his Country requireth it, it is profitable to the Weal-publick, the world lives fo, and therefore it must be done. A mannual ferve and make use of the world such as he findeth it y in the mean time, he must likewise consider it as a thing estranged from it self, know how to keep and carry himself apart, and to communicate himself to his own trufty good, how-Severathings fall out with himself.

CHAP IIL

True and effential Hinefty, the first and fundamental port of Wifform

TAving prepared and disposed our Scholar to wisdom, by thefe . precedent advisements, that is to fay, having purified and freed! from all evils, and placed him in a good citate, of a full and univerfal liberty, to the end he may have a perfect view knowledge, and power over all things (which is the priviledge of a wife and fpiritual man : Spiritualisomina dijudicat c. The friritual man judgetb > all things:) it is now time to give him inftructions and general rules of wildom. The two first thall be as preambles and foundations , whereof the first and principal is Honesty or Probity.

It will not be perhaps any matter of difficulty, to make good this Proposition, That benefty inche first principal and fundamental part of Wifdom & for all (whether in truth and good earnest, or in outward thew, for thame or fear to fay the contrary) do applaud . it; they always honour it in the fuft place, confelling themselves fervitors and affectionate followers thereof a but it will coft me some labour to shewand perswade. Which is that true and effential probity we here require. For that which is in authority and credie, wherewith the whole world contenteth in fell; that which is only known, fought for, and poffeffed, (except fome few of the. wifer) is baffardly, artificial, falle, and counterfeitescon

Firth we know that many times we are led and pricked forward to virtue and honourable actions by wicked and condemned means Marky of bone by default and natural impotency, by passion, and vice it self is charst. flity, fobriery, temperance may be in us, by reason of our corporal imbegillity: the contempt of the world, patience in advertity conflancy in danger a prideed many times from want of apprehension and judyment : valous liberality of pflice it felf s from ambition: diferction; preidence; from fear, from avarioe do And how many. beautiful

beautiful actions hath prelumption and remerity brought forth? So that the actions of virtue are many times no other but masks; they cany the outward countenance, but they have not the effence; they may very well be termed virtuous, in confideration of another, and of the virage they carry outwardly and in publick, but in sruth and with the actor himself they are nothing to; for it will appear at the last, that profit, glory, custom, and other the like strange eauses, have induced him to do them.

Sometimes they arise from stupidity and brutish sottishness, and therefore it is faid, that wildom and lottish simplicity do meet in one and the same point, touching the bearing and Suffering of humane actions. It is then very dangerous to judge of the probity or improbity of a man by his actions : we must found him within, from what foundation these motions do arise: wicked men perform many times many good and excellent actions, and both good and evil perferve themselves alike from doing evil; Oderum peccare bani & malt : Both good and evil fear to offend Tor discover therefore, and to know which is the true Honefty, we must not stay in the outward action; that is but the fign, the simplest roken, and many times a cloak and mask to cover villany: we must penetrate into the inward part, and know the motive which canfeth the ftrings to play, which is the foul and the life that giveth motion to all. It is that whereby we must judge, it is that wherein every man should provide to be good and entire, and that which we feekugs ch (7160 a pod vel of rest so sabat to by wrall-brow be

Vulgar bonefly and according to the flyle of the world.

That honefly which is commonly accounted true, and fo much preached and commended of the world, whereof they make express profession, who have the title and publick reputation to be men of honefty, and fetled constancy, is scholastical, and pedantical servant to the laws, enforced by hope and fear, acquired, learned, and practifed out of a submission to, and a consideration of, the religion, laws, customs, commands of superious, other mens examples; Subject to prefer pt forms, effeminate, fearful, and troubled with Comples and doubts : Sunt quibis innocentia nifi metu non placet ? Innocency without fear likes not some; which is not only in respect of the world divers and variable, according to the divertity of religions, lawspersimples, forms, (for the jurisdictions changing, the motions must likewife alter) bur also in it self unequal, wavering, deathbulatory, laccording to the access, recess, fuccels of the affairs, the occisions which are presented, the persons with whom a man LIBITION

Hath to do, as a ship driven with the winds and the oars, is carried away with an unequal tottering pace, with many blows, blafts, and billows. To be brief; these are honest men by accident and occasion, by outward and strange events, and not in verity and effence : they understand it not, and therefore it is easie to discover. them, and to convince them, by thaking off a little their bridle, and founding them fomewhat nearer; but bove all, by that inequality. and divertity which is found in them: for in one and the fame action they will give divers judgments, and carry themselves altogether after a divers fathion, going tometimes a flow pace, formetimes running a main gallop.. This unequal divertity proceedeth from this, that the outward occasions which move and thir them, do either puff them up, multiply and increase them, or make them lukewarm, and deject them, more or less, like accidents, Que recitiunt magis & minus.

Now that true honesty, which I require in him that will be wile, the description is free, manly, and generous, pleasant, and cheerful, equal, uniform, of true honesty. and constant, which marcheth with a staid pace, stately and haugh. ty, going always his own way, neither looking on this fide, or behind him, without staying or altering his pace or gate for the wind, the times, the occasions, which are changed a but that is not, I mean in judgment and will, that is in the foul, where honefty refideth and hath its feat. For ontward actions, especially the publick, have another jurisdiction, as shall be said in his place; This houesty I will describe in this place, giving you first to understand, that following the defignment of this Book declared in the Preface, I speak of humane honesty and wildom, as it is humane, whereby a man is called an houest man and a wife not of Christian, though

in the end I may chance to speak a word or two thereof.

The jurisdiction of this honesty is nature, which bindeth every man to be, and to make himlelf such as he ought, that is to fay, to Nature eriginconform and sule himfelt according unto it. Nature is together eth honeft; both a miltress which enjoyneth and commendeth honesty, & a law and instruction which teacheth it unto us. As touching the hirst, there is a natural obligation inward, and universal in every man to be honelt, just, upright, following the intention of his Author and Maker if A man ought not to attend or leek any other caule, obligation, inflines, or motive of this honefly ; and he can never know how to have a more just and tawful, more powerful, more ancient, it is altogether as loon as himself, born with himself. Every

Every man should be or should defire to be, an honest man, because he is a man, and he that takes no care to betfuch, is a-monfter, renounceth himfelt, belyeth, deftroyeth himfelf by right he is no more a man, and in effect should defift to be a man. It is necessary that honesty grow in him by himself, that is to say, by that inward infind which God hath put in him, and not from any other outward and ftrange cause, any occasion, or induction. A man will not, out of a just and regular will, any thing that is depraved, or corrupt, or other then its own nature requireth, it implyeth a contradiction to defire or accept a thing, and nothing to care whether it be worth the caring for; a man would have all his parts good and found, his body, his head, his eyes, his judgment, his memory, yea his hole and thooes; and why will he not likewise have his will, and his con-Science good, that is to fay, be wholly good and found? I will therefore that he be good, and have his will firm and refolved to equity and honefly for the love of himfelf, and because heis a man, knowing that he can be no other, without the renouncing and defiredion of himfelf, and to his honefly finall be proper, inward, effential, even as his own effence is unto him, and he to himself. It must not then be for any ontward confideration, and proceeding from without, whatfoever it be for fuch a cause being accidental and outward; may happen to fall, grow weak, and after, and confequently all that honefly that is grounded thereupon, must do the like. If he be an honest man, for honour, or reputation, or other recompencesbeing in a folitary place, where he hath no hope to be known, the either ceafeth to be honest, or puttern it in practice very coldly and negligently. If for fear of the laws, magistrates, punishments; if he can deceive the laws, circumvent the Judge, avoid or disprove the proofs, and hide himself from the knowledge of another, there is an end of his honesty. And this honesty is but frail, occasioned, accidental, and miferable; and yet it is that which is in authority and use, no man knows of any other, there is not an honest man, but fuch as is enforced or invited by some cause, or occasion; New gratis bonne of : No man is freely good. Now I would have in this my wifeman, an effential and invincible honefty, which dependeth of it felf, and arifeth from its own root, and may as hardly be feparated, and rooted out, as humanity from a man. I will that he never confent unto evil; and though his honefty be not made known to any, yet if he know himfelf, what needs any more? If all the world belides should know it, it is not so much: Quid tibi prodes

non babene confeium, babenti confeientiam? What is it to thee that balt a conscience; not to buve a witness of thy conscience? And what though he receive no great recompence for it? For what may it be that concerneth him fo near, as his own proper effence? This were, not to care how bad the horfe is, so the faddle be fair. I will then that thefe things be inseparable, to be, and to consent to live aman; to be, and to be willing to be an honest man. This first hath been

sufficiently preffed. Let us come to the second.

Now the pattern and rule to be honest, is this nature it felf, which 6. Nature absolutely requireth that we be such; It is, I say, this equity and uni-teacheth boverfal reason which shineth in every one of us. He which worketh mely. according to it, worketh truly according to God; for it is God, or at least his first fundamental and universal law, which hath brought it into the world, and which came first from God, for God and nature are in the world, as in a State; the King, the author and founder, and the fundamental law which he hath made for the prefervation and government of the faid estate. This is a lightning and ray of the divinity, a ftream and dependance of the eternal law. which is God himself and his will: Quid eft natura nifi Dem, & divina ratio toti mundo, & partibus ejus inserta? What is nature but God, and divine reason inserted to the whole world, and all the parts thereof? He worketh also according to himself, for he worketh according to the stern, and animated instinct, which he bath within himself moving and stirring him: and so he is an honest man essentially, and not by accident and occasion. For this law and light is effential and natural in us, and therefore it is called Nature, and the law of nature. He is also by consequent an honest man always and perpetually, uniformly and equally at all times and in all places: for this law of equity, and natural reason is perpetual in us, Edi-Etum perpetuum, A perpetual edici, inviolable, which can never be extinct nor defaced, Quam nec ipfa delet iniquitas; vermis corum non morietur; Which neither iniquity it felf may deface; their worm Gall never die. Universal and constant in all things, and always the fame, equal, uniform, which neither time nor place can alter nor difguife, receiveth neither accels nor recels, more nor lets, Sub-Gantia non recipit magis & minus. What feekest thou else-where either law or rule in the world? What may a man fay or alledge which thou haft not about thee and within, if thou wik but feel and hearken to thy felf? a man may fay to thee, as to a bad debtor, who asked for what the debt is, and will fee the bill which he hath about

Rom. 1; August. about him. Sund petit intu baber ; What then demandeft is within eby felf; Thou demandeft that which shou haft in thy own bolom. Sienatum eft fuper nos lumen vultus tui. Gentes naturaliter qua legis funt faciunt : oftendunt opur legis feripenm in cordibus fins Lex feripea in cordibus noftris. The light of thy countenance it fealed in People naturally observe the law: they frem the work of the law written in their bearts : the law is written in our bearts. The law of Mules in his decalogue, is an outward and publick copie, the law of the twelve tables, and the Roman law, the moral instructions of Divines and Philosophers, the advisements and counsels of Lawvers, the edicts and ordinances of Princes are no other but piety and particular pourtraies thereof: So that if there be any law, that strayeth the least that may be from this first and original mistrifs; it is a monter, falthood, and errour. To be brief, all the laws of the world, are no other but copies and abstracts brought forth into judgment against thee that holdest hidden the original, and makest as if thou knewest it not, extinguishing as much as in thee lyeth, this light, which enlightneth thee within, Qui veritatem Dei detinent in injustitia, Who detain the truth of God in unrighteonfues; for these laws had never been published abroad, but because that law which was inward, wholly celeftial and divine, hath been too much contemned and forgotten. These are all rivers, but such as neither have so much water, nor so pure as the source and invisible fountain, which is within thee, if thou fuffer it not to perifh, and to be loft: I fay, not fo much water, Quam mules pietes, bumanitas, liberaliin, fides exigunt, que extra tabulas funt! Piety, bumanity, liberalisy, and faith require many things that are not in the tables. O the miferable honefly of formalifis, who hold themselves to the words of the law, and fo think themselves discharged! How many duties are there required besides? Quam angusta innecessia ad legem bomen effe : fatine officiorum patet quam juris regula. What a firid inmovement required, according to the laps, the rule of duty extendesh It felf further then the rule of the law. The rule of our duty is far larger then that of the law, which is neither fo firong, nor fo lively. witness this one thing, that well to understand and know their intention, to quit our felves of ambiguity, difficulty, contrariety, we must bring them to the source, and re-entring into the inward part, put them to the touch and rule of nature : Anima legis, ratio; Reason is the life of the law. Behold then an effential, radical, and fundamental honely, forung in us from its own proper roots by

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the feed of that universal reason which is in the foul, as the former and ballance in a clock, as the natural heat in the body, maintaining it felf strong of it felf and invincible, whereby a man worketh nocording to God, according to himself. Nature, the universal order and policy of the world, quietly, fweetly and as filently without noile, as a Ship that is not driven but by the natural and ordinary course of the water: All other is ingrafted by Art and accidental discipline, as the heat and cold of fevers, acquired and conducted by strange occasions and considerations, working with clamour and

elatter, ambitiously.

This is the reason why the doctrine of all the Sages doth teach. that to live well, is to live according to nature, that the chiefest We mast falls good in this world is to confent to nature, that in following nature nature. as our guide, and miftrifs, we can never erre. Naturam fi fequaris ducene, nufquam aberrabis: bonum eft quod fecundim naturami onoria vitia contra naturam funt : Idem beate vivere & fecundum naturam : If thou follow Nature at thy guide, thou fo als not erre. All goodness is natural; vices unnatural: it is one and the fame thing to live bleffedly and according to Name: understanding by nature, that equity and universal reason which shineth in us, which containeth and hatcheth in it the feeds of all virtues, probity, justice, and is the matrix from whence all good and excellent laws do foring and arife. yes those true and just judgments that are sometimes pronounced by the mouth of an Idiot. Nature hath disposed all things in the best Bate that they could be, and hath given them the first motion to good, and the end which they flould feek, in such fort, that he that will follow her, need not obtain and poffers his own good and his own end, Sapientia eft in naturam converti, & ea reftimi unde publiem error expulerit : Abilta non decrrare, adillim legem exemplume, formare, fapientia eft. It is wifdom to be conformable to Nature, and to yield unto it, whereby he may expel all publick and groff errour's From which not to mander, but to fashion and apply bimfelf shereto, it wifdom. Men are naturally good, and follow not evil but for prohit or pleasure, and therefore Law-makers, to induce them to follow their natural and good inclination, and not to inforce their wills, have proposed two contrary things, punishment and reward.

Doubtles, Neture in every one of us is sufficient, and a freet As a good and mifrife and rule to all things, if we will hearken unto hes, employ fafficient me and awaken hers and we need not feek elfowhere, nor beg of fire.

Art, and the Sciences, the means, the remedies, and the rules which we have need of: every one of us, if he will, may live at his pleafure, of his own. To live content and happy, a man need not be wife, a Courtier, nor fo active; all his fufficiency that is beyond the common and natural is vain and superfluous, yea it bringeth more evil with it then good. We see ignorant people, idiots, and simple men, lead their lives more tweetly and chearfully, relift the affaults of death, of want, of forrow, more constantly and contentedly, then the wifest men and most active. And if a man mark it well. he shall find among peasants and other poor people, examples of patience, constancy, equanimity, more pure then all those that are taught in Schools; they follow simply the reason and conduct of nature, they travel quietly and contentedly in their affairs, not inflaming or elevating themselves, and consequently more soundly: Others mount themselves upon their great horses, play the light horseman, bandy themselves one against the other, keep their brains always in work and agitation. A great master and admirable Do-Ctor in Nature was Socrates, as Ariftotle in Art and Science. Socrates by simple and natural discourses, by vulgar similitudes and inductions, speaking like a Country Swain, did furnish us with precepts and rules of good life, and remedies against all evils, so substantial and strong, that all the Art and Science of the world could not devise better or the like.

But we do not only not hearken unto it, believe and follow it according to the countel of the wife, but allo (not to fpeak of those monsters who by the violence of their vices, inordinate and perverse delights and pleasures, suffocate and extinguish, as much as in them lieth, the light, mortifie the feed thereof) we endeavour to avoid it, we fuffer it to fleep and to cease, loving better to beg elsewhere our first rudiments, to run to study any Art, then to content our felves with that which is bred within us. We have a bufie troublefome spirit, which offereth it felf to rule and govern in all things, and which carrieth it felf after our own wills, disguiseth, changeth, and troubleth all, will add, invent, alter, and cannot flay it felf in home-born simplicity; it thinketh nothing good wherein there is not craft and lubtiley. Simplex illa & aperta virtue in obfouram & folertem fcientiam verfa eft: That fimple and open virtue is ever ourned into obscure and crafty cunning. And it is a vice common amongst us, not to account of any thing that is in us, we esteem only of that which is bought, which is coffly, and is brought from far:

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noon, and light candles. This fault and folly proceedeth from another; that is, that we efteem not of things according to their true and effential value, but according to the shew and report. How many are there more scrupulous and exact in those things that belong to the politive and municipal law, then the natural? Truly almost all, yea even in the ceremonial, and law of civility, which we By Ceremon have framed to our felves, in respect whereof we disdain and are ashamed of nature. We speak little, we make a fair shew, and carefully keep a decorum or decency; and make no difficulty to go directly against nature, duty, conscience. So that the shadow is more unto us then the body, the root; the countenance more then the fubstance and sound verity. That we may not offend a ceremony, we cover and hide things natural; we dare not name, and we blush at the found of things, which we do in no fort fear to do, both lawful and unlawful. We dare not speak that which is permitted to do, we dare not directly to name our own proper members, and vet we fear not to employ them in all manner of wickedness: we pronounce, speak, and do, without fear and without shame, wicked things, and fuch as are against nature and reason, forswear, betray, affail, kill, deceive; and we bluth to speak of things good, natural, necessary, just, and lawful. There is not a husband, which is not more ashamed to embrace his wife in the open view of the world, then to kill, lye, affail; nor a woman that will not rather utter any wickedness in the world, then name that wherein she taketh most delight, and may lawfully do. Even to treasons and murders, they tye themselves to the laws of a ceremony, and there fasten their devoirs. A strange thing that injustice should complain of incivility, malice of indifcretion! The act of a ceremony doth it not prevail against nature? The Ceremony forbiddeth us to express natural things and lawful, and we give credit thereunto: Nature and reason forbiddeth us things unlawful, and no man believes it : A man fends his conscience to the Brothel-house, and keeps his outward countenance in order. All this is monstrous, and the like is not found among beafts. I will not for all this fay, (as I perceive malice doth already mutter) that Ceremony and decency ought not carefully to be kept, which is the falt and feafoning of our actions and conversations. Amo verecundiam; in ea, ornatus Cicero. vite, and vis decori: I love modefty, for in it, is the ornament of our life, and the force of comelinefe. But I say to them, as our Saviour

Math. 23:

to men of the like spirit : O bypocrita, excolantes culicem, camelan 'deglutientes, qui minima curatis, graviora fernitis. Hac oportet pri mim facere, tum illa non omittere. O ye hypocrites, that strain a guat, and swallow a Camel, which are careful for small things, and defile greater matters: Thefe ought ye first to do, and also not to omit the reft.

10. In fuch fort, that it is no

From this general and univerfal alteration and corruption it is come to pals, that there is nothing of nature known in us. If we must fay what the laws thereof are, and how many they are, more known in we are much hindred. The entign and mark of a natural law is the universality of approbation: for that which Nature shall have truly ordained for us, we with a common confent shall follow without doubting, and not only every Nation, but every particular person.

Now there is not any thing in the world which is not denied and contradicted, not by one Nation, but by divers: and there is not any thing fo. strange and unnatural in the opinion of divers, which is not approved and authorized in many places by common use. The little care of having children, the murther of parents, of children, of himself, marriage of the nearest in blood, thest, publick merchandise of their liberty and bodies, as well of males as temales,

are received by publick use in many Nations.

And we must feek it elfewhere.

Doubtless there remaineth no more any image or trace of Nature in us, we must go seek it in beasts, where this troublesom and un quiet spirit, this quick-silver, neither Art, nor beautiful ceremony hath power to alter it; they have it pure and entire, if it be not corrupted by our usage and contagion, as sometimes it is. All the world followeth nature, the first and universal rule which the Author thereof hath given and stablished, except man only; who troubleth the policy and state of the world with his gentle spirit, and his free will to wickedness, he is the only irregular creature, and enemy of nature.

1 2. True honesty.

So then the true honesty (the foundation and pillar of wisdom) is to follow nature, that is to fay, reason. The good and the end. of man, in whom confileth his reft, his liberty, his contentment, and in a word, his perfection in this world is to live and do according to nature, when that which is the most excellent thing in him commandeth, that is to fay, reason. True honesty is a right and. firm disposition of the will to follow the countel of reason: And as the Needle touched with the Adamant never resteth it self until he.

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fee the North-point, and thereby ordereth and directeth the navigation; fo a man is never well, yea, he is as it were undone, and diflocated until he fee this law, and directeth the course of his life. his manners, his judgments and wills, according to the first, divine, natural law which is an inward domestical light, whereof all the rest are but beams.

But to effect it, and to come to the practice, it is far more easie to some, then to others. There are some that have their particular The diffination nature, that is to fay, their temper, and temperature so good and of true honesty. pleasing (which especially proceedeth from the first formation in the womb of the mother, and afterwards from the milk of the nurle, and this first and tender education) that they find themselves, without endeavour, and without Art or discipline, wholly carried and disposed to goodness and honesty, that is to say, to follow and conform themselves to the universal nature, whereby they are termed well-born ; gandeant bene nati.

This kind of natural and easie honesty, and as it were born with Natural goodus, is properly called goodness, a quality of a foul well-born and ness. well-governed; it is a fweetness, faculty, and debonair mildness of nature: and not (left any body should be deceived) a softness, a fe-

minary, fottish calmuess, and vicious facility, whereby a man delighteth to please all, and not to displease or offend any, although he have a just and a lawful cause, and it be for the service of reason and juffice; whereby it comes to pass, that they will not employ themfelves in lawful actions, when it is against those that take offence thereat; not altogether refuse the unlawful, when they please thereby those that consent thereunto. Of these kind of people it is said (and this commendation is injurious) He is good, fince he is good even to the wicked; and this accusation true, How should he be good, fince he is not evil to those that are evil? We should rather call this kind of goodness innocency, as men call little children sheep, and the like innocent creatures. But an active, valiant, manly, and effectual goodness is that I require, which is a ready, easie, and constant affection unto that which is good, right, just, accord-

ing to reason and nature. There are others so ill-born and bred, that it seems that (like monfters) their particular natures are made, as it were, in despight of the universal nature, so cross and contrary are they thereunto. In this case the remedy to correct, reform, sweeten, make tame, and amend this evil, rough, favage, and crooked nature, to bend it and

Acquired vir-

apply it to the rule of this general and great Miltress the universal Nature, is, to have recourse to the study of Philosophy (as Socrates. did) and unto virtue, which is a combate and painful endeavour. against vice, a laborious study, which requireth time, labour, and discipline. Virtue in ardus & circa difficile : ad jamam virtutis exenbant labor & Gudor. Dii mortalibus virtutem laboris pretio vendiderunt. Virtue is always employed about things difficult; at whose gate attends labour and pain. God for great pain and travel bath fold This is not to bring in a new, frrange, or artifivirtue unto men. cial honesty, and so accidental, and such, as I have said before, is not the true; but it is by taking away the lets and hindrances, to ftir up and enlighten this light almost extinct and languishing, to revive those feeds almost choaked by the particular vice, and ill temperature of the particular person; as, by taking away the moat: from the eye, the fight is recovered ; and the dust from off the: glass, a man feeth the clearer.

Three degrees of perfection.

By all this that hath been faid; it appeareth that there are two forts of true honesty; the one natural, sweet, easie, just, called goodness; the other acquired, difficult, painful, and laborious, called virtue. But to fay the truth, there is also a third, which is, as it were, composed of the two, and so there should be three degrees of perfection. The lowest of the three is a facile and debonair nature. distasted by it self, by reason of vice; we have named it goodness. The fecond more high, which we have named virtue. is with a lively force to hinder the progress of vice, and having suffered himself to be surprised, with the first motions of the passions, to arm and bind himself to stay their course, and to overcome them. The third and chiefest is out of an high resolution, and a perfeet habit, to be so well framed, that temptations cannot so much as grow in him, and the feeds of vice are wholly rooted out, infomuch that this virtue is turned into a complexion, and into nature. This last may be called Perfection. That and the first, which is called goodness, do resemble one another, and differ from the second, in that they are without flir, pain, or endeavour. This is the true tin-Aure of the foul, her natural and ordinary course, which costeth nothing. The fecond, is always in care and aw. The last and perfect, is acquired by the long study and serious exercise of the rules of Philosophy, joyned to a beautiful and rich nature. For both are necessary, the natural and the acquired. This is that, those two-Sects did fo much fludy, the Staicks, and much more the Epicare. (which:

(which would have feemed firange, if Senees and other ancient Philosophers did not testifie it, who are rather to be credited, then all the other more modern) who made a sport and play-game of shame, want, sickness, griess, tortures, death: They did not only contemn, patiently endure and vanquish all asperities and difficulties; but they sought them, they took pleasure and delight in them; and all to keep their virtue in breath, and in action, which made them not only sum, coustant, grave, and severe, as Cate and the Stoicks; but cheerful, merry, wanton, and if a man may so say,

fool-hardy too.

By the comparison of these three together, it seemeth to some (who understand not the height and value of the third) that the second, which we call Virtue, by reason of the difficulties, dangers, endeavours thereof, carrieth the honour; and that, as Metellus faid, to do evil is an idle and a base thing; to do good where there is neither pain nor danger, is a common thing and too easie; but to do good where there is danger and pain, is the part of an honest man, and of virtue: it is the Motto of that divine Philosopher, xanera ra xand. But to speak in truth that which it is ; befides. that difficulty (as elsewhere hath been said) is no true, nor just, and lawful cause, why a thing should be the more esteemed; it is certain, that in the like thing the natural is more worth then the acguired; that it is far more noble, more excellent, and divine to work by Nature then by Art; eafily, equally, uniformly, then painfully, unequally, with doubt and danger. God is good after the first manner, that is, the natural and effential goodness; we dare not call him virtuous, nor the Angels and Spirits fortunate; they are called good. But because virtue maketha greater clamor and sir, and worketh with greater vehemency and goodness, it is more admired and esteemed of the vulgar fort (who are but foolish Judges) but wrongfully. For these great exalters and extravagant productions. which feem to be all zeal and fire, are no part of the Play, and do not in any fort appertain to true honesty; they are rather maladies and furious entrances, far distant from that wisdom we here require, which is fweet, equal, and uniform.

Thus much be spoken in gross, of honesty; for the parts thereof, and the duties, shall be handled in the third Book, especially in the virtue of Justice. I will here adde a word or two (according to promise) to rebate and blunt the point of detraction, and to stay the plaints of those, that dislike, that I attribute so much to nature,

16.

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True and effential bonefty, the first

(although it be God, as hath been faid, and this Book fpeaketh not but of the natural and humane) as if that were all, and there were nothing elle to be required. Wherefore befides all that hath been faid, there remaineth yet one thing to make this work compleat and perfect, and that is the grace of God, whereby this honesty, goodness, virtue, hath life, is brought forth in his due time, and receiveth its last and perfect portraict, it is elevated, christened, crowned, that is to fay, accepted, verified, approved by God, and made (after a fort) worthy its due reward. Honefly is like to a good Organist, who toucheth well and truly according to Art: the grace and spirit of God, is the blaft and wind which expresseth the touch. giveth life, and maketh the inftrument to speak, and to make a pleafant melody. Now this good confifteth not in long discourse, precepts and instructions, neither is it attained by our own proper act and labour, it is a free gift from above, whereof it taketh the name. Grace: but we must defire it, ask, implore it, both humbly and ardently. O God, vouchfafe of thy infinite goodness to look upon me with the eye of thy clemency, to accept and to like of my defire. mine effav, my little work, which comes originally from thee, by that obligation and instruction, which thou hast given me in the law of nature, which thou hast planted in me, to the end it may return unto thee, and that thou maift end that thou haft begun, that to thou maift be both my a and . Sprinkle me with thy grace, keep me, and account me thine, and so forth. The better to obtain it, that is to fay, to incline God unto us, is this honesty (as hath been faid in the Preface, whither (that I may not iterate it) I refend the Reader) the matter being well prepared, is the fitter for the form; the grace is not contrary, neither doth it enforce or destroy nature, but sweetly it relieveth and persecteth it, so that it must not oppose it self thereunto as to its contrary, but put it on as a Crown. They are both of God, they must not therefore be confounded, every one hath his jurisdiction, his action apart: The Organist, and he that worketh at the bellows, are two, so are honefly and grace, the action good in it felf naturally, morally, humanely, and that by grace made acceptable. That may well be without this, and hath his worth, as in those Philosophers and great men in times past, admirable in nature, and in all kind of moral virtue, and is likewife found in misbelievers or infidels; but this cannot be without that, no more then the covering, the Crown and perfection can be without the entire body. The Player or Organif

#1. 14.

ganist may in every point exercise his Art, without the bellowsblower; and so likewise honesty without grace. It is true that this cannot be but as fonans, and cymbalum tinniens, but this requireth that, wherein I fee many to mistake themselves very grosly, who never have any tafte, or do ever conceive the image of true honefty, and continue puffed up with a perswasion of grace, which they think to practife, to attract, to attain by certain easie and idle means; after the manner of the Pharifees, wherewith they rest contented, not troubling themselves any further for the true honesty, Promoti per saltum, Masters without apprentiship, Doctors and Nobles in parchment. Now I fee many of thefe kind of people in the world, but very few fuch as Ariftides, Phocion, Cato, Regulus, Socrates, Scipio, Epaminondas, that is to fay, professors of an exact, true, and folid moral virtue, and Philosophical probity. That complaint and reproach so frequent of the soveraign Doctor of the truth, against hypocritical Pharifees, will always have place, for fuch people will never be wanting, no not amongst the Cenfors and Reformers of the world. Now having spoken much of honesty, we must likewise in a word or two touch the contrary thereunto.

Wickedness is against nature, it is foul, deformed, and unprofitable, it offendeth every good judgment, it breedeth a hatred of it The defeription felf being well known; whereupon some have faid, that it was bred of wite dassi. and brought forth by idleness and ignorance. Again, wickedness ingendreth offence and repentance in the foul, which like an ulcer. in the flesh, eateth and fretteth it, malice and mischief buildeth up torments against it felf : Malitia ipfa maximam partem veneni fut bibit : malum confilium consultori pessimum : Malice it felf suppeth up the greatest part of his own poylon: Evil counsel is worst to him that giveth it : like the Wasp, which with his sting offendeth another, but much more himself, for he leaveth behind him, and that for ever, both his fting and his ftrength; vice hath pleasure in it, otherwife it would not be received, nor find place in the world, Nemo enim animi causa malus est; No man is wicked for bis minds sake; but it doth withal ingender displeasure and offence, pain following fin, faith Plato; yea it groweth with it, faith Hefiodus: which is quite contracy to the will and to vertue, which rejoyceth and contenteth. There is a congratulation, a pleasing contentment, and fatisfaction in well-doing; it is the true and effential reward of a good foul, which can never fail him, and where with he must content himfelf in this world.

18. Whether it be never permitted to fin.

There is no man maketh a doubt, whether vice be to be avoided. and hated above all things; but it is a question whether there may be any fuch profit or pleafure, as may carry with it a fufficient excufe for the committing of fuch or fuch a fin. It feemeth to divers. that there may: Touching profit, if it be publick there is no doubt. (but yet with limitation, as shall be said in the virtue of politick prudence):but some will say as much of particular profit and pleabib. 3; cap. 2. fure. A man might fpeak and judge hereof more certainly, if some

certain fact or example were proposed. But to speak simply, we

are firmly to hold the negative.

19. ingender repentance. The distinction of vice or wickedness.

That fin cannot inwardly furnish us with such pleasure and con-Whether all fin tent, as honesty doth, there is no doubt, but that it tormenteth (as hath been faid) it is not univerfally and in all fenfes true : we must therefore diftinguish it. There are three forts of wickedness and wicked people: fome are incorporated into evil, by discourse and resolution, or by long habit, in such fort, that their understanding it felf approveth it and consenteth thereunto. This falleth out, when fin having met with a ftrong and vigorous heart, is in such fort rooted therein, that it is there formed, and as it were naturalized, and the foul infected and wholly tainted therewith. Others contrariwife do ill by impulsions, according as the violent wind of temptation troubleth, stirreth, and precipitateth the foul unto fin, and as they are surprised and carried by the force of passion. The third, as midlings betwixt these two, account their vice such as it is, they accuse and condemn it, contrary to the first; and they are not carried by paffion or temptation, as the second; but in cold blood, having well thought thereof, they enter into the market, they ballance it with some great pleasure or profit, and in the end at a certain price and measure they yield thereunto, and they think they have some excule to do it. Of this fort of fins are usuries, obscenities or venereous pleasures, and other fins many times resumed, consulted, deliberated; as also the fins of complexion.

fon.

Of these three, the first do never repent, without some extraordinary touch from heaven: for being fetled and hardned in wickednels, they feel not the prick and fling thereof: for fince the understanding approve thit, and the soul is wholly tainted therewith, the will hath no will to gainfay it. The third repent, or feem in a certain fashion, that is to say, simply considering the dishonest action in it felf; but afterwards weighing it with profit or pleasure, they sepent not at all: and to fay the truth, and to speak properly, they

do not repent, fince both their reason and conscience willeth and consenteth to the fault. The second, are they that repent and readvise themselves, and of whom properly it is called repentance: whereof I will here take occasion to speak a word or two.

Repentance is a disavowing or denial, and a retraction of the will, that is, a forrow or grief ingendred in us by reason, which of Repentance. driveth away all other forrows and griefs, which proceed from outward causes. Repentance is inward, inwardly ingendred, and therefore more strong then any other, as the heat and cold of a fever, is more violent then that which is outward. Repentance is the medicine of the foul, the death of fin, the cure of our wills and consciences; but it is necessary, that we well know it. First, it is not of every fin, as hath been faid; not of that which is inveterate, habituated, authorized by the judgment it felf; but of the accidental, and that which happeneth either by furprife, or by force : nor of things that are not in our power, whereof we are forry we cannot repent: neither can it be in us, by reason of bad issues, and contrary to our couniels and defignments. If a matter fall out belides a mans thought, conceit, and advice; for that he must not repent him of his counsel and advice, if he therein carry himself as he ought; for a man cannot divine of events, and if a man did know them, yet hath he no place to confult of them; and we never are to judge of counfels by their iffues; neither must it grow in him by age, impotency, and distaste of things; this was to suffer his judgment to be corrupted: for the things are not changed, because we are changed, by age, fickness, or other accidents. The growing wife, or amendment, which comes by anxiety, distaste, or seebleness, is not true and religious, but idle and languishing. The weakness of the body is no fit Post to carry us to God, and to our duty, and repentance; but true repentance is the gift of God, which toucheth our heart, and must grow in us, not by the weakness of the body, but by the force of the foul, and of reason.

Now from true repentance there ariseth a true, free, and religious confession of our faults. As in the maladies of the body we see of Confession two kinds of remedies; the one which healeth, taking away the and excufs. cause, the root of the malady; the other which doth only cover it, and bring it affeep: and therefore the former is more forcible, and more wholfome. So likewise in the maladies of the foul, the true remedy which cleanfeth and healeth, is a ferious and modest confession of our faults ; the other falle, which doth only disguise and

sover is excuse, a remedy invented by the Author of evil it self. whereof the Proverbis, That fin feweth it felf a garment, that is Excuse, the garment made of fig-leaves by the first offenders, whe covered themselves both with words and deeds, but it was a garment without warmth. We should therefore learn to accuse our felves, boldly to confess all our actions and thoughts: for besides that it were a fair and generous liberty, it were likewife a mean not to do or think any thing, which were not honest and fit to be published: for he that will be content to be bound to tell all, will be likewise content to bind himself to do nothing that a man is constrained to hide; but contrarily, every man is discreet and secret in confession, but not in actions. Boldness to fin, is in some fort bridled by boldness to confess. If it be undecent to do a thing, it is far more undecent not to dare to avouch it. Many great and holy men, as S. Auftin, Origen, Hippocrates, have published the errours of their opinions, and we should do the like of our manners. But going about to hide them, a man falleth many times into great evils, as he that folemnly denieth that he hath abused his body with another, by thinking to mend the matter, marres it, at leastwife multiplies his fin. This is not to excuse vice, but to adde thereunto.

CHAP. IV.

To bave a certain end and form of life, the fecond foundation of Wildom

Fter this first foundation of true and inward honesty, there cometh, as it were by way of Preamble, a fecond foundation, necessary for the government of our life; which is, to prepare and frame our felves to a certain and affured course of life, to make choice of that calling which doth best best us, and is proper unto us; that is to fay, which our particular nature (following always the universal, our great and general Mistress and Governour) doth willingly accommedate and apply it felf unto. Wisdom is a Sweet and regular conduct and carriage of our foul, guiding it with measure and proportion, and consisteth in an equality of life and manners.

This choice then is a matter of great difficulty, wherein a man This choice, a carrieth himself very diversly, and wherein he findeth himself hindifficult thing, dered by divers considerations, which draw him into divers parts, wherein a man and many times hurt and hinder one another. Some are happy there-

felf diverfly.

therein, who by a great goodness and selicity of nature, have known both speedily and easily how to chuse, and either by a certain good hap, without any great deliberation, are, as it were, wholly carried into that course of life, which doth best best them; in such sort that fortune hath been their chuser, and led them unto it, or by the friendly and provident hand of another, they have been guided and directed. Others contrarily are unhappy, who having failed even from the entrance, and wanting the spirit, or industry to know themselves, and in a good hour to be re-advised, how they might cunningly withdraw their stake in the midst of the game, are in such sort engaged, that they can no more recall themselves, and so constrained to lead a life sull of inconvenience and

repentance.

But it likewise proceedeth many times from the great default of him that deliberateth, either in not knowing himfelf well, and prefurning too much of himself; whereby it falleth out, that he mult either shamefully desist from that which he hath undertaken, or endure much pain and torment in perfifting therein. He must remember that to carry a burthen, it is necessary there be more strength then burthen; otherwise, a man is constrained either to leave it, or to fink under it. A wife man doth never charge himself with more business, then he knoweth how to go through: or in not settling himself in any thing, but changing from day to day, as they do that are never pleased nor satisfied with any thing, but that which they have not; every thing discontenteth them, as well ease, as business, to command, as to obey. These kind of people live miserably, and without rest, as men constrained. The other likewise cannot hold themselves quiet, they cease not to go and come to no purpose, they feem to do much and do nothing; the actions of a wife man do always tend to some certain end. Magnam rem puta, unum, bominem agere; præter sapientem nemo unum agit, multiformes sumus. Think it a great matter for a man to do one thing : No man, but a wife man, doth one thing : for we are of many and divers fashions and hapes. But the most part do not deliberate, and consult of any thing, they fuffer themselves to be led like oxen, or carried according to the times, company, occasion, and then know not how to give a reason, why they are rather of this calling then another, except it be because their father profest the same, or that they were unawares carried into it, and so have continued therein, in luch fort, that as they did never well consider of their entrance, so they know

affairs.

not which way to get out. Panei fine qui confilio fe fuaque diffewant ; cateri, corum more qui fluminibus innatant, uon cunt fed feruntur. Fem difofe advifedly of themfelves or their affairs : others do it in that manner as men firm; who go not , but are carried with the ma-

ter and courfe of the ftream.

Now, that a man may carry himself well herein, chuse well, Counfel in these and well acquit himself, he must know two things, and two natures: his own, that is his complexion, his port and capacity, his temperature, in what a man excelleth, in what he is feeble, what he is fit for, for what he is unfit; For to go against his own nature, is to tempt God, to fpit against the heavens, to leave the business undone because he cannot do it : (Nec quidquam sequi quod affequi nequen : Attempt not any thing, that thou canst not attain to) and to expose himself to laughter and mockery. Afterward he must know that which belongs to his affairs, that is to fav, the state, profession, and kind of life that is proposed. There are some, wherein the affairs are great and weighty; others, where they are dangerous; others, where they are not so great, but are mingled and full of entanglements, and that draw after them many other businesses: These charges do much afflict the spirit. Every profession requireth more especially one certain faculty of the soul, one the understanding, another the imagination, another the memory. Now, to know these two natures, his own, and that of the profession and course of life, that which hath been said of the divers temperatures of the inward parts and faculties, will help much. Knowing thefe two natures, we must compare them together, to see whether they can well joyn and endure together; for it is necessary that they sorree: if a man be to contest with his own nature, and to enforce it for the service and performance of a function and charge which he undertaketh; or contrarily, if to follow his nature, whether willingly, or that by force and infenfibly it draw him, a man happen to fail or erre in his duty, what disorder is there? Where is equity? Where is decency? Si quicquam decorum, nibil profetto magis quam equabilitas vite universe, & fingularum actionum; quam confervare non poffis, fi aliorum imiteris naturam, omittas tuam. If any thing be comely, nothing is more comely then the equibility of the whole life, and of every particular action i which then canft not preserve, if thou wilt follow the nature of other men, and omit thine own. This is the account we must make when we think to do any thing

thing that hath worth or grace in it, if nature it felf be wanting. Tu nibil invita dices faciefve Minerva.

If thy nature bend not to, Never think to fleak or do.

Id quemque decet quod est sum maxime: sic est saciendum, ut contra naturam universam nil contendamus, ea servata propriam sequamus. That becomes every man best, that is his own: so ought we to carry our selves, as we contend not against universal nature, but, that being kept, follow our own. And if it fall out, that by mishap, imprudency, or otherwise, a man find himself engaged in a vocation and course of life painful and unprofitable, and that a man cannot stye back; it is the part of wisdom, to resolve to bear it, to sweeten it, to accommodate it unto himself as much as he can, doing as in a game at hazard, according to the counsel of Plato, wherein if the Die or Card sall not out to be good, a man taketh it patiently, and endeavoureth to mend his ill chance by his good play; and like Bees, who from Thyme, a sharp and dry herb, gather sweet honey, and as the Proverb-is, Make a virtue of necessity.

CHAP. V.

To Study true Piety, the first office of Wisdom.

The preparatives made, and the two foundations laid, it is time to build, and to fet down the rules of Wisdom, whereof the first and most noble concerneth the Religion and Worship of God-Piety holdeth the first place in the rank of our duties, and it is a thing of great importance, wherein it is dangerous and very easie to erre and be mistaken. It is necessary therefore to be advised, and to know how he that studieth wisdom should govern himself, which we purpose to do, having a little discoursed of the state and success of Religions in the world, referring the rest unto that which I have said in my three Verities.

It is first a very fearful thing, to consider the great diversity of Religions which have been and are in the world, and much more of Diversity of the strangeness of some of them, so fantastical and exorbitant, that Religions. It is a wonder that the understanding of man should be so much bestotted and made drunken with impostures; for it seemeth, that there is nothing in the world, high or low, which hath not been deisied in some place or other, and that hath not sound a place wherein to be worshipped.

in many principles.

They all agree in many things, and have likewife taken their That all agree beginning in the same climate. Palestina and Arabis which joyn together (I mean the more renowned and famous Miftress of the rest) have their principles and foundations almost alike : The belief of one God the Author of all things, of his providence and love towards mankind, the immortality of the foul, reward for the good, chastisement for the wicked after this life, a certain outward profession of praying, invocating, honouring, and serving God. To win them credit, and that they may be received, they alledge and furnish themselves, whether in deed and in verity, as the true, or by imposture and fair semblance, with revelations, apparitions, prophets, miracles, prodigies, holy mysteries, Saints. All have their fountain and beginning small, feeble, humble; but by little and little, by the imitation and contagious acclamation of the people, with some fictions as fore-runners, they have taken footing, and been authorized; infomuch that they all are held with affirmation and devotion, yea, the absurdest among them. All hold and teach, that God is appealed and won by prayers, presents, vows, and promiles, and the like: All believe that the principal and most pleafant service of God, and the powerfullest means to appeale him, and to obtain his grace, is to punish, to cut themselves, to impose upon themselves some painful and difficult labour: witness throughout the world, and almost in all Religions, and rather in the false en in the true, in Mahumetilin, then Christianity, so many orders, companies, hermitages, and Friories, destinated to certain and divers exercises, very painful, and of a strict profession, even to the lancing and cutting of their bodies, thinking thereby to merit much more then the common fort, who purifie not themselves with afflictions and torments as they do, and every day they provide new: and the nature of man doth never cease to invent means of pain and torment, which proceedeth from the opinion, that God taketh pleafure, and is pleafed with the torment and ruine of his creatures. which opinion is founded upon the facrifices, which were univerfal throughout the world, before the birth of Christianity, and exercifed not only upon innocent beafts, which were maffacred with the effusion of their blood, for a precious present unto God; but (a strange thing that man should be so sottith) upon infants, innocents, and men, as well good and honest, as offenders; a custom practifed with great Religion almost in all Nations : As the Gete, a ople of Scythia, who among others ceremonies and facrifices difpatched

patched unto their god Zamolxis, from five years to five, a man amongst them to demand things necessary for them. And because it was thought necessary that one should die suddenly, at an instant, and that they did expose themselves unto death after a doubtful manner, by running themselves upon the points of three Javelins, whereby it fell out, that many were dispatched in their order until there came one that lighted upon a mortal wound, and died fuddenly, accounting him the fittest messenger, and in greatest favour with their god, and not the reft : as the Perfians, witness the fact of Ametris the mother of Xerxes, who at an instant buried alive fourteen young men of the best houses, according to the Religion of the Country: As the ancient Gauls, the Carthaginians, who facrificed to Saturn their children, their fathers and mothers being prefent : the Lacedemonians, who flattered their goddess Diana, by whipping their youths in favour of her, many times even to death : the Greeks, witness the facrifice of Iphigenia: the Romans, witness the two Decii: Qua fuit tanta iniquitas deorum ut placari pop. Rom. non possent, nisi tales viri occidissent ? Was the offence of the gods so great and so unjust, as it could not be appealed, but by the death of fuch men as these ? Turks, who to matfacre their vifage, their breafts, their members, to gratifie their Prophet: the new East and West Indies; and in Themistiran, where they cement their Idols with the blood of children. What madness was this, to think to flatter the Divinity with inhumanity; to content the Divine goodness with our affliction, and to fatishe the justice of God with cruelty! Justice then thirsting after humane blood, innocent blood, drawn and flied with fo much pain and torment : Ut fie dii placentur quemadmodum ne bomines cuidem Seneca Seviunt: As if the Divinity should be satisfied by our inhumanity. From whence can this opinion and belief ipring, that God taketh pleasure in torment, and in the ruine of his works, and humane nature? Following this opinion of what nature should God be? But all this hath. been abolished throughout Christendom, as before hath been said.

They have also their differences, their particular articles, whereby they are diffinguished among themselves, and every one prefers They differ. it felf above the rest, affuring himself it is the better, and more true then the rest, reproaching the one the other with some things, and

fo condemn and reject one another. But no man doubteth, neither is it a matter of labour to know which is the trueft; the Christian Religion having so many advan- Christian Reli-

tages and priviledges, to high and to authentical above others, and gion above all-

especially these. It is the subject of my second verity, where is shewed how far all others are interiour unto it.

built upon the former.

Now as they spring up one after another, the younger doth always build upon the more ancient, and next precedent, which from the top to the bottom it doth not wholly disprove and condemn ; for then it could not be heard or take footing; but it only accuse the it either of imperfection, or of the end, and that therefore it cometh to fucceed it, and to perfect it, and fo by little and little overthroweth it, and enricheth it felf with the spoils thereof: as the ludaical, which hath retained many things of the Gentile Egyptian Religion the elder, the Hebrews not being eafily purified of their customs: the Christian built upon the verities and promises of the Judaicial: the Turkish upon them both, retaining almost all the verities of Christ Jesus, except the first and principal, which is his Divinity: so that if a man will leap from Judaism to Mahumetism, he must pass by Christianity: and such there have been among the Mahumetifts as have exposed themselves to torments, to maintain the truth of Christian Religion, as a Christian would do to maintain the truth of the Old Testament. But vet the elder and more ancient do wholly condemn the younger, and hold them for capital enemies.

to nature.

All Religions have this in them, that they are strange and hor-All are frange rible to the common sense: for they propose and are built and composed of part, whereof some seem to the judgment of min base. unworthy, and unbefitting, wherewith the spirit of man, somewhat firong and vigorous, jesteth and sporteth it felf; others too high, bright, wonderful, and mystical, where he can know nothing, wherewith it is offended. Now the spirit of man is not capable but of indifferent things, it contemneth and disdaineth the small, it is aftonished and confounded with the great; and therefore it is no anarvel, if it be hardly perswaded at the first onset, to receive all Religion, where there is nothing indifferent and common, & therefore must be drawn thereunto by some occasion : for if it be strong, it disdaineth and laugheth at it; if it be feeble and superstitious, it is aftonished and scandalized : Predicamus Fesum crucifixum, Judeis Scandalum, gentibus stultitiam : We preach Jesus crucified, a scandal to the Jews, to the people folly. Whereof it comes to pass, that there are so many misbelievers and irreligious persons, because they confult and hearken too much to their own judgments, thinking to examine and judge of the affairs of Religion, according to their

own capacity, and to handle it with their own proper and natural instrument. We must be simple, obedient, and debonair, if we will be fit to receive religion, to believe and live under the law, by reverence and obedience to subject our judgement, and to suffer our selves to be led and conducted by publick authority; Captivantes intellectum ad obsequium fidei : Submitting our understanding to the obediexce of faith.

But it was required fo to proceed, otherwife religion should not be respected, and had in admiration as it ought, now it is necessary that be received and fworn to, as well authentically and reverently, as difficultly; If it were fuch as were wholly pleafing to the palate and nature of man without strangenesse, it would be thought more

eafily; yet less reverently received.

Now the religions and beliefs being fuch as hath been faid, strange unto the common fenfe, very far exceeding all the reach and under- Why they are flanding of man, they must not, nor cannot be gotten nor settled in met to be gotus, by natural and humane means, (for then among to many great means, minds as there have been rare and excellent, some had attained thereunto) but it must needs be, that they be given us by extraordinary and heavenly revelation, gotten and received by divine inspiration, and as sent from heaven. In this manner likewise all do affirm, that they hold their religion and believe it, not from men, or

any other creature, but from God.

But to fay the truth, and not to flatter or disguise, this is nothing But to fay the truth, and not to natter or diagrams, this is nothing and yet 1209 they are, whatfoever some say, held by human: hands and means; are gotten by which is true in every respect, in falle religions, being nothing but bumons means. prayers, and humane or diabolical inventions: The true, as they have another jurisdiction, so are they both received and held by another hand; neverthelesse we must distinguish. As touching the receiving of them, the first and general publication and installation of them hath been, Domino co-operante, fermone confirmante, fequentibus fignis; God working, bis word confirming, and fignes following, divine and wonderful: the particular is done by humane hands and means; the nation, country, place, gives the religion, and that a man profesfeth which is in force in that place, and among those perfons where he is born, and where he liveth: He is circumcifed, baptifed, a Jew, a Christian, before he knowes that he is a man; for religion is not of our choice or election, but man without his knowledg is made a Jew or a Christian, because he is born in Judaisme or Christianity: and if he had been both elsewhere among the Gen-

tiles, or Mahumetans, he had been likewife a Gentile or a Mahumetan. As touching the observation, the true and good professors thereof, belides the outward profession, which is common to all, yea to mif-believers, they attribute to the gift of God, the testimony of the Holy Ghost within: but this is a thing not common nor ordinary, what fair colour foever they give it, witness the lives and manners of men, so ill agreeing with their belief, who for humane oceasions, and those very light, go against the tenour of their religion. If they were held and planted with a divine hand, nothing in the world could shake us, such a tie would not be so easily broken. If it had any touch or ray of divinity, it would appear in all, it would produce wonderful effects that could not be hid, as Truth it felf hath faid; If you have but as much faith as a mustard-feed, you should remove mountains. But what proportion or agreement is there betwixt the perswasion of the immortality of the soul, and a future reward so glorious and bleffed, or so inglorious, and accurfed, and the life that a man leadeth? The only apprehention of those things that a man faith he doth firmly believe, will take his feules from him: The only apprehension and fear to dve by justice. and in publick place, or by some other shameful and dishonourable action, hath made many to lose their senses, and cast them into Grange trances; and what is that in respect of the worth of that which religion teacheth us is to come? But it is possible in truth to believe, to hope for that immortality so happy, and yet to fear death a necessary passage thereunto? to fear and apprehend that infernall punishment, and live as we do? These are things as incompatible as fire and water. They fay they believe it, they make themtelves believe they believe it, and they will make others believe it too; but it is nothing, neither do they know what it is to believe. For a belief, I mean such as the Scripture calleth bistorical, is diabolical, dead, informed, unprofitable, and which many times doth more hurt than good. Such believers (faith an ancient Writer) are mockers and impostors; and another faith, that they are in one respect, the most sierce and glorious, in another the most loofe, difsolute, and villanous of the world, more than men in the articles of their belief, and worse than swine in their lives. Doubtless if we hold our felves unto God, and our religion. I fay not by a divine grace as we should, but only after a simple and common manner, as we believe a history, or a friend, or companion, we should place them far above all other things for that infinite goodness. that

that fhineth in them, at the leaft, they should be put in the fame rank or degree with honour, riches, friends. Now there are very few that do not fear less to commit an offence against God, and any point of his religion, than against his father, his master, his friend, his equals. All this hurteth not the dignity, purity, and heighth of Christianity, no more than the dunghil infecteth the beams of the Sun, which fhines upon it; for as one faith, Fides non à personis, sedeontra. But Mat. 2 a man cannot pronounce so great a Ve against those false hypocrites, whom Verity it felf to much condemneth, as they belch out

of their own mouthes against themselves.

The better to know true piety, it is necessary first to separate it diffindion from the falle, fained and counterfeit, to the end, we may not equi- true and falle vocate as the most part of the world doth. There is nothing that religion, maketh a fairer shew, and that taketh greater pains to resemble true piety and religion; and yet that is more contrary an enemy thereunto than superstition: like the Woolf, which doth not a little resemble the dog, but yet hath a spirit and humour quite contrary; and the flatterer who counterfeiteth a zealous friend and is nothing less: or like falle coin, which maketh a more glittering thew than the true; Gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa: The peo- Tacit. ple is subject to superstition, contrary to true religion. It is likewise envious and jealous, like an amorous adulteress, who with her smooth fpeeches makes thew of greater affection, and care of the husband, than the true and lawful wife, whom the endeavoureth to make odious unto him. Now the notable differences of these two are. that religion loveth and honoureth God, fettleth a man in peace and rest, and lodgeth in a liberal, free, and generous soul : Superstition troubleth a man, and makes him wild, and injureth God himfelf, teaching to fear with horror and altonishment, to hide himfelf, and to fly from him, if it were possible; it is a weak, poor, and bale malady of the foul; Superftitio error infanus, amandos timet, August quos colit violat : morbus pufilli animi, qui superfitione imbutus eft, quietus effe nusquam potest. Varro ait Deum à religioso vereri, a superflicisfo timeri: Superflition is a frantick error, it feareth friends; corrupteth those that love it: It is the disease of a weak mind, which being infected with superfition, can never be at reft, Varro faith, religious men fear God for love, the superstitions for punishment. Let us speak of them both apart.

A superfitious man suffereth neither God nor man to live in Superfition peace. He apprehendeth God as one anxious, spightful, hardly con- deferibed.

To fludy true Piety, the first office of Wisdome.

tented, eafily moved, with difficulty appealed, examining our actions after the humane fashion of a severe Judge, that watcheth our fleps; which he proveth true by his manner of serving him, which is all after one fashion. He trembleth for fear, he is never secure, fearing he never doth well enough, and that he hath left fomething undone, by the omission whereof all is worth nothing that he hath done; he doubteth whether God be well content, and laboureth to flatter him, to the end he may appeale and win him; he importuneth him with prayers, vows, offerings : he faineth to himfelf miracles, eafily believeth and receiveth fuch as are counterfeited by others, and interpreteth all things though purely natural, as exprefly fent and done by God, and runneth after whatsoever a man faith with all the care that may be; Duo superstitionis propria, nimius timor, nimius cultus: Two things are proper to superstition, too much fear, too much bonour. What is all this but by punishing himself, vilely, basely, and unworthily to deal with God, and more mechanically, than a man would do with a man of honour? Generally all superstition, and fault in religion, proceedeth from this, that we make not that account of God that we should, we revoke him, and compel him into order, we judge of him according to our felves, we put upon him our humours. O what blasphemy is this!

It. at is natural.

Now this vice and malady is almost natural unto us, and we have all a kind of inclination thereunto. Plutarch deploreth the infirmity of man, who never knoweth how to keep a measure, or to settle himself upon his feet: for it leaneth and degenerateth either into superstition and vanity, or into a contempt and carelesnesse of divine things. We are like to an ill advised husband, besotted and couzened with the coyning subtilties of a light woman, with whom he converfed more by reason of her artificial flatteries, than with his honest spouse who honoureth and serveth him with a simple and natural shamefastness: and even so, superstition pleaseth us more

than true religion.

Popular.

It is likewise vulgar, it proceedeth from a weakness of the soul, and ignorance or mif-knowledg of God, and that very groffe, and therefore it is most commonly found in Children, women, old men, lick, and fuch as have been affaulted with some violent accident. To be brief, it is in barbarous natures; Inclinat naturam ad superftitionem barbari: Barbarous natures incline soonest to superstition. Of this then it is faid, and not of true religion, that it is true that Plato affirmeth, that the weakness and idleness of men hath brought

Platareb in Serrerie.

To findy true Piety, the first office of Wifdome.

in religion, and made it prevail, whereby children, women and old men, should be most capable of religion, more scrupulous and dewont : this were to wrong true religion, to give it so poor and frail a foundation.

Besides these seeds of natural inclination and superstition, there Nonrished and are many that shake hands with it, and favour it greatly for the maintained by great gain and profit they receive by it. Great men likewise and human reamighty, though they know what it is, will not trouble nor hinder it, because they know it is a very fit instrument to lead a people withall, and therefore they do not only inflame and nourish that which is already grafted in nature, but when need requires, they forge and invent new, as Scipio, Sertorius, Sylla, and others; Qui faciunt animos bumiles formidine Divum, Depressoque premunt ad Nulla res multitudinem efficaciàs regit, quam superstitio : Which makes their minds humble for offending the gods, and lowly proftrate themselves to the ground. Nothing more forcibly carrieth a multitude than Superstition.

Now quitting your felves of this bale and foul superstition, (which An outrance to I would have him to abhor whom I defire to instruct unto wife- the discourse of dome) let us learn to guide our-felves to true religion and piety, true religion, whereof I will give some grounds and pourtraits, as lesser lights thereunto. But before they enter thereinto, let me here fay in general, and by way of preface, that of so many divers religions, and manners of ferving God, which are or may be in the world. They feem to be the most noble, and to have greatest appearance of truth ? which without great external and corporal fervice, draw the foul into it felf, and raise it by pure contemplation, to admire and adore the greatnesse and infinite majesty of the first cause of all things, and the effence of effences, without any great declaration or determis nation thereof, or prescription of his service; but acknowledging it indefinitely, to be goodness, perfection, and infinitenesse, wholly: incomprehensible and not to be known, as the Pythagorians, and most famous Philosophers do teach. This is to approach, unto the religion of the Angels, and to put in practice that word of the Son of God. To adore in spirit and truth; for God accounteth such worshippers the best. There are others on the other side, and in, another extremity, who will have a visible Deity, capable by the fenfes. Which base and gross errour hath mocked almost all the world, even Ifrael in the defart, in framing to themselves a molten. Call And of these they that have chosen the Sun for their god,

Sid.

feem to have more reason than the rest, because of the greatnesse, beauty, and resplendent and unknown virtue thereos, even such as ensored the whole world to the admiration and reverence of it self. The eye seeth nothing that is like unto it, or that approacheth neer unto it in the whole universe, it is one Sun, and without companion. Christianity, as in the middle, tempereth the sensible and outward with the insensible and inward, serving God with spirit and body, and accommodating it self to great and little, whereby it is better established, and more dureable. But even in that too, as there is a diversity, and degrees of souls, of sufficiency and capacity of divine grace; so is there a difference in the manner of serving God: the more high and perfect incline more to the first manner, more spiritual and contemplative, and lesse external; the lesse and impersed, Sussi sub padagogo, As it were under a Tutor, remain in the other, and do participate of the outward and vulgar deformities.

Religion confisteth in the knowledge of God, and of our selves; (for it is a relative action between both) the office thereof is to extol God to the uttermost of our power, and to beat down man as low as may be, as if he were utterly lost; and afterwards to surnish himself with means to rise again, to make him seed his misery and his nothing, to the end he may put his whole considence in God

alone.

The office of religion is to joyn us to the Author and Principall cause of all our good, to re-unite, and sasten man to his first cause, as to his root, wherein so long as he continueth firm and sested, he preserveth himself in his own perfection; and contrariwise when

he is separated, he instantly fainteth and languisheth.

The end and effect of religion is faithfully to yield all the honour and glory unto God, and all the benefit unto man. All good things may be reduced to these two; The profit, which is an amendment, and an effential and inward good, is due unto poor, wretched, and in all points miscrable man: The glory, which is an outward ornament, is due unto God alone, who is the perfection and sulnesses all good, whereunto nothing can be added: Gloria in excelsis Dee, in terra pax bominibus: Glory be to God on high, and peace with men upon earth.

Thus much being first known, our instruction to piety is first to learn to know God: for from the knowledg of things proceedeth that honour we do unto them. First then we must believe that he is, that he hath created the world by his power, goodnesse, wildom,

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Divers deferiptions of Religion.

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1. To know
God.

and that by it he governeth it that his providence watcheth over all things, yea the least that are; that what soever he sendeth us, is for our good, and that whatforver is evil proceedeth from our felves. It we account those fortunes evil that he sendeth us, we blasoheme his holy name, because naturally we honour those that do us good, and hate those that hurt us. We must then resolve to obey him, and to take all in good part which cometh from his hand, to commit and fubmit our felves unto him.

Secondly, we must honour him: and the most excellent and devoutest way to do it, is first, to mount up our spirits from all car- him. nal, earthly, and corruptible imagination; and by the chaftest, higheft, and holieft conceits, exercise our selves in the contemplation of the Divinity; and, after that we have adorned it with all the most magnifical and excellent names and praises that our spirit can imagine, that we acknowledg that we have prefented nothing unto it worthy it self: but that the fault is in our weakness and imbecility. which can conceive nothing more high. God is the last endeavour and highest pitch of our imagination, every man amplifying the Idea, according to his own capacity : and to speak better, God is infinitely above all our last and highest endeavours and imaginati-

ons of perfection.

Again, we must serve him with our heart and spirit, it is the ser- 3. To serve vice answerable to his nature: Dens spiritus est si Dens est animus, him in spirite: sit tibi pura mente colendus : God is a Spirit; if God be a Spirit, wor-(hip him in purity of spirit. It is that which he requireth, that which pleaseth him : Pater tales quarit adoratores : the Father defireib finch worshippers. The most acceptable facrifice unto his Majesty, is a pure, tree, and humble heart : Sacrificium Deo Spirirus purus : A pure beart is a facrifice unto God. An innocent foul, an innocent life: Optimus animus, pulcherrimus Dei cultus : religiofissimus cultus imi- Seneo. tari : unicus Dei cultus, non effe malum : A pure mind is the beft fer- Lactan. vice of God; the most religious worshipping of God is to follow himstle only Mere. bonouring of God, is not to be evil. A wife man is the true facrifice of the Trifm. great God, his spirit is his temple, his foul is his image, his affections are his offerings, his greatest and most solemn sacrifice is to imitate him, to ferve and implore him: for it is the part of those that are great, to give; of those that are poor, to ask: Beating dare quam acaipere : It is better to give than to take.

Nevertheless, we are not to contemn and disdain the outwardand publick service, which must be as an affishant to the other, by with our

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observing bodies ...

observing the ceremonies, ordinances, and customes, with moderation, without vanity, without ambition, or hypocrific, without avarice, and alwaies with this thought, That God will be served in spirit: and that that which is outwardly done, is rather for our selves, than for God; for humane unity, and edification, than for divine verity: Que potitis ad morem quam ad rem pertinent; Which rather belong to manners and custome, than to the thing it self:

5. To pray unto bim.

Our yows and prayers unto God should be all subject unto his will: we should neither defire nor ask any thing, but as he hath ordained, having alwayes for our bridle, Fiat voluntas tua. To ask any thing against his providence, is to corrupt the judge and Governour of the world; to think to flatter him, and to win him by presents and promises, is to wrong him, God doth not desire our goods; neither (to fay the truth) have we any; all is his. Non accipiam de domo tua vitulos, &c. meus est enim orbis terra, & plenitudo ejus : I will not take the calves from thy house, &c. for the whole world is mine, and all that is therein. But his will is, that we onely make our felves fit to receive from him, never expecting that we should give unto him, but ask and receive : for it is his office to give, as being great, and it belongs to man as being poor and needy to beg and to receive: to prescribe unto him that which we want, and we will, is to expose our selves to the inconveniences of Midas; but that is alwayes best, which pleaseth him best. To be brief, we must think, speak, and deal with God; as if all the world did behold us; we must live and converse with the world, as if God saw

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It is not with respect to honour the name of God as we ought, but rather to violate it, lightly and promiscuously to mingle it in all our actions and speeches, as it were by acclamation or by custome, either not thinking thereof, or cursorily to passe him over: we must speak of God and his works soberly, but yet seriously, with shamesakness, sear, and reverence, and never presume to judge of him.

24. The conclusion

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And thus much Summarily of piety, which should be in high e-steem; contemplating alwayes God, with a free, chearful and siliall soul; not wild, nor troubled, as the superstitious are. Touching the particularities as well of the belief as observation, it is necessary that we tie our selves to the Christian, as to the True, more rich, high, and honourable to God, commodious and comfortable to man, as we have shewed in our second verity; and therein remaining, we must

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must with a sweet submission submit and settle our selves to that which the Catholick Church in all times hath univerfally held, and holdeth, and not intangling our felves with povelties, or felected and particular opinions, for the reasons set down in my third Verity, and especially in the first and last Chapters, which may suffice

unto him, that cannot, or will not read the whole book.

Let me onely give this one advice, necessary for him that intendeth to be wife, and that is, not to separate piety from true honesty, An advisor whereof we have spoken before, and so content himself with one to joyu ping of them; much leffe to confound and mingle them together. These and probing are two things very different, and which have divers jurifdictions; together. piety and probity, religion and honefty, devotion and conscience: I will that both of them be joyntly in him whom I here instruct, because the one cannot be without the other entire and perfect, but confused. Behold here two rocks whereof we must take heed, and few there be that know them, to separate them, and to rest contented with the one, to confound and mingle them, in such fort, that the one be the jurisdiction of the other.

The first that separate them, and that have but one of them, are of those which of two forts; for fome do wholly give themselves to the worship without proand service of God, taking no care at all of true virtue and hone- bity. fiv. whereof they have no taste; a vice noted as natural to the lews especially, (a race above all other, superstitious, and for that cause odious to all) and much displayed by their Prophets, and afterwards by the Meffias, who reproached them, that of their Tem- Matth. 15. and ple they had made a den of thieves, a cloak and excuse for many 22. wickednesses, which they perceived not; so were they besotted with this outward devotion, wherein putting their whole confidence, they thought themselves discharged of all duty; yea, they were made more hardy to do any wickedness. Many are touched with this feminine and popular spirit, wholly attentive to those small exercises of outward devotion; whereby they are made never the better, from whence came the Proverb, An angel in the Church, a devil in the bouse: they lend the shew and outward part unto God, like the Pharifes; they are sepulchres, white walls: Populus bic labits me bonorat, cor corum longe à me : This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: yea, they make piety a cover for impiety, they make it (as they fay) an occupation of a merchandife, and alledge their offices of devotion, to extenuate and recompence their fin and iniquity. Others quite contrary make no account but of

27. A comparison. virtue and honesty, little caring for any thing that belongs to religion, a fault of many Philosophers, and which is likewise too common among our Atheists. These are two vicious extremities; but which is the more or the lesse extreme, or which of the two is the more worthy, Religion or Honesty, it is not my purpose to determine; I will onely say, (to compare them in three points) that the first is far more easy, of greater shew, of simple and vulgar spirits: the second is far more difficult and laborious in the performance, of lesse shew, of spirits valiant and generous.

Against these that confound piety and probity.

I come to others, who differ not much from the first, who take no care but of religion. They pervert all order, and trouble all, confounding honesty, religion, the grace of God, (as hath been said before) whereby it comes to passe, that they have neither true honefty, nor true religion, nor confequently the Grace of God, as they think : a people onely content with themselves, and ready to censure and condemn others; Qui confidunt in fe, & afpernant alies: Who trust in themselves, and contemn others. They think that religion is a generality of all good, and of all virtue; that all virtues are contained in it, and necessarily follow it, whereby they acknowledge no other virtue, and honesty, but that which is opened with the key of religion. Now it is quite contrary; for religion, which is the latter, is a special and particular virtue, diffinguished from all other virtues, which may be without them, and without probity, as hath been faid of the Pharifees, religious and wicked : and they without religion, as in many Philosophers good and virtuous, but yet irreligious. It is likewife, as all divinity teacheth, a moral humane virtue, appertaining to juttice, one of the four cardinal virtues, which teacheth us in general, to give unto every one that which belongeth unto him, referving to every one his place. Now God being above all, the universal author and master, we must give unto. him all Sovereign honour, service, obedience, and this subaltern Religion, and the Hypothefis of justice, which is the generall Thefis, more ancient and natural. They on the other fide, will that a man. be religious before he be houest, and that religion (which is acquised and gotten by an outward cause, ex auditu; Quomodo credent fine predicante? by hearing, how can they believe, without preaching?) ingendreth honefty, which we have shewed should proceed from nature, from that law and light which God hath put into us, from our first beginning. This is an inverted order, These men will that a man be an honest man, because there is a Paradise and a hell: so that

zbom, p. 2.2.

if they did not fear God, or fear to be damned (for that is often their language) they would make a goodly piece of work. O milerable honefty! What thanks defervelt thou, for what thou doft? O cowardly and idle innocency; que nifi metu non places! which pleafeth not without fear! Thou keepest thy felf from wickednesse. because thou darest not be wicked, and thou fearest to be beaten. and even therein art thou wicked. Oderunt peccare mall formidine pane: The wicked forbear to offend, for fear of punishment. Now I will that thou dare, but yet that thou wilt not, though thou be never chidden: I will that thou be an honest man, not because thou would'it go to Paradife; but because nature, reason, God willeth it; because the Law, and the general policy of the world, whereof thou art a part, requireth it; fo as thou canft not confent to be any other, except thou go against thy self, thy essence, thy end. Doubtlesse such honefty occasioned by the spirit of religion, besides that it is not true and effential, but accidentall; it is likewife very dangerous, producing many times very base and scandalous effects (as experience in all times hath taught us) under the fair and glorious pretext of piety. What execrable wickednesses hath the zeal of Religion brought forth? Is there any other subject or oceasion, that hath yielded the like? It belongeth to fo great and noble a fubicat to work great and wonderful effects.

Tantum religio potuit susdere malorum,
Qua peperit se pe scelerosa atque impia sacia:
So ill it God abus d, and so accurst,
As the corruption of the hest is worst:
For the unjustest warre we undertake,
Incontinent religion's brought to stake,
So Luther, Hungary was cause to lose,
So Christ himself became a block to Fews,

Not to love him, yea to look upon him with a wicked eye, as a man should look upon a montter, that believeth not as he believeth. To think to be polluted by speaking, or conversing with him, is one of the sweetest and most pleasing actions of these kind of people. He that is an honest man by scruple, and a religious bridle, rake heed of him, and account of him as he is. And he that hath religion without honesty, I will not say, he is more wicked, but farre more dangerous than he that hath neither the one nor the other: Omnis qui interfesies we, putabis se obsequium prestare Deo: Who so killesh you, thinks be doth an acceptable survive unto God: not because seligion

teach-

Matt. 15. 5.

6, Hierome.

teacheth or any way favoureth wickedness, as some very foolishly. and maliciously from this place do object; for the most absurd and falfest religion that is, doth it not; but the reason is, that having no tafte, nor image, nor conceit of honesty, but by imagination, and for the service of religion, and thinking, that to be an honest man is no other thing, than to be careful to advance religion, they believe all things whatfoever, be it reason, treachery, sedition, rebellion, or any other offence to be not onely lawful and fufferable, being coloured with zeal and the care of religion, but also commendable, meritorious, yea, worthy canonization, if it serve for the progresse and advancement of religion, and the overthrow of their adversaries. The Jews were wicked and cruel to their parents, unjust towards their neighbours, neither lending, nor paying their debts, and all because they gave unto the Temple, thinking to be quit of all duties, and rejecting the whole world by faying, Corban.

I will then (to conclude this discourse) that there be in this my wife man, a true honefty, and a true piety, joyned and married together, and both of them compleat and crowned with the grace of Mark 7. 11. God, which he denieth none that shall ask it of him. Deus dat Spiritum bonum omnibus petentibus eum. God giveth a good spirit te all that ask it of him: as hath been said in the Preface, article

the 14.

CHAP. VI. To govern his defires and pleasures.

It is a principal duty of a wife man, to know well how to moderate and rule his defires and pleasures; for wholly to renounce. them, I am to farre from requiring it in this my wife man, that I hold this opinion to be not onely fantastical, but vitious and unnaturall. First then we must confute this opinion, which banisheth and wholly condemneth all pleasures, and afterwards learn how to

govern them.

It is a plaufible opinion, and fludied by those that would seem to he men of understanding, and professors of singular Sanctity, generally, to contemn and tread under foot all forts of pleafures, and all care of the body, retiring the spirit unto it self-not having any commerce with the body, but elevating it felf to high things, and so to passe this life as it were insensibly, neither tasting it, nor attending it. With these kind of people, that ordinary phrase of

An opinion of of the world

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paffing the time, doth very well agree : for it feemeth to them, that well to use and employ this life, is, filently to passe it over, and as it were to escape it, and rob themselves of it, as if it were a miserable, burthenforme, and tedious thing, being defirous fo to flide thorow the world, as that not onely recreation and pastimes are suspected, year odious unto them, but also naturall necessities, which God bath feasoned with some pleasure. They come not where any delight is, but unwillingly; and being where it is, they hold their breath till they be gone, as if they were in a place of infection : and, to be brief their life is offensive unto them, and death a solace, pleasing themselves with that saying, which may be as well ill taken and understood, as well, Vitam babere in patientia, mortem in desiderio : Not

impatient of life, but rather to defire death.

But the iniquity of this opinion may many wayes be shewed, First, there is nothing so fair and lawfull, as well and duly to play Rejelled ... the man, well to know how to lead this life. It is a divine knowledge and very difficult, for a man to know how he should lawfully enjoy his own effence, lead his life according to the common and natural model, to his proper conditions, not leeking those that are strange; for all those extravagances, all those artificiall and studied endeavours, those wandring waies from the naturall and common, proceed from folly and passion: these are maladies, without. which whilst these men would live, not by playing the men, but the divines, they play the fools; they would transform themselves into . Angels, and they turn themselves into beasts: aut Deus, aut bestia: bomo Sum, humani à me nibil alienum puto : Either a God or a beaft ; I am a man, and I account my (e'fino other than humane. Man is a body. and a foul, and it is not well done to difmember this building to divide and separate this brotherly and natural conjunction; but contrariwife, we should renew it by mutual offices, the spirit must a waken and revive the heavy body, the body must stay the lightness of the spirit which many times proves but a trouble-feast; the spirit mustassist and favour the body, as the husband the wife, and not reject it, not hate it. It must not refuse to participate the natural pleasures thereof, which are just, and such as besit that marriage that is betwixt, them, alwaies holding therein, as the more wife, a true moderation. A man must study, know and meditate on this life, to the end he may return condign thanks unto him who hath lent it. There is Nothing which God hath made for us in this present he unworthy our care, and we are accountable for them, even to the

very hairs of our head; for it is no frivolous warrant or commiffion, for a man to direct himself and his life according to his natural condition, but God hath given it him seriously and expressely.

But what great folly is there, and more against nature, than to account our actions vicious, because they are natural; unworthy, ib . 3. cap. 38. because they are necessary? Now this necessity and pleasure is an excellent marriage, made by God himself. Nature willeth very wifely, that those actions which it hath enjoyned us for our necessity be also delightful, inviting us thereunto not only by reason, but also by appetite; and these rules these kind of men go about to break. It is an equall fault and unjustice, to loath and condemn all pleasures, and to abuse them, by loving them overmuch; we must neither run to them, nor fly from them, but receive them, and use them discreetly and moderately, as shall presently be said in the rule. Temperance, which is the rule of our pleasures, condemneth as well the insensibility and privation of all pleasure, stuporem natura, which is the failing extremity, as intemperance, Libidinem, which is the exceeding extremity. Contra naturam eft torquere corpus suum. faeiles odiffe munditias et squallorem appetere : delicatas res cupere, luxurie eft : ufitatas & non magno parabiles fuyere, dementia eft : It is against nature, to inforce our selves to bate and contemn neat and neces-Sary things, and to defire filthyness and deformitie: It is mantonnel's to defire delicate things; and meer madness to avoid those that are common and needfull.

He that desireth to discard his soul, let him boldly do it if he can when his body is not in health, but endureth some torment, to the end he may disburthen himself, of that contagion: but he cannot do it; as likewise he ought not to do it; for to speak according to right and reason, it should never abandon the body; it is apishness to do it, it should behold pleasure and sorrow with a like settled countenance; in the one live severely, in the other chearfully: but in all cases it should affist the body, and maintain it alwaiss in or-

der.

To contemn the world, is a brave propolition, and many delight, nay glory to speak, to discourse thereof, but I cannot perceive that they well understand it, much lesse that they practise it: what is it to contemn the world? What is this world? Is it the heaven, the earth, and in a word, the creatures that are therein? No, I think not so: What then? Is it the use, the profit, the service, and commodity that we gather thereby? If so, what ingratitude is this against

the

the author that hath made them to these ends? What accusation against nature? What reason to contemn them? If (in the end) thou wilt fay, that it is neither the one, nor the other, but it is the abuse of them, the vanities, folly, excelle, and wickednesse that is in the world; I may answer, that it were well faid, if this were of the world, but they are not so; but against the world, and the policy thereof; they are thine own additions, not natural, but artificial, To preferve thy felf from them, as wisdome and the rule following teacheth, is not to condemn the world, which remaineth wholly entire without it; but it is well to use the world, well to govern thy felf in the world, and as Divinity teacheth, to make use and benefit of the world, and not to enjoy it, uti, non frui. Now these kind of people think to practife the contempt of the world, by certain outward particular manners and fashions, separated by the common course of the world; but this is but mockery. There is nothing in the world fo exquisite, the world laugheth not, and is not so wanton within it felf, as without; in those places where men make profession of slying it, and trampling it undersoot, which is spoken against hypocrites, who have so much degenerated from their beginning, that there remaineth nothing but the habit, and is also very much changed, if not in form, at the least in matter, which serveth them for no other use, than to puff them up, to keep them more bold and impudent, which is quite contrary to their inflitution; Ve vobis qui circuitis mare & aridam, ut faciatis unum pr felitum, & chm facine fuerit, facitis filium. Gehenne : Wo be to you that compass Matth, 23. fea and land to make one of your profession; and when he is made, we make him trofold more the Child of bell : and not against the good, much leffe against the estate in it self, which is the school of true and holy Philosophy. It is then a fantaltical and unnaturall opinion, generally to reject and condemn all defires and pleafures. God is the Creatour and authour of pleasure; Plantavit. Dominus Paradisum voluptatis, posuit bominem in paradiso voluptatis, protulit omne lignum pulchrum, fuave, delectabile : God planted the Paradife of pleasure. wherein be placed man, which brought forth all kind of beautiful, sweet, and delectable trees, as thall be faid. But we must first learn how to carry our felves therein.

This instruction may be reduced to four points (which if these mortified men, and great contemners of the world did know how The second to put in practice, they would work wonders) to know little, natu- part of the rule . rally, moderately, and by a short relation to himself. These four go in our pleasures. almost and defires.

To defere lies

almost alwayes together, and make an entire, and perfect rule, and he that will, may gather and comprehend all thefe four in this world, Naturally; for nature is the fundamental and fufficient rule for all. But yet to make the matter more clear and easie, we will distinguish these four points. The first point of this rule, is to defire little: a fhort good, but an affured means to brave fortune, taking from it all accidents, and all power over us to hinder the happy content of our life; and in a word, to be wife, is to shorten our defires, to defire either little, or nothing at all. He that defireth nothing, although he have nothing, is as rich as he that possesset the whole world, for both come to one end: Nibil interest an babeas, an non concupifcas: It is all one whether then baft it, or no. if then defireft it not : and therefore it was well faid, That it is not multitude and abundance that contenteth and inricheth, but want, yea nothing. It is the want of defire, for he that is poor in defires, is rich in contentment, Summe oper, inopia expiditatum: The want of defires, is great riches. To be brief, he that defireth nothing is in fome fort like unto God, and those that are already blessed, who are happy and bleffed, not because they have and poffesse all, but because they desire nothing: Qui desiderium suum clausit, cum Jove de felicitate contendit : Who bridleth bis defire, contendeth even with Jupiter in felicity. Contrarily, if we let loofe the bridle to our appetite to follow abundance and delicaey, we shall continue in perpetual pain and labour; superfluous things will become necessary, our fouls will be made flaves to our bodies, and we can live no longer, than that we live in pleasure and delight. If we moderate not our pleasures and defires, and measure them not by the compass of reason, opinion will carry us into a headlong downfall, where there is neither bottom nor brink: as for example, we will make our shoes of velvet, afterwards of cloth of gold, and lastly of embroidery with Pearls and Diamonds; we will build our houses of marble, afterwards of jasper, and porphyrie. Now this mean for a man to inrich himself, and to make him content, is very just, and in the power of every man: he need not to feek his contentment elfewhere and without himself, let him but ask it, and he presently obtaineth it of himself. Let him stay the course of his desires, it is injustice to importune God, Nature, the world, by vows and prayers, to give him anything, fince he bath so excellent a mean in his own power to attain thereunto. Why should I rather defire another to give unto me, than my felf not to defire? Quare potiks à fortuna

fortuna impetrem ut det, quam à me ne petam? quare autem betam oblitus fragilitatis bumana? Wherefore should I rather defire fortune to vive unto me, than I feek it of my felf? but wherefore should I defire the oblivion of humane fragility? If I cannot or will not obtain of my felf not to delite, how and with what face can I prese another to give, over whom I have no right nor power? The first rule then touching our defires and pleasures is, that this (little) or at least a mediocrity and sufficiency is that which doth best content a wife man, and keeps him in a peace. And this is the reason why Plutarch. I have chosen for my device, Peace and Poverty. With a fool nothing fufficeth, nothing hath certainty or content: he is like the moon, who asketh a garment that may fit it; but it was answered, That that was not possible, because it was sometimes great, sometimes little, and

alwayes changeable.

The other point cousen-germain to this, is (naturally): for we know that there are two forts of defires and pleafures, the one natural, and these are just and lawful, and are likewise in beasts limited and short, whose end a man may see : according to these, no man is indigent, for every thing yields something to content. Nature is contented with little, & hath so provided, that in all things, Senece. that which sufficeth is at hand and in our own power, Parabile eft quod natura defiderat & expositum; ad manum eft, quod sat eft. Ready and at hand is it, that nature defires; and at hand also, that which Sufficeth. It is this which nature demandeth for the preservation of its own essence, it is a favour for which we are to thank nature, that those things that are necessary for this life, it hath made easie to find, and fuch as are hardly obtained, are not fo necessary; and that feeking without passion, that which nature desireth, fortune can no way deprive us of it. To these kind of desires a man may adde (though they be not true nor natural, yet they come very neer) those that respect the use and condition of every one of us, which are fomewhat beyond, and more at large than those that are exactly natural, and so are just and lawful in the second place. The other defires are beyond nature, proceeding from an opinion and phantacy, artificial, superfluous; and truly passions, which we may, to diftinguish them by name from others, call cupidities or lusts, whereof we have spoken before at large in the passions : from which a wife man must wholly and absolutely defend himself.

The third, which is moderately and without excesse, hath a large Moderately field, and divers parts, but which may be drawn to two heads; that See lib. 3.c. 38.

By relation.

is to fay, to defire without the hurt of another, of himfelf; of another without his scandal, offence, loffe, prejudice; of himself, without the loffe of his health, his leafure, his functions and affairs, his

honour, his duty.

The fourth, is a short and essential relation to himself; besides that the carreer of our delires and pleasures must be circumscribed. limited, & shortned; their course likewise must be managed, not in a right line, which makes an end elsewhere and without it felf; but in a circle, the two points whereof do meet and end in our felves. Those actions that are directed without this reflection, and this short and effential turning, as of covetous and ambitious men, and diversothers, who run point-blank, and are alwayes without them, are vain and unfound.

CHAP. VII.

To carry himself moderately and equally in prosperity. and adverfity.

THere is a twofold fortune, wherewith we are to enter the lift. good and ill, prosperity and adversity; thefe are the two combats, the two dangerous times, wherein it Randeth us upon to stand upon our guard, and to gather our wits about us : they are the two

schools, esfayes, and touch-stones of the spirit of man.

The vulgar ignorant fort do acknowledge but one: they do not believe that we have any thing to do, that there is any difficulty, any fight or contradiction with prosperity and good fortune. wherein they are so transported with joy, that they know not what they do, there is no rule with them: and in affliction, they are as much aftonished and beaten down, as they that are dangeroufly sick. and are in continual anguish, not being able to endure either heat or cold.

The wife men of the world acknowledge both, and impute it to Which of the one and the same vice and folly, not to know how to command in prosperity, and how to carry our selves in adversity: but which is the more difficult and dangerous, they are not wholly of one accord, some saying it is adversity, by reason of the horrour and bitternels thereof: Difficilius oft triftitium fuftinere, quam à delettabilibus abftinere: majus eft difficilia perftringere, quam letal modena ri. Harder it is to fuftain grief, than to abstain from pleufures; but more bard to pass through difficult things, than to moderate our plea-Sures.

The opinion of the vulgar.

swo is more difficult to bear profperiby or adverfity. Arift Senec.

fures. Some affirming it to be prosperity, which by her sweet and pleasing flattery, doth abate and molific the spirit, and fensibly robbeth it of its due temperature, force, and vigour, as Dalila did Samfon; in fuch fort, that many, that are obdurate obstinate and invincible in advertity, have suffered themselves to be taken by the flattering allurements of prosperity, Magni laboris est ferre pro-(peritatem : Segetem nimia flernit ubertas, fie immoderata felicitas rumpit. Great labour it is to live in prosperity: too much plenty plasheth down the corn! so too much felicity casteth us down. And again, affliction moveth even our enemies to pitty, profperity our triends to envy. In advertity, a man feeing himfelf abandoned by all, and that all his hopes are reduced unto himself, he taketh heart at graffe, he rouzeth himfelf, calls his wits about him, and with all his power adds his own endeavours to his own help: In prosperity sceing himself assisted by all that laugh at him, and applaud all he doth, he groweth lasie and careless, trusting in others, without any apprehension of danger or difficulty, and perswading himself that all is in fafety, when he is many times therein much deceived. It may be, that according to the diverfity of nature and complections. both opinions are true: but touching the utility of either, it is certain that adversity hath this preheminence, it is the feed, the occasion, the matter of well-doing, the field of heroical virtues, Virefeit valuere virtus : agra fortuna fana confilia melius in malis fapimus : fecunda rellum auferunt. Virtue flourisheth by adversity : we better know found advice by the difficult fortune of dysastrous things; prosperity blindeth the truth.

Now wildome teacheth us to hold our selves indifferent and upright in all-our life, and to keep alwayes one and the fame counter the wife upon mance, pleasing and constant. A wife man is a skilful artificer, who bath. maketh profit of all; of every matter he worketh and formeth virtue; as that excellent Painter Phidias, all manner of Images; whatfoever lighteth into his hands he maketh it a fit subject to do good, and with one and the same countenance he beholdeth the two different faces of Fortune, Ad werofor cafair fapieus apius eft, bonorum rellor, malerum viller : In feomidis non confidit, in adverfir non defieit; nec avidus periculi, nec fugar, profperitatem non expedians, ad utrumque paratus ; actorfus utrumque intrepidus, nec illius immultu, nec bujus fulgore percuffes. Contra Calamisates fortis de consumas, luxurie mon acheefus vanasen, fed & infeftiert booprie cipung in bumethis rebus crigere militum supra minus to promiffe fortuna. A mife mak firrerb

fittetb bimfelf for all fortunes; be governetb the good, Subduetb the evil; He presumes not in prosperity, nor despairs in adversity; be neither defires danger, nor founs it; be expecteth not profperity, but is ready at all affayes; fearing neither felicity nor advertity; not moved mith the clamour of the one, nor the glory of the other. Strong and despising all miseries, not only against all superfluity and excesse, but even an enemy unto it; who in worldly things, bath a fpirit erected above fortune's threats or promises. wisdome furnisheth us with arms and discipline for both combats; against adversity with a source, teaching us to raife, to strengthen, to incite our courage; and this is the virtue of fortitude: against prosperity, it furnisheth us with a bridle, and teacheth us to keep and clap down our wings, and to keep our selves within the bounds of modesty; and this is the virtue of temperancy: these are the two moral virtues, against the two fortunes, which that great Philosopher Epictetus did very well fignifie. containing in two words all moral Philosophy, Suffine & abstine, bear the evil, that is, advertity; abstain from the good, that is, from pleasure and prosperity. The particular advisements against the particular prosperities and adversities shall be in the third book following, in the virtues of Fortitude and Temperancy. Here we will onely fet down the general instructions and remedies against all prosperity and adversity; because in this book we teach the way in general unto wisdome, as hath been said in the preface thereof.

Of prosperity.

Against all prosperity, the common doctrine and councel confifteth in three points: the first, that honours, riches, and the favours of fortune, are ill and wrongfully accounted and called goods. fince they neither make a man good, nor reform a wicked man, and are common both to good and wicked. He that calleth them goods, and in them hath placed the good of man, hath fastened our felicity to a rotten cable, and ankred it in the quick-fands. For what is there more uncertain and inconstant, than the possession of fuch goods, which come and go, paffe and run on like a river? like a river they make a noise, at their coming in they are full of violence, they are troubled; their entrance is full of vexation, and they vanish in a moment; and when they are quitedryed up, there remaineth nothing in the bottome but the mud.

The second point is to remember, that prosperity is like a honied poyfon, fweet and pleafant, but dangerous, whereof we must take very good heed. When fortune laugheth, and everything falleth out according to our hearts, then should we fear most, and

fiand upon our guard, bridle our affections, compose our actions by reason, above all avoid presumption, which ordinarily followeth the favour of the time. Prosperity is a slippery pace, wherein a man must take fure footing, for there is no time wherein men de more forget God. It is a rare and difficult thing to find a man who doth willingly attribute unto, him the cause of his felicity. And this is the cause why in the greatest prosperity we must use the councel of our friends, and give them more authority over us, than at other times; and therefore we must carry our selves as in an evil and dangerous way, go with fear and doubt, defiring the hand and help of another. In these times of prosperity, adversity is a medicine, be-

cause it leadeth us to the knowledge of our selves.

The third is to retain our defires, and to fet a measure unto them. Prosperity puffeth up the heart; spurreth us forward, findeth nothing difficult, breedeth alwayes a defire of great matters (as they do, that by eating get an appetite) and it carrieth us beyond our selves, and in this state it is where a man lose th himself, drowneth and maketh a mockery of himself. He plaieth the Monky, who leapeth from bough to bough, till he come to the top of the tree, and then sheweth his tail. O how many have been lost, and have perished miserably, by the want of discretion to moderate themselves in their prosperity! We must therefore either stay our felves, or go forward with a flower pace, if we will enjoy the benefit of our prosperity, and not hold our selves alwayes in chase and purchase. It is wisdome to know how to settle our own rest, our own contentment; which cannot be where there is no flay, no end. Sique finiri non possunt, extra Sapientiam funt : What cannot be determined is beyond wildome.

Against all adversity, these are the general advisements. In the first place, we must take heed of the common and vulgar opinion, of adversity erroneous and alwayes different from true reason: for, to discredit and that it is and to bring into hatred and horrour all advertity and afflictions, they call them evils; difasters, mischiefs, although all outward things be neither good nor evil. Never did adversity make a man wicked but hath rather ferved as a means to amend those that are wicked.

and are common both to the good and to the wicked. Doubtlesse, crosses and heavy accidents are common to all, It is common but they work divers effects, according to that subject whereupon 10 all, but da they light. To fools and reprobate persons they serve to drive them verst,

into difpair, to afflict and enrage them : Perhaps they enforce them

(if they be heavy and extreme) to ftoop, to cry unto God, to look up unto heaven; but that is all: To finners and offenders they are so many lively instructions, and compulsions to put them in mind of their duty, and to bring them to the knowledge of God: To virtuous people, they are the lifts and theaters wherein to exercise their virtue, to win unto themselves greater commendations and a neerer alliance with God: To wife men, they are matter of good and fometimes stages and degrees whereby to pass and mount up to all heighth and greatness, as we see and may read of divers, who being affailed by fuch and fo great croffes, as a man would have thought them their utter overthrow and undoing, have been raised by the felf-fame means to the highest pitch of their own defires, and contrariwise without that infelicity, had still remained under hatches; as that great Athenian Captain knew well, when he faid, Periissemus nifi periissemus: We should utterly have perished, if we had not perished. A very excellent example hereof was Toleph the fon of Facob. It is true that these are blows from heaven, but the wirtue and wisdome of man serveth as a proper instrument; from whence came that wife faying of the Sages, to make of necessity a virtue. It is a very good husbandry, and the first property of a wife man, to draw good from evil, to handle his affaires with fuch dexterity, and so to win the wind, and to set the bias, that of that which is ill, he may make good use, and better his own condition.

It bath three canjes, and three effects.

Afflictions and advertities proceed from three causes, which are the three authors and workers of our punishment : fin the first inventor which hath brought them into nature: the anger and juttice of God, which fetteth them a-work as his Commissaries and Executioners: the policy of the world troubled and changed by fin; where, as in a general revolt, and civil tumult, things not being in their due places, and not doing their office; allevils do fpring and arife; as in a body the dif-joynting of the members, and diflocation of the bones, bringeth great pain, and much unquietness. These three are not favourable unto us: the first is to be hated of all as our enemy, the second to be feared as terrible, the third to be avoided as an impottor. That a man may the better defend and quit himself from all three, there is no better way then to use their own proper arms, wherewith they punish us, as David cut off Goliab's head with his own fword, making of necessity a virtue, profit of pain and affliction, turning them against themselves. Affliction is

the true fruit or science of fin, being well taken, is the death and ruine thereof; and it doth that to the author thereof, which the viper doth to his dam that brought him forth. It is the oyl of the Scorpion, which healeth his own fting, to the end it may perish by ice own invention: perist arte fua : patimur quia peccavimus ; pahimmer ut non peccemus: He perificih by his own Art: we fuffer becanfe me have finned; we suffer that we should not fin. It is the file of the foul, which feoureth, purifieth and cleanfeth it from all fin. And confequently it appealeth the anger of God, and freeth us from the prisons and bands of Justice, to bring us into the fair and clear fun-thing of Grace and mercy. Finally, it weaneth us from the world. it plucketh us from the dug, and maketh us diffatte with the bitterness thereof (like worm-wood upon the teat of the nurse) the sweet milk and food of this deceitful world.

A great and principal mean for a man to carry himself well in adversity, is to be an honest man. A virtuous man is more peaceable in A general asadvertity, than a vicious in prosperity: like those that have a feaver, with who feel and find more harm and violence in the heat and cold thereof, and in the extremity of their fits, than fuch as are found, in the heat and cold of Summer and Winter. And even fo they that have their consciences fick, are much more tormented, than they that are found, that are honeit men: For having the inward part whole and healthful, they can no way be endamaged by the outward, espe-

eially oppoling against it a good courage.

Adversities are of two forts : some are true, natural; as sickness, griefs, loss of those things we love : others are false and fained, ei- An advice ther by a common or particular opinion, and not in verity that more special. it is fo. Man hath his spirit and body, as much at command, as before they happened. To these kind of men, only this one word; That which thou complained of, is neither painful nor troubleforme, but thou makeft it fuch, and makeft thy felf to believe ican totali.

As touching the true and natural, the more prompt and popular and more found opinions are, the more natural and more just. First Natural. we must remember, that a man indureth nothing against the humane To endure it and natural law, fince even at the birth of man all thele things are natural and annexed, and given as ordinary. In whatfoever doth afflict us, let humans. us confider two things, the nature of that that happeneth unto us, and that which is in our felves: and using things according to mature i we can receive no tediousnels of offence thereby,

and incomes

To carry bimself moderately and equally

For offence is a malady of the Soul contrary to nature, and therefore should by no means come near unto us. There is not any accident in the world which may happen unto us, wherein nature hath not prepared an aptness in us to receive it, & to turn it to our contentment. There is no manner of life so strait, that hath not some solace and recreation. There is no prison softrong and dark, that gives not place to a song sometimes to comfort a prisoner. Jonas had leisure to make his prayer unto God even in the belly of the whale, and was heard. It is a savour of nature that it sindeth a remedy and ease unto our evils in the bearing of them, it being so that a man is born to be subject to all sorts of miseries, Omnia ad que genimus, que expaviscimus, tributa vite sunt: All things that afficit are grievens, are the tributes of life.

Secondly, we must remember, that there is only the lesser part of man subject to fortune; we have the principal in our own power, and it cannot be overcome without our own consent. Fortune may make a man poor, sick, afflicted; but not vicious, dissolute, delected.

it cannot take from us probity, courage, virtue.

Afterwards we must come to sidelity, reason, justice. Many times a man complaineth unjultly, for though he be sometimes surprised with some ill accident, yet he is more often with a good, and so the one must recompence the other. And if a man consider well thereof, he shall find more reason to content himself with his good fortunes, than to complain of his bad. And as we turn our eyes from those things that offend us, and delight to cast them upon green and pleafant colours, so must we divert our thoughts from heavy and melancholick occurrents, and apply them to those that are pleasant and pleasing unto us. But we are malicious, resembling cupping glasses, which draw the corrupt blood, and leave the good; like a covetous man who felleth the best wine, and drinks the worst; like little children, from whom if you take away one of their playgames, in a fury they cast away all the rest. For if any misfortune happen unto us; we torment our felves, and forget all the rest that may any way comfort us; yea, some there are that for small losses term themselves unfortunate in all things, and forget that shey ever received any good, in such fort, that an ounce of adversity brings them more hearty grief than ten thousand of prosperity, pleasure or delight.

We must likewife cast our eyes upon those that are of a far worse condition than our selves, who would think themselves happy if they were in our place.

14. It toucheth aut the leffer part of mas.

Disagainst venfor and infin.

16. Dis link is Alterius Specta, quo fis discrimine pejor. If then griev'st thon art not such As thy neighbour, over-mach; the trans and san add draving thinks Sreight refled upon the poor, and a palett and the flate go it Think the reft, and grieve no more.

It were good and necessary that these complainers did practise the faying and advice of a wife man, that if all the evils that men fuffer should be compared with the bleffings they enjoy; the division being equally made, they may fee by the over-plus of that good.

they enjoy, the injustice of their complaint.

After all these opinions, we may conclude that there are two great remedies against all evils and advertities, which may be reduced almost to one; Custom for the vulgar and baser fort, and Meditation for the wifer. Both of them have their force from times the common and strongest salve against all evils; but the wife take it before hand, this is his fore-fight, and the feeble and vulgar fort, after-hand. That custom prevaileth much it doth plainly appear, in that those things that are most tedious and offensive, are made thereby easie and pleasing. Natura calamitatum mollimentum con-Justudinem 'invenis: Cuffome mitigateth calamitie. Slaves weep when they enter into the gallies, & before three months be ended they fing. They that have not been accustomed to the Sea ware afeard though it be the calmelt, when they weigh anker; whereas. the Mariners laugh in the midst of a tempett. The wife growethdesperate at the death of her husband, and before a year be expired the loves another. Time and custome bring all things to passe; that which offendeth us, is the novelty of that which happeneth unto us: Omnis novitate graviors funt : All new and unexpetied eroffer, are intolerable.

Meditation performeth the same office with wise men, and by the force thereof things are made samiliar and ordinary: Que alii Fore-figio din patiendo levia faciunt, Sapiens levia facit din cogitando, That which some make light by long suffering, a wife man makes light and eafie by long cognitation. He confidereth exactly the nature of all things that may offend him, and prefenteth unto himself whatsoever may happen unto him most grievous and insupportable, as sicknesse, poverty, exile, injuries; and examineth in them all that which is according to nature or contrary to it. For forefight or providence is a great remedy against all evills, which cannot bring any great alteration.

alteration or change, happening to a man that attendeth them; whereas contrarily they wound and hurt him greatly, that fuffereth himself to be surprised by them. Meditation and discourse is that which giveth the true temper to the foul, prepareth it, confirmeth it against all affaults, makes it hard, sleely, imperietrable against whatfoever would wound or hurt it. Sudden accidents how great foever, can give no great blow to him that keeps himfelf upon his guard, and is alwayes ready to perceive them. Prameditati mali mollis itius venit: quicquid exspectatum eft din, levins accidit: The bure is small, if the barm before be known; whatfoever me do long exfect, doth hapten the lighter. Now to attain this fore light, we must first know, that nature hath placed us here as in a thorny and flippery places that that which is happened unto another, may also light upon us, that that which hangeth over all, may fall upon every one of us; and that in all the affairs that we undertake, we premeditate the inconveniencies & evil encounters which may happen unto us, to the end we be not surprised unawares. O how much are we deceived, and how little judgement have we, when we think, that that which happeneth to others, cannot likewife fall upon us! When we will not be wary and provident, for fear lest we should be thought fearfull. Contrariwife, if we take knowledge of things as reason would have us, we would rather wonder that so few crost fee happen upon us; and that those accidents that follow us fo near, have stayed so long before they catch us, and having caught us, how they should handle us so mildly. He that taketh heed, and considereth the advertity of another, as a thing that may happen unto himfelf, before it thall happen is sufficiently armed. We must think of all, and exspect the worlt; they are sools and ill-advised, that say, I had not thought it. It is an old faying. That he that is feddenly furprised, is half beaten; and he that is warned is half armed, may it is two against one. A wife man in time of peace, makes his preparation for war: A good mariner before he go forth of the haven makes provision of what is necessary to refift the violence of a tempest: it is too late to provide against an evil; when it is already come. In whatfoever we are prepared before-hand, we find our felves apt and admirable, what difficulty foever it have and contrariwife, there is not any thing fo easie that doth not hurt and himder us, if we be but novelitts thereih: Id videndum ne quid inopinatum fit nobis, quia omnia novitate graviora furn : We ought to forefet that nothing happen unto us unlooked for , because all novelies are the STORE

vaprosperity and adversiged yours o'r

more grievens. Doubtless it feemeth, that if we were to provident as we should and may be, we should wonder at morning. That which thou fawest before it came, is happened unto thee, why then wondrest thou? Let us then take a course that accidents do the furprize us; Let us ever fland upon our guard and forefee wine is to come. Animus, adversus omnia firmandus; ut dicere poffimit, Non ulla laborum, O virgo, neva mibi faties inopinave furgit: Omnia percepi, atque animum metum ante peregi. Tu hodie ifta dennicias; ego femper denunciavi mihi: bominem paravi ad bumana. The mind muft be armed for all things, that me may hald nothing tedious or painful. O nirgin, there feems to me na new and waxpessed counteninge to appear. I have considered of all things, and am refeived thereof in mind. To day bast thou shewed me all these things, which always I foresold to my self; I bave framed man for bumane things.

CHAP. VIII.

To obey and observe the Laws, Customes, and Ceremonies of the Countrey, bow and in .. mbat fenfe.

Ven as a favage and untamed beaft, will not fuffer himfelf Lto be taken, led, and handled by man, but either flyeth and The beginning, hideth himself from him, or armeth himself against him and institution and with furie affaulteth him, if he approach neer unto him ; in fuch authority of fort that a man must use force mingled with art and subsilty to the Laws. take and tame him : So folly will not be handled by reason, or wisdome, but ftriveth and ftirreth against it; and addeth folly unto folly; and therefore it must be raken, and lead, like a wild . beaft, (that which a man is to a beaft, a wife man isto a fool) astonished, feared, and kept short, that with the more case it may be instructed and won. Now the proper mean or help thereunto, is a great authority, a thundering power and gravity, which may dazle it with the splendour of his lightning; 80ta withorius of August que cogit stultos ut ad Sapientiam festiment : It is only authority that inforceth fools to apply themselves to misdame. In a popular fight or fedition, if some great, wife, andient, and virtuous personage come in presence, that hath won the publick reputation of honour and virtue, presently the mutinous people being ftricken and blinded with the bright splendour of his authority are quieted attending what he will fay unto them and ensummence you that at alconna he

assigned brekto his orienal fourteen.

Veluti magno in populo chem supe coorta Seditio est, suvirque animis ignobile vulgus, Famquefaces & saxa volant, suror arma ministrat: Tum pietate gravem ac meritis, si sortè virum quem Conspexère, silent, arrestissque auribus astant, Ille regit distis animos, & pessora mulces.

Even as when tumulis to sedition grow,

And Hobborn mad though cause he none do know
Without himself: example so encharms

This headlong rout, whose fury gives it arms:

As sire-brands, stones, and all things slie about,

Their rage encounters: so there is no doubt

Of certain harm; unless (as sent from God)

Some grave, censorious Cato with his rod

Appear in time, at whose authority
They silent stand, and hear him speak, well nigh

An hour together, till their fury die,

So all is bush: the same that now do sing,

Each to his tent, nowery, God save the King.

There is nothing greater in this world than authority, which is an image of God, a messenger from Heaven: if it be sovereign, it is called Majesty; if subaltern, Authority: and by two things it is maintained, admiration and fear mingled together. Now this Majesty and Authority is first and properly in the person of the Sovereign Prince and Law-maker, where it is lively, actual, and moving; afterwards in his commandments and ordinances, that is to say, in the Law, which is the head of the work of the Prince, and the image of a lively and original Majesty. By this, are sools reduced, conducted, and guided. Behold then of what weight necessi-

ty, and utility, Authority and the Law is in the world!

The next a uthority, and that which is likest to the Law, is Custome, which is another powerful and imperious Mistress: It seizeth upon this power, and usurpeth it traiterously and violently; for
it planteth this authority by little and little, by stealth, as it were insensibly, by a little pleasing, and humble beginning; having settled
and established it self, by the help of time, it discovereth afterwards a surious and tyrannicall visage, against which there is no
more liberty or power left, so much as to list up ones eyes: It taketh its authority from the possession and use thereof, it encreases the
and ennobleth it self by continuance like a river; it is dangerous to
bring it back to his original sountain.

of Cuftome.

Law and Custome established their authority diversly. Custome by little and little, with long time, fweetly and without force, by the A comparison common confent of all, or the greater part; & the author thereof are of them both; the people. The Law springeth up in a moment with authority and power, and taking his force from him that hath power to command all, yea many times against the likeing of the subject, whereupon some compare it to a Tyrant, and Custome to a King. Again, custome hath with it neither reward nor punishment; the la # hath them both, at least punishment; neverthelesse they may mutually help and hinder one another. For custome, which is but of sufferance, authorized by the Soveraign, is better confirmed; and the law likewife fettleth its own authority by possession & use; and contrariwise custome may be cashiered by a contrary law, and the law loseth force thereof by fuffering a contrary cultome: but ordinarily they are together, that is, law and cuttome; wife and spiritual men considering it as a law, and simple men as a custome.

There is not a thing more strange, than the diversity of strange- Their diversity nels of fome laws and customes in the world; Neither is there any and Brangarif opinion or imagination so variable, so mad, which is not established by laws and cultomes in some place or other: I am content to recite fome of them, to shew those that are hard of belief herein, how far of lows and this propolition doth go. Yet omitting to speak of these things customes in the that belong to religion, which is the subject where the greatest won- world. derments and groffest impostures are: but because it is without the commerce of men, and that it is not properly a custome, and where it is easie to be deceived, I will not meddle with it. See then a brief of those that for the Arangeness are bett worth the noting. To account it an office of piety in a certain age, to kill their parents and to eat them. In Innes to pay the shot, by yielding their Children wives and daughters, to the pleasure of the host : publick brothelhouses of males: old men lending their wives unto young: women common: an honour to women to have accompanied with many men; and to carry their locks in the hemmes of their garments: daughters to go with their privy parts uncovered, and married women carefully to keep them covered: to leave the daughters to their pleasures, and being great with child to enforce an obortin the fight and knowledge of all men; but married women to keep themselves chaft and faithfull to their husbands; women the hift night before they company with their husbands, to receive all the males of the effate and profession of their husbands, invited to the marriage.

marriage, and ever after to be faithful to their husband : young married women to present their virginity to their Prince, before they lie with their husbands: marriages of males: women to go to war with their husbands: to die and kill themselves at the decease of their husbands, or shortly after : to permit widows to marry again, if their husbands die a violent death, and not otherwise: husbands to be divorced from their wives without alledging any cause: to sell them if they be barren, to kill them for no other cause but because they are women, and afterwards to borrow women of others at their need: women to be delivered without pain or fear: to kill their children because they are not fair, well featured, or without cause: at meat to wipe their fingers upon their privities and their feet : to live with mans flesh : to eat flesh and fish raw : many men and women to lye together to the number of ten or twelve: to salute one another by putting the finger to the ground, and afterwards lifting it towards heaven; to turn the back when they falute, and never to look him in the face whom a man will honour: to take into the hand the spittle of the Prince: not to speak to the King but at a peep-hole: in a mans whole life never to cut his hair nor nails: to cut the hair on one fide, and nails of one hand, and not of the other: - men to piffe fitting, women standing: to make holes and pits in the flesh of the face, and the dugs, to hang rings and jewels in: to contemn death, to receive it with joy, to fue for it, to plead in publick for the honour thereof, as for a dignity and favour: to account it an honourable burial to be eaten with dogs, birds, to be boyled, cut in pieces and pounded, and their powder to be cast into their ordinary drink.

Enamination and judgment.

When we come to judge of these customs, that is the complaint and the trouble: the vulgar sort and Pedants, are not troubled he rewith; for every seditious rout condemueth as barbarous and beastly whatsoever pleaseth not their palate, that is to say, the common use and custom of their countrey. And if a man shall tell them, that others do speak and judge the same of ours, and are as much offended with ours, as we with theirs; they cut a man short after their manner, terming them beasts and barbarians, which is alwaies to say the same thing. A wise man is more advised, as shall be said; he maketh not such haste to judge, for fear less he wrong his own judgement: and to say the truth, there are many laws and customs which seem at the first view to be savage, inhumane, and contrary to all reason, which if they were without passion and soundly considered

fidered of, if they were not found to be altogether just and good vet at the least they would not be without some reason and defence. Let us take amongst the rest for example the two first which we have spoken of, which seem to be both the strange stand farthest off from the duty of piety : to kill their own parentsat a certain age, and to eat them. They that have this custome, do ake it to be a testimony of piety and good affection, endeavouing thereby first of mere piety to deliver their old Parents, not only unprofitable to themselves and others, but burthensome, languishing, and leading a painful and troublesome life, and to place them in rest and ease: afterwards giving them the most worthy and commendable sepulchre, lodging in themselves and in their bowels, the bodies and reliques of their Parents, in a manner reviving them again, and regenerating them by a kind of transmutation into their living flesh, by the means of digestion and nourishment-These reasons would not seem over-light to him that is not possessed with a contrary opinion; and it is an easie matter to consider, what cruelty and abomination it had been to those people, to see their parents before their own eyes to suffer such grief and torment, and they not able to fuccour them, and afterwards to cast their spoiles to the corruption of the earth, to stench and rottenness and the food of Worms, which is the worst that can be done unto it. Darius made a tryal, asking some Greeks, for what they would be persuaded to follow the custome of the Indians, in eating their dead fathers. To whom they answered, That they would not do it for any thing in the world. And on the other fide affaying to perswade the Indians to burn the bodies of their dead Parents, as the Greeks did, it feemed to them a matter of fuch difficulty and horrour, as that they would never be drawn unto it. I will adde only one other, which concerneth only matter of decency and comlinesse, and is more light and more pleasant: One that alwaies blew his nose with his hand, being reprehended for incivility, in the defence of himfelf, asked what priviledge that filthy excrement had that a man must afford it a fair handkerchief to receive, and afterwards carefully wrap and fold it up, which he thought was a matter of greater loathsomness, than to cast it from him. So that we see that for all things there may be found fome feeming reason, and therefore we are not fuddenly and lightly to condemn any thing.

But who would believe how great and imperious the authority The ambaring of custome is? He that faid it was another nature did not suffici- abereaf.

ently.

Gen. 11.20. 29. 34. Exodus, 6. Levit, 28.

Deut. 25. 2 Reg 12. 3 Reg.2.

Chrifaft. Ambros. August. In Apolog.

ently expresse it; for it doth more than nature, it conquereth nature : for hence it is that the most beautifull daughters of men draw notunto love their natural parents; no brethren, thought excellent in beauty, win not the love of their fifters. This kind of chaftity is not properly of nature, but of the use of laws, and customes which forbid them, and make of incest a great sinne, as we may see in the fact not only of the children of Adam, where there was an enforced necessity, but of Abraham and Nachor brethren; of Facob and Judas Patriarchs, Amram the father of Mofes, and other holy men: And it is the law of Mofes which forbad it in these first degrees; but it hath also sometimes dispensed therewith, not only in the collateral line, and betwixt brothers, and their brothers wives which was a commandment, and not a dispensation: and which is more, between the natural brother and fifter of divers wombs; but also in the right line of alliance, that is to say, of the son with the mother in law; for in the right line of blood, it feemeth to be altogether against nature, notwithstanding the fact of the daughters of Lot with their father, which neverthelesse was produced purely by nature, in that extreme apprehension, and fear of the end of humane kind, for which cause they have been excused by great and learned Doctours. Now against nature there is not any dispensation, if God the onely superiour thereunto give it not. Finally, of casual incests and not voluntary the world is full, as Tertulian teacheth. Moreover, custome doth inforce the rules of nature, witnesse those Physitians who many times leave the natural reasons of their Art by their own authority, as they that by custome do live and futtain their lives with poylon, Spiders, Emmets, Lyzards, Toads, which is a common practice amongst the people of the West Indies. It likewise dulleth our senses, witnesse they that live near the fall of the river Nilus, near clocks, armories, mills; and the whole world according to some Philosophers, with the found of a heavenly king of musick, & the continual and divers motions of the heavens dulleth our fenfes, that we hear not that which we hear. To conclude, (and it is the principal fruit thereof) it overcometh all difficulty, maketh things easie that seem impossible, sweetneth all fowr; and therefore by the means hereof a man lives in all things content, but yet it mastereth our selves, our beliefs, our judgements, with a most unjust and tyrannical authority. It doeth and undoeth, authoriseth and dis-authoriseth whatsoever it please, without rhythme or reason, yet many times against all reason. It establisheth eth in the world against reason and judgment all the opinions, religions, beliefs, observances, manners, and forts of life, most phantatical and rude, as before hath been faid. And contrarily, it wrongfully degradeth, robbeth, beateth down in things that are truly great and admirable, their price and estimation, and maketh them base and vile.

Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quidquam Principio, quod non coffent miriarier omnes Paulatim.

Nine days a wonder ; nought fo wonderful At first , but time and frequencie will dull, And fo the Rainbow, Manna, Moon and Sun,

Have not the fame respect, that first was done,

So that we fee that custom is a thing great and powerful. Plate having reprehended a youth for playing at cob-nut, or cherry-pit, and receiving this answer from him; That he controlled him for a matter of small moment, replyed; My child, custom is not a matter of small moment. A speech well worth the noting, for all such as have youth to bring up. But it exerciseth its power with so absolute authority, that there is no striving against it, neither is it lawful to reason, or call into question the ordinances thereof; it enchanteth us in fuch fort, that it maketh us believe, that what is without the bounds thereof, is without the bounds of reason, and there is nothing good and just, but what it approveth; ratione non compenimer, Seners. fed consuetudine abducimur : boneftius putamus quod frequentius : recii and nos locum tenet error, ubi publicus factus : We are not made by reafon, but mifled by cuftom; we bald that most boneft, that is most ufed. Errour bath place in us before Right. This is tolerable with idiots, and the vulgar fort, who wanting fufficiency to look into the depth of things to try and to judge, do well to hold and fettle themselves to that which is commonly held and received : but to wife men, who play another part, it is a base thing to suffer themselves tobe carried for any other can e. obeyeth them not because he (lamolla) this

Now the advice which I here give unto him, that would be wife, is to keep and observe, both in word and deed, the Lawes and Cu- An Adviss. floms which he findeth established in the Countrey where he is: and in like manuer, to respect and obey the Magistrates, and all Superiours; but alwayes with a noble spirit, and after a generous manner, and not fervilely, pedantically superfitionly; and withall, not taking offence, nor lightly condemning other strange Laws and Cu-

froms

flomes, but freely and foundly judging and examining the one and the other, as bath been faid and not binding his judgement and belief, but unto reason only Alereof, a word or two.

Lows and be obferved.

jufice and

gaity.

In the hift place, according to all the wifest, the rule of rules, and the general Law of Laws is to follow and observe the Laws and Cu-Cuffems are to fromes of the Countrey where he is tous in the rior in the wante, avoiding carefully all fingularity, and firange extravagant particularity, different from the common and ordinary; for whatfoever it be. it alwayes hurteth and woundeth another, is suspected of folly, hypocrifie, ambitious passion, though perhaps it proceed from a sick and weak foul. Non conturbabis fapiens publices mores, nec populum in Se novitate vita convertet. He that is wife, will not feek to alter the manners of the people; neither pull men upon bim with his immovations. We mutt alwayes walk under the covert of the Laws, Customs, Superiours without disputation or tergiversation, without undertaking fometimes to dispence with the Laws, sometimes like a frugal fervant, to enhance the price.

But that it be (which is the second rule) out of a good minde, Mot for their ... cand after a good manner, nobly and wifely, neither for the love nor fear of them, nor for the juffice or equity that is in them, nor for fear of that punishment that may follow for not obeying them : to be brief, not of superstition, nor constrained, scrupulous, fearful servitude, Eadem que populus, fed non eudem mido, nec evdem propofito faeiet fapiens: A wife man that doth thofe things that other men do, but not in that fostion, not to the fame end, but freely and simply for publick seberence and for their authority. Laws and Cultoms are maintained in credit, not because they are just and good, but because they are Laws and Cuttoms: this is the muffical foundation of their authority, they have no other; and to is it with Superiours, because they are Superiours: Quis figra cathedism fedent Becamfe they fit in the Chain of Amberity, not because they are virenous and honest i que freinne delire focese: mburilley do; do nor tou. " The that obeyeth them for any other cause, obeyeth them not because he should 42 this is an evil and a dangerous subject, it is not true obedience, which must bepure and simple. Unde vocatur depositio diferetionis mura executio, abnegatio fai: From whence it is named, a putting off of bis own reafen, a mere obuliente in the excension, and a denying of bimfalf. Now to go about to men interons obedience by the justice and goodness of Laws and Sweetours west by Submitting them to their judgment, to feive them with process, and to call our obedience into doubt

and disputation; and consequently, the State and Policy, according to the inconfrancy and divertity of judgements. How many unjust and strange Laws are there in the World, not only in the particular judgements of men, but of universal reason wherewith the World hath lived a long time in continual peace and reft, with as great fatisfaction, as if they had been very just and reasonable? And he that should go about to change or mend them, would be accounted an enemy to the Weal-publick, and never be admitted: The nature of man doth accommodate it felf to all with the times, and having once caught his fifth, it is an act of hostility, to go about to alter any thing : we must leave the world where it is; these troublehouses, and new-fangled spirits, under a pretext of reformation marre all.

All change and alteration of Laws, Beliefs, Customes, and obser- draing lessvances, is very dangerous, and yieldeth alwayes more evil then good; it bringeth with it, certain and present evils, for a good that is uncertain and to come. Innovators have alwayes glorious and plaulible Titles, but they are but the more suspected, and they can not escape the note of ambitious presumption, in that they think to fee more electly then others, and that to establish their opinions, the State, Policy, Peace, and publick quiet, must be turned topsie

turvy.

I will not fay for all this that both been faid before, that we must absolutely obey all Laws, all Commandments of Superiours: for Strange things fuch as a man knoweth evidently to be either against God or na- are not lightly ture, he is not to obey, and yet not to rebel and trouble the State; how he should govern himself in such a case, shall be taught hereafter, in the obedience due unto Princes: for to fay the truth, this inconvenience and infelicity, is rather, and more common in the commandments of Princes, then in the Laws: neither is it sufficient to obey the Laws and Superiours, because of their worth and merit, nor fervilely and for fear, as the common and prophane fort do; but a wife man doth nothing by force or fear; Soli bee fapients contingit, at mil faciat invitus; relia Sequitur, gander officio: This'is only incident to wife men, that they do nothing by conftraint; they follow the right, and perform their duty: he doth that which he should, and keeps the Laws, not for fear of them, but for the love of himfelf, being jealous of his duty; he hath not to do with the Laws, to do well; that is that wherein he differeth from the common stolto. I his is the coremony of power of

fort, who cannot do well, nor know what they ought to do, without Laws; At jufto et Sapienti non eft lex pofita : The Law mar not ordained for the just and righteous. By right a wife man is above the Laws, but, in outward and publick effict, he is their voluntary and free obedient subject. In the third place therefore, it is an act of lightness, and injurious prelumption; yea, a testimony of weakness and infufficiency; to condemn that which agreeth not with the law and custom of his Countrey. This proceedeth either from want of leafure, or fufficiency to confider the reasons and grounds of others, this is to wrong and shame his own judg ment, whereby he is enforced many times to recant; and not to remember, that the nature of man is capable of all things; It is to fuffer the eye of his fpirit to be hood-winked, and brought affeep by a long custome, and prescription to have power over judgement.

Finally, it is the office of a generous and a wife man (whom Wifely to exa. I here endeavour to describe) to examine all things, to consider amine all things, part, and afterwards to compare together, all the Laws and cufloms of the World, which shall come to his knowledge, and to judge of them (not to rule his obedience by them, as hath been faid. but to exercise his office, fince he hath a spirit to that end) faithfully and without passion, according to the rule of truth and univerfal reason, and nature, whereunto he is first obliged, not flattering himself, or flaining his judgement with errour: and to content himfelf to yield obedience unto those, whereunto he is secondly and particularly bound, whereby none shall have cause to complain of him. It may fall out fometimes, that we may do that, by a second particular, and municipal obligation (obeying the Laws and cufloms of the Country,) which is against the first and more ancient, that is to fav, universal nature and reason; but yet we satishe nature by keeping our judgements and opinions true and just according to it. For we have nothing so much ours, and whereof we may freely dispose; the World hath nothing to do with our thoughts, but the outward man is engaged to the publick course of the World, and must give an account thereof; so that many times, we do justly that, which justly we approve not. There is no remedy, for so goes the World.

After these two Mistresses, Law and Custom, comes the third, of Ceremonies, which bath no leffe authority and power with many; yea, is more rough and tyrannical to those that too much tie themselves thereunto. This is the ceremony of the world, which to fay the truth, is for

the most part but vanity, yet holdeth such place, and usurpeth such authority, by the remifness and contagious corruption of the world, that many think that wisdom confisteth in the observation thereof and in such fort do voluntarily enthral themselves thereunto, that rather then they will contradict it, they prejudice their health, benefit, bufinesse, liberty, conscience and all; which is a very great folly, and the fault and infelicity of many Courtiers, who above others are the idolaters of Ceremony. Now my will is that this my wife man, doe carefully defend himfelf from this captivity; I do not mean, that out of a kind of look incivility, he abuse a ceremony, for we mult forgive the world in something, and as much . as may be outwardly conform our selves to that which is in practice; but my will is, that he tie not, and inthral himfelf thereunto, but that with a gallant and generous boldnesse he know how to leave it when he will, and when it is ht, and in fuch manner, as that he give. all men to know, that it is not out of carelefnesse, or delicacy, or. ignorance, or contempt, but because he would not seem ignorant. how to effeem of it as is fit, nor fuffer his judgement and will to . be corrupted with such a vanity; and that he lendeth himself to the world when it pleafeth him, but never giveth himfelt.

CH AP. IX.

To carry him felf well with another.

This matter belongeth to the virtue of justice, which teacheth how to live well with all, and to give to every one that which appertaineth unto him, which shall be handled in the book following, where shall be set down the particular and divers opinions according to the diversity of persons. Here are only the general,

fol owing the purpole and subject of this book

There is here a twofold confideration (and confiquently two parts in this Chapter) according to the two manners of converting with the world, the one is simple, general and common, the ordinary commerse of the world, whereunto the times, the affairs, the voyages, and encounters do daily lead, and change acquaintance from those we know, to these we know not, strangers, without our choice, or voluntary consents: the other special is inaffected and defired company and acquaintance, either sought after and chosen, or being offered and presented, hath been embraced; and that either for spiritual or corporal profit or pleasure, wherein there is

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conference, communication, privity, and familiarity: each of them have their advisements apart. But before we enter into them, it shall not be amisse by way of preface, to give you some general and fundamental advise of all the rest.

Facility and universality of bamours.

The first part.

Advice touch

commos cos-

5.

versation.

It is a great vice (whereof this our wife man must take heed) and a defect inconvenient both to himself and to another, to be bound and subject to certain humors and complexions to one only course; that is, to be a flave to himself, so to be captivated to his proper inclinations, that he cannot be bent to any other, a testimony of an anxious scrupulous mind, and ill breed, too amorous, and too partial to it felf. These kind of people have much to endure and to contest: and contrariwise it is a great sufficiency and wisdome to accommodate himfelf to all. Iftud eft Sapere qui ubicunque opus fit animum poffis flectere: It is wisdome to frame the mind, as occasion Mall fill require. To be supple and manaible, to know how to rife and fall, to bring himself into order, when there is need. The faireft minds, and the best born, are the more universal, the more common, appliable to all understandings, communicative and open to all people. It is a beautifull quality, which refembleth and imitateth the goodness of God, it is the honour which was given to old Cato. Huic versatile ingenium, sic pariter et omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceres, quodeunque ageret: Whose mind was apt for all things; which generally was fuch, as what foever be did, be was faid to be born to the fame purpose.

Let us fee the advisements of the first consideration, of the simple and common conversation, I will here set down some, whereof the

first shall be, to keep silence and modesty. ing fimple and

The fecond, not to be over-formal, in not applying himself to the follies, indifcretion, and lightness, which may be committed in his presence: for it is an indiscretion to condemn all that pleaseth

not our palat.

The third, to spare, and thriftily to order that which a man knoweth, and that sufficiency that he hath attained, and to be more willing to hear than to fpeak, to learn than to teach: for it is a vice to be more ready and forward to make himself known, to talk of himself, and to shew all that is in him, than to learn knowledge of another; and to spend his own stock than to get new.

The fourth, not to enter into discourse and contestation against all, neither against great men to whom we owe a duty and respect,

nor against our inferiours, where the match is not equal.

The

To carry himself well with another.

The fifth, to be honeftly curious in the enquiry of all things, and knowing them, to order them frugally, to make profit by them.

The fixth and principal is, to employ his judgement in all things. which is the chief part which worketh, ruleth and doth all : without the understanding all other things are blind, deaf, and without a foul, it is least to know the history, the judgement is all.

The feventh is never to speak affirmatively, and imperiously, with

obstinacy and resolution; That hurteth and woundeth all.

Peremptory affirmation and obstinacy in opinion, are ordinary figns of senses and ignorance. The style of the ancient Romans was, that the witnesses dispoling, and the Judges determining that which of their own proper knowledge they knew to be true, they expressed their mind by this word, It seemeth (Ita videtur.) And if these did thus, what should others do? It were good to learn. to use such words as may swe, ten and moderate the temerity of our propolitions; as, It may be, It is faid, I think, It feemeth, and the like; and in answering, I understand it not, What is that to fay? It may be, It is true. I will that up this general part in thefe The conclusion few words: To have the countenance and the outward flew open flow. and agreeable to all, his mind and thought covered and hid from all, his tongue lober and discreet, alwayes to keep himself to himfelf, and to stand on his guard, frons aperta, lingua parca, mens clau-(a, xulli fidere : His face open, his tongue filent, his mind fecret, and to truit none: to fee and hear much, to speak little, to judge of all, Vide, andi, judica.

Let us come to the other confideration, and kind of conversation more special, whereof the instructions are thefe. The first is to feek, The second to confer, and converse, with men of constancy and dexterity; for part. thereby the mind is confirmed and fortified, and it is elevated above of special conit felf, as with base and weak spirits it is debased, and utterly loft: the contagion herein is, as in the body, and also more.

The second is, not to be assonished at the opinions of another; for how contrary foever the common fort, how strange, how frivolous or extravagant they feem, yet they are finitable to the fpirit of man, which is capable to produce all things, and therefore it is weakness to be aftonished at them.

The third is, not to fear or to be troubled with the rude incivility and bitter speeches of men, whereunto he mutt harden and accustome himself. Gallant men bare them with courage, this tenderness, and fearful and ceremonious mildness, is for women: This

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fociety and familiarity must be valiant and manly, it must be conragious both to give hard speeches, and to endure them, to correct and to be corrected. It is a fading pleasure, to have to do with a

people that yeild, flatter, and applaud a man in all things.

The fourth is, to aim alwaies at the truth, to acknowledge it, ingeniously and chearfully to yeild unto it, of what side soever it be, using alwaies and in all things sincerity, and not as many, especially pedanties, by right or by wrong to defend himself and to quell his adversary. It is a fairer victory to range himself according to reason, and to vanquish himself, then to overcome his adversary, whereunto his own weekness doth many times help, being far from all passion. To acknowledge his fault, to confesse his doubt and ignorance, to yeild when there is occasion, are acts of judgement, gentlenesse, and sincerity, which are the principal qualities of an honest and wise man; whereas obstinacy in opinion accuse ha man of many vices and impersections.

The fifth is, in disputation not to employ all the medium's that a man may have, but such as are best and fittest, that are more pertinent and pressing, and that with brevity; for even in a good cause a man may say too much: for long discourses, amplifications, and repetitions, are a testimony of ostentation, of a delire to speak, and tedious

to the whole company.

The fixth and principal is, in all things to keep a form, order and aptnesse. O what a troublesome thing it is to dispute and conferre with a fool, a trifler, that uttereth nothing but matter impertinent to the matter! It is the only just excuse to cut offall conference: for what can a man gain but torment, that knows not how, nor what to speak as he should? Not to understand the argument that is made to wed himself to his own opinion, not to anfwer directly, to tie himself to words, and to leave the principal, to mingle and trouble the conference with vain amplifications, to denie all, not to follow the form of disputation, to use unprofitable prefaces and digreffions, to be obstinate in opinion, and to mouth it out, to tie himself to forms, and never to dive into the bottome; are things that are ordinarily practifed by pedantics and Sophisters. See here how wisdome is discerned from folly; this is presumptuous, raw, obitinate, absurd, that never satisfieth it self, is fearfull, advised, modest: this pleaseth it self, goes forth of the lifes merily and gloriously, as having wonne the victory, when it never came near it.

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The feventh, If there be a place of contradiction, he must take heed that he be not bold, oblimate, bitter; for either of these three makes it unwelcome, and doth more hurt himfelf, then another. That it may winne good entertainment of the company, it must arise from that very hour of the controversie that it handled from the present occasion, and not from elsewhere, not from any former precedent ground; neither must it touch the person, but the matter onely, with fome commendation of the person if there be cause.

CHAP. X. To carry himfelf mifely in bis affairs.

"His doth properly belong to the virtue of prudence, whereof we shall speak in the beginning of the book following, where shall be set down in particular divers councels and advisements according to the divers kinds of prudence and occurrents in our affairs. But I will here set down the principal points and heads of wisdome, which are general and common advisements, to instruct in groffe our disciple, to carry himself well and wisely in the traffick and commerce of the world, and the managing of all affairs; and

they are eight.

The first confisteth in understanding, that is, well to know the persons with whom a man hath to deal, their proper and particular Kanalige of nature, their humour, their fpirit, inclination, delignment, and in- and affairs. tention, their proceedings: to know likewife the nature of the bufinesse which he hath in hand, and which is proposed unto him, not onely in their superficial and outward appearance, but to penetrate into the infide thereof; not onely to fee and know things in themfelves, but the accidents and confequents that belong thereunto. The better to do this, he mutt look into them with all manner of vifages, consider them in all sensess for there are some that on one fide are very precious or pleafing, and on the other, base and pernicious. Now it is certain, that according to the divers natures of the persons and affairs, we must change our style and manner of proceeding, like a Sea-man, who according to the divers late of the fea. and the diverfity of the winds, doth diverfly turn and guide his fails and his oars. For he that in all things shall direct and carry himself after one and the same fashion, would quickly marre all, play the fool, and make himself ridiculous. Now this twofold knowledge

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of the persons and affairs is no easie matter, so much is man disguiled and counterfeited; but the way to attain thereunto, is, to confider them attentively and advisedly, resolving them many times

in our mindes, and that without passion.

If imation shings.

We must likewise learn to esteem of things according to their of true worth, giving unto them that price and place which appertaineth unto them, which is the true office of wildome and fufficiency. This is a high point of Philosophy; but the better to attain thereunto, we mult take heed of passion, and the judgement of the vulgar fort. There are fix or feven things which move and lead vul-

Not according to the vulgar judgements,

gar spirits, and make them to effect of things by false enlights, whereof wife men will take heed; which are, novelty, rarity, ftrangenesse, difficulty, Art, invention, absence, and privation, or denyal, and above all, report, shew and provision. They esteem

not of things if they be not polished by art and science, if they be not pointed and painted out. The simple and natural, of what value soever they be, they attend not; they escape and drop away infenfibly, or at least are accounted plain, base, and foolish, a great teftimony of humane vanity and imbecility, which is paid with

wind, with falle and counterfeit money, instead of currant; from whence it is, that a man preferreth art before nature, that which is studied and difficult, before that which is easie, vehement mo-

tions and impulsions, before complexion, constitution, habit, the extraordinary before the ordinary; oftentation and pomp before true and fecret verity; another mans, and that which is strange,

which is borrowed, before that which is proper and natural. And according what greater folly can there be than all this? Now the rule of the wife is, not to fuffer themselves by all, this, to be caught and carried, but to measure and judge and esteem of things, first by there

> true, natural, and effential value, which is many times inward and fecret, and then by their profit and commodity; the rest is but deceit or mockery. This is a matter of difficulty, all things be-

ing to dilguifed and tophillicated : many times the falle and wicked being more plausible, than the true and good. And Aiffolle faith, That there are many falshoods, which are more probable, and

have a better outward appearance, than verities. But as it is difficult, fo is it excellent and divine. Si faparaveris preciosuma vili, quafi or menm eris: If thou wilt separate the pregious from thate things

that are base and vile, thou shalt be as it were my month: And necessary before all works; quam necessarium precia rebus imponere? bom neces-Sary. .

me zie wife.

Difficult. Lxullent. Me ce (Tary. Seneca.

fary is it to put a price upon ibings? for to small purpose doth a man endeavour to know the precepts of a good life, if hirl he know not in what rank to place things; riches, health, beauty, nobility, science, and fo forth, with their contraries. This precedency and prehemi- From bowe nence of things, is a high and excellent knowledge, and yet diffi- comet the cult; especially when many present themselves: for plurality hin- knowledge of dereth, and herein men are never of one accord. The particular taltes things. and judgements of men are divers, and it is fit and commodious it should be so, to the end that all run not together after one and the fame thing, and fo be a let or hindrance to another. For example Tiels primilet us take the eight principal heads of all goods spiritual and cor- pal brads of poral, four of each kind, that is to fay, Honefty, Health, Wildome, goods frittual Beauty, Ability or Apines, Nobility, Science, Riches. We do here and orporal. take the words according to the common fense and use; wildome for a prudent and discreet manner of life and carriage with and towards all; Ability for fufficiency of affairs; Science for the knowledge of things acquired out of Books: the other are clear enough. Now touching the ranging of these eight, how many divers opinions are there? I have told my own, and I have mingled, and in fuch fort interlaced them together, that after and next unto a spiritual, there is a corporal correspondent thereunto, to the end we may couple the foul and body together. Health is in the body. that which honesty is in the foul; the health of the foul, is the honesty of the body : Mens fana in corpore fano : A perfect mind in a found body: Beauty, is as Wildome, the measure, proportion, and comeliness of the body; and wisdome a spiritual beauty. Nobility is a great aptness and disposition to virtue. Sciences are the riches of the spirit. Others do range these parts otherwise, some place all the spiritual first, before they come to the first corporal, and the least of the spirit above the greatest of the body: some place them apart, and all diverfly, every one aboundeth in his own fenfe.

After and from this sufficiency and part of prudence, to know well how to effect of things, doth fpring and rife another, that is, Choice and eto know well how to choose, where not only the conscience, but ledion of also the sufficiency and prudence is likewise many times shewed. There are choices very easie, as of a difficulty, and of a vice, of that which is honest, and that which is commodious, of daty and of proht: for the preheminence of the one is so great above the other, that when they come to encounter, honesty alwaies winnerh the field. except (it may be) fome exception very rare, and with great circum-

flarice,

flance, and in publick affairs onely, as shall be said hereafter in the virtue of Prudence : but there are other choices far more hard and troublesome, as when a man is caught and driven into a narrow Arait between two vices, as was that Doctor, Origen, either to become an Idolater, or to proftitute himself to the carnal pleasures of a base impure Ethiopian. The rule is, that when a man hindeth himself in any doubt or perplexity, touching the choise of those things that are not evil, he must choose that part that hath most honefty and justice in it : for though it fall out otherwise than well. vet it shall be alwaies fome comfort and glory to a man, to have chosen the better; and besides, a man knoweth not (if he had chofen the contrary part) what would have hapened, or whether he had escaped his destiny: when a man doubteth which is the better and shortest way, he must take the straightest. And in those things that are evil, (whereof there is never any choice) a man must avoid the more base and unjust; this wa rule of conscience, and belongeth to honesty. But to know which is the more honest, just, and profitable; which the more dishonest, unjust, and unprofitable; it is many times very difficult, and belongeth to prudence and ufficiency. It feemeth that in such like straits and extremities, the surer and better. way is to follow Nature, and to judge that the more just and honest, which cometh nearest unto nature, that the more unjust a d dishonest which is farthest from it. Before we leave this discourse of the choice and election of things, in two words let us remove this question: From whence, cometh in our souls the choice of two. indifferent things in all things alike? The Stricks fay, from an extraordinary, immoderate, ftrange, and rash operation of the soul, But a man may fay, That never do two things present themselves unto us, wherein there is not fome difference or other, be it never fo little; and that there is alwaies formething in the one, which moveth us to that choice, although it be unfenfible, and fuch as we cannot expresse. He that is equally ballanced betwixt two desires, can never choose; for every choice and inclination doth inferre an incquality:

denfukarien.

Another precept in this matter, is to take advice and counsel of another, for, for a man to believe himself, and to trust onely in himself, is very dangerous. Now here are required two advertisements of Prudence, the one is in the choice of those, to whom a man must addresse himself for counsel; for there are some whose counsel we should rather avoid, and sly from. First, they must be

bo: eft.

honest and faithful men (which is here all one); and secondly men fensible, advised, wife, and of experience. These are the two qualities of good countellors, honefly, and fufficiency. A man may add a third, and that is, That neither they, not their nearette and inward friends, have any particular interest in the bu finess i for although a man may fay, that this cannot hinder them to give good counfel, being, as it is faid, honest men: yet I may answer, that besides that this so great and philosophical honesty, which is no way touched with its own proper interest, be very rare; it is also a great point of folly, to bring it into doubt and anxiety, and as it were to put the finger betwire two flones. The other advertisement, is well to hear and entertain the countels, receiving them without attending the event with judgement and gentleness, delighting in the free delivery of the truth. Having entertained and followed it as good, and coming from a good hand and a friendly, he must not repent himself of ir, although it succeed not well, and according to expectation. Mamy times good counfels have bad events. But a wife man must rather . content himself to have followed good counsel, which bath brought forth bad effects, then bad counsel, which hath had a happy event, as Marius: Sic cornelli Manii temeritas gloriam ex cu.p. invenis; So the ralloness and temerity of Marius, received glory and honour, even from bisfaults: and not to do like fools, who baving adviscally deliberated and chosen, think afterwards to have chosen the worse, because they weigh only the reasons of the contrary opinion, never Lib. 3. cap. 2. counterpoising them with those which first induced them thereun- art. 17. to. Thus much briefly be faid of those that feek counsel of those that giveit, we hall freak in the virtue of Prudence, whereof the countel is a great and fufficient part

The fifth advice which I here give, to carry himfelf well in his The hith advice which I here give, to carry nimies, well in his Temperature affairs, is a temperature and mediocrity betwint two great a c nit-burning fear dence and diffrust, sear and affurance. To trust and secure himself, and affurance. doth many times hurt, and to dillauft, offendeth; he must take fpecial heed of making, any thewart diffruit, even when there is cause; for it displeaseth, yea, offendeth much, and many times maketh a friendan enemy. But yet a man is not to be over-credulous, and confident, except it be of his best affured friends he must alwayes keep the builde in his hands holding it neither too loofe, nor too Arait. He mufenever spoakiall, and let that which he speaketh be es ever true. He muft neven dedeive but yentet him take heed he be -not deceived . He must coder temper and moderate that columbine

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innocency and fimplicity, in not offending any man with his ferpentine wildem and fubtilty, and keeping himfelf upon his guard and preferving himfelf from the deceits, treasons, and ambushments of another. Subtilty to defend is as commendable, as it is dishonest to offend. He must never therefore advance and engage himself so far but that he have alwayes a mean when he will, and when it shall be necessary to retire himself without great damage or dislike. He must never forfake his own hold, nor so much despise another and prefume of himfelf, that he fall into a kind of prefumption and carelefnels of his affairs; like those that think that no min fees fo clear as themselves, that look that every man should yield unto them, that no man should dare to entertain a thought to displease them; and by that meanes become diffolute, and caft away care, and in the end, they are blinded, furprifed, and deceived.

. To take time and occasion. Bation. Idlen offe.

Another advice and very important, is to take all things in their times and scalons, and to good purpose, and for that cause, he must Against precipit above all things avoid precipitation, an enemy to wildom, the stepmother to all good actions, a vice much to be feared in young and youthful people. It is in truth the work of a skilful and active man. to apply every thing to his true end, well to manage all occasions and commodities, to make use both of the times and the meanes. All things have their feafons, and even the good which a man may do without purpole. Now too much speed and precipitation is contrary hereunto, which troubleth, marreth, and confoundeth all : Canis festimans cacos paris catules: A forward Bitch bringerb forth blind Whelps; It proceedeth commonly from that passion which carrieth us ; Nam qui empit, festinat : qui festinat, evertit : unde festinatio improvida & czea : duo adverfiffima rolla menti, celeritas & ira: For who fo defires, doth baften, who bafteth, deftroyeth; baftinefs therefore is improvident and blind : bastiness and anger, are two of the greateft adversaries to a discreet minde : and often enough, from infufficiency. The contrary vice, laziness, floth, carelesness which seemath sometimes to have some air of maturity and wildom, is likewise pernicions and dangerous, especially in the execution. For it is faid , That it is lawful to be flow and long in deliberation and confultation, but not in the execution; and therefore the wifelt fay, that a man must consult slowly, execute speedily, deliberate with leifure and with speed accomplish. It falleth out sometimes, that the contrary is practifed with good success, and that a man is happy in the event, though he have been fudden and rath in his deliberation:

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ration; Subiti confilies, eventu felices : Sudden counfels, bappy events. But this is very feldom, and by chance or fortune, according to which we must not rule and direct our selves, but take heed, left envy and emulation overtake us, for commonly, a long and unprobable repentance, is the reward of headlong haftiness. Behold then two Rocks and extremities which we must equally avoid; for it is as great a fault to take occasions before they be ready, whilest they be green and raw, as to fuffer them to grow till they be over-ripe, and past the taking. The first fault, young men, and forward hot-fours commit, who for want of patience, give no leifure to time and the Heavens to do any thing for them; they run, but they catch nothing : The fecond, heavy, lafe, and dull-spirited men do commonly fall into. To know the occasion, and to take it, a man must know his fpirit valiant and vigilant. and likewise patient: he must foresee it watch, attend it, fee it comming, and prepare for it, and lo take it .

juft at that inftant when it is ready.

The feventh advice is, wellto carry himfelf with thefe two Ma- Indufry and Rers, and Superintendents of the affairs of the World, which are in- Formur, duftry or vertue, and Fortune. It is an ancient question, which of thefe two hath the most credit, force, and authority: for it is out of . all doubt, that both have; and it is clearly falle, that one only doth all, and the other nothing : It were perhaps to be wished, that it were true, and that one only had the whole Empire, the buliness would go the better, a man would wholly attend that, whereby it would be the more easie; the difficulty is to joyn them together. and to attend them both. Commonly, they that fertile theinfelves unto the one, contemn the other; the younger and bolder fort, refeed and trust to fortune, hoping much good from it, and many times by them it worketh great matters, infomuch, that it feems to favour thems the more ancient and flaid, truft to their induffry; and thefe of the two, have the more reason. If we should compare them, and chuse one of the two, industry is the mose honest, the more certain, glorious; for though forme be contrary to it, and shall make all industry and diligence vain, yet neverthelesse, there remaineth great contentment, in that a man hath not kept holy day, hath performed his office or duty, hath carried himself like a man of courage. They that follow the other part, are in'd nger to attend in vain, and though perhaps, things luceed according to their . own delires, yet they want that honour and glory that the former hath. Now the advice of wildom, is not wholly, and so much to. Litle .

fettle our selves to the one, that we contemn, and exclude the other for they have both a good part, year many times they help, and do mutually attend one the other. A wise man then must carry himself with them both, but yet unequally, for the advantage and preheminence must be given, as hath been said to virtue, industry; Virtue duce, comite fortuna: Virtue the guide, fortune the companion, the follower. This advice likewise, is required to keep discretion, which seasoneth, and giveth a taste or relish to all things: this is not a particular quality, but, common, which mingleth it self in all; Indiscretion marreth all, and taketh away the grace from the best actions, whether it be to do good to another, for all gratifications are not well bestowed upon all forts of people; or to excuse himself, for inconsiderate excuses serve for accusations; or to play the part of an honest and courteous man, for a man may exceed and degenerate into susticity; or whether it be to offer, or to accept.

CHAP. XI.

To keep himfelf alwayes ready for death, a fruit of wifdome.

The day of death.

The day of death is the master-day, & Judge of all other dayes, the tryal and touch-stone of all the actions of our life. Then do we make our greatest assay, & gather the whole fruit of all our studies. He that judgeth of the life of a man, must look how he carrieth himself at his death: for the end crowneth the work, and a good death honoureth a mans whole life, as an evil defameth and dishonoureth it: A man cannot well judge of any, without wronging of him, before he hath played the last act of his Comedy, which is without all doubt, the most difficult. Epaminondas, one of the wise men of Greece, being demanded, whom of three men he esteemed most, Himself, Chabrias, or Ephicrates, answered; We must sixt see all three dye, before we resolve that question: the reason is, because in all the rest, a man may be masked, but in this last part, it is to no purpose to dissemble,

Nam veræ voces tum demum peliore ab imo Ejiciuntur, & eripitur persona, manet res. I ben only, only then, and then no doubt Do men unmask, and now the truth comes out.

Fortune from far feemeth to watch, and lie in wait for us, against this last day, as a day long since named and appointed, to shew

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her power, and in a moment overthrow all that we have built, and gathered together in many years, and to make us cry out with Laberius; Nimirum bac die una plus vixi, mibi quam vivendum fuis : Surely I have lived more to my loffe in this one day, than in all the time before. And so was it well and wisely said of Solon to Crasus; Ante obitum

nemo beatus : Before death no man is happy.

It is an excellent thing to learn to die, it is the frudy of wifdome, which aimeth wholly at this end : he hath not spent his life to know how ill that hath learned to die well; and he hath lost his whole time, to die. that knows not well how to end it. Male vivit, quifquis nescit Seneca. bene mori: non frustra nascitur qui bene moritur: nec inutiliter vixit, qui feliciter defiit: Mori tota vita discendum est; & pracipuum ex vita officiis eft. He liveth badly, that knoweth not how to die well; he was not born in vain, that dieth well; neither bath be lived unprofitably, that departeth bappily: To die is the fludy and learning of all our life, and the chiefest thing, and duty of life. He shoots not well, that looks not on the mark; and he cannot live well that hath not an eye to his death. To be brief, the science of dying is the science of liberty; the way to fear nothing, is to live well, contentedly and peaceably: without this knowledge there is no more pleasure in life, than in the fruition of that thing which a man feareth alwaies to lofe.

First, and above all, we must endeavour that our fins die before our selves: Secondly that we be alwaies ready and prepared for death. O what an excellent thing is it for a man to end his life before his death, in such fort, that at that hour he have no other thing to do, but to die! that he have no more need of any thing, not of time, not of himself, but sweetly and contentedly departeth this life, faying:

> Vixi, & quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi: I bave done, my task is fet : or Scilicet videlicet.

To live's a gift ; to die's a debt.

Thirdly, we mustendeavour, that our death be voluntary; for to

die well, is to die willingly.

It feemeth that a man may carry himself in death five divers wayes: he may fear and flie it, as a very great evil, attend it sweet- 4 five fold ly and patiently, as a thing natural, inevitable, reasonable : contemn manner of carit as a thing indifferent, and of no great importance; defire and feek ringe in death. after it, as the onely haven for reft from all the torments of this life;

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yea,

yea, a very great gain; give it to himself, by taking away his own life. Of these five, the three middle most are good, besitting a good and settled soul, although diversly, and in a different condition of life; the two extremes are vitious and out of weakness, though it be with

divers vilages. A word or two of them all.

To fear death.

In is opinion,

The first is not approved by men of understanding, though by the greater part it be practifed: a testimony of great weaknesse. Against these kind of men, and for your better comfort, either against your own death, or the death of another, thus much briefly. There is not a thing that men fear more, or have more in horrour then death:nevertheleffe, there is not a thing where there is leffe occafion or matter of fear, or that contrarily yeildeth greater reasons to perswade us with resolution to accept of it. And therefore we must fay, that it is a meer opinion, and a vulgar errour that hath wonne the world thus to think of it. We give too much credit to the inconfiderate vulgar fort, who tell us, That it is a very great evil: and too little credit to wisdome it self which teachethus, That it is a freedome from all evils and the haven of life. Never did a present death do hurt to any man; and some that have made trial, and partly knew what it is, complain not of it: And if death be counted an evil, it is of all the evils the onely that doth no harm, that hath no evil in it: It is the imagination onely of death before it comes, that maketh us to fear it when it is come. It is then but opinion, not verity; and it is truly where opinion bandeth it felf most against reason, and goeth about to deface it in us, with the mask of death. There cannot be any reason to fear it, because no man knows what it is, that he should fear it: for why, or how should a man fear that he knoweth not? And therefore wifely faid he, that of all others was counted the wisest, That to fear death is to make thew of greater understanding and sufficiency than can be in a man, by feeming to know that, that no man knoweth : and what he spake he practifed himself, for being solicited at his death by his friends, to plead before the Judges, for his justification, and for his life, this oration he made unto them: My mafters and friends, if I should plead for my life, and defire you that I may not die, I doubt I may speak, against my self, and defire my own losse and hinderance because I know not what it is to die, nor what good or what ill there is in death: they that fear to die presume to know it; as for my self, I am utterly ignorant what it is, or what is done in the other world; perhaps death is a thing indifferent, perhaps a good thing, and to be defired

defired. Those things that I know to be evil, as to offend my neighbour, I fly and avoid; those that I know not to be evil as death, I cannot fear. And therefore I commit my felf unto your felves; and because I cannot know whether it is more expedient for me to die. or not to die, determine you thereof as you shall think good.

For a man to torment himself with the fear of death, it is first great weakness and cowardliness: There is not a woman that in It is weakness. few daies is not appealed and content with the death, yea the most painful that may be, either of her husband or her child. And why should not reason and wildome do that in an hour, at an instant (as we have a thousand examples) which time performeth in a fool, in the weakest sex? What use is there of wisdome and constancy in man?to what end serve they, if they speed him not in a good action, if he can do no more with their help, then a fool with his folly? From this weakness it is, that the most part of men dying, cannot refolve themselves, that it is their last hour, and there is not any thing where this deceitful hope doth more bufy man, which it may be, doth likewise proceed from this, that we account our death a great matter, and that all things have an interest in us, and at our death must suffer with us: so much do we esteem our selves.

Again, a man sheweth himself herein unjustsfor if death be a good thing, as it is, why doth he fear it? If an evil thing, why doth he Injustin. make it worfe, and add unto death evil upon evil, forrow and grief where there is none? like him that being robbed of a part of his goods by the enemy, caffeth the rest into the sea, to let men know

how little he is grieved with his loffes.

Finally, to fear death, is for a man to be an enemy to himfelf, and to his own life: for he can never live at ease and contentedly, that To be enemy to feareth to die. This man is onely a free-man, which feareth not bis own life. death: and contrarily, life is but a flavery, if it were not made free by death: For death is the onely stay of our liberty, the common and ready receptacle of all evils: It is then a mifery (and miferable are all that do it) to trouble our life with care and fear of death, and our death with the care of life.

But to fay the truth, what complaints and murmuring would there be against nature, if death were not; if we should have continued here, will we, nill we, with and against our own wills? doubtless men would have curfed nature for it. Imagine with thy felf how much more insupportable, and painful, a durable life would have been, then a life with a condition to leave it. Chiron refused immortality,

immortality, being informed of the conditions thereof by the god of Time, Saturn his father. Doubtlesse death is a very beautiful and rich invention of nature: Optimum nature inventum, nusquam satis landatum: The best invention of nature, never sufficiently to be praised; and a very proper and profitable, necessary to many things. If it were quite taken from us, we should desire it more than now we fear it, yea, thirst after it more than life it self; such a remedy is it against so many evils, such a mean to so many goods. What were it on the other side, if there were not mingled with death some little bitternesse? doubtlesse men would run unto it with great desire and indiscretion. To keep therefore a moderation, that is, that men might neither love life too much, nor slie it; sear death, nor run after it; both of them, sweetnesse and sharpnesse, are therein temperated together.

10. Remedies not to foor death.

The remedy that the vulgar fort do give herein, is too simple; and that is, Never to think or to speak thereof. Besides, that such a kind of earelesnesse cannot lodge in the head of a man of understanding, it would likewise at the last cost him dear: for death coming unawares, and unexpected, what torments, out-cries, furies, and despairs are there commonly seen? Wisdome adviseth much better; that is, to attend and exfpect death with a conflant foot, and to encounter it: And the better to do this, it giveth us contrary councel to the vulgar fort, that is, to have it alwaies in our thoughts; to practife it, to accustome our selves unto it, to tame it, to present it unto us at all hours, to expect it, not onely in places suspected and dangerous, but in the midst of seasts and Sports: that the burden of our song be, Remember thy end, that others are dead, that thought to have lived as long as our felves; that that which happened then to them, may happen now tous; following therein the custome of the Egyptians, who in their folemn banquets placed the image of death before their eyes, and of the Christians and all other, who have their Church-yards near their temples and other publick and frequented places, that men might atwaies (as faith Lyengers) be put in mind of death. It is uncertain in what place death attends us, and therefore let us attend death in all places, and be alwayes ready to receive it.

> Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum; Grata superveniet que non sperabitur bora. Think every day thy last; each ready be, And so the uncertain bone shall welcome theer.

> > But

But let us confider the excuses and grievances that these poer people alleadge to cover and colour their complaints, which are all The grievanus vain and frivolous: It grieveth them to die young, and they com- and eximpes of plain as well in regard of others as themselves, that death prevented them, and cutteth them off in the flower and strength of their years. The complaint of the vulgar fort, who measure all by the ell, and account nothing precious, but that which is long and durables whereas contrarily, things exquifite and excellent are commonly thin, fine, and delicate. It is the mark of a skilful work-mafter to enclose much in a little space: and a man may fay, that it is fatall to great and glorious men, not to live long: Great virtue and great or long life do seldome or never meet together. Life is measured by the end, provided that that be good, and all the rest hath a preportion thereunto: the quantity is nothing to make it more or leffe happy, no more than the greatnesse of a circle makes the circle more round than the leffe; the figure here dothall; a licthe man is as perfect a man as a greater : Neither men nor their lives are measured by the ell.

Again, it troubleth them to die farre from their friends, or to be flain, and to remain unburied; they defire to die in peace, in their beds, amongst their friends being comforted by them, and comforting them. All they that follow the warrs, and ride post to be in the battell, are not of this mind : thefe men run willingly to their end, and feek a tombe amongst the dead bodies of their enemies. Little children fear men when they are masked : discover their faces and they fear them no more: And even fo, believe it, fire and fword aftonish us, when we think of them; take off their mask, the death wherewith they threaten us, is but the same death wherewith wo-

men and children dic.

They are troubled to think they must leave all the world. And why? They have feen all, one day is like another, there is no other light, nor other night, no other Sun, nor other course of the world. One year telleth us that all things grow every year worse and worse, they have seen the childhood, the youth, the virility, the old age of the world : there is no art, no way to begin again.

Yea, but they leave their parents and their friends. Where they go they shall find more, and such as they have never yet feen, and those they leave behind them and defire so much, shall shortly fol-

low them.

But what shall become of their small children and orphans left

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without guide, without support? As if those their children were more theirs than Gods, or as if they equild love them more than he that is their first and their truest father: and how many such so left have risen to higher place and greater ability than other men.

But it may be they fear to go alone. This is great simplicity, fo

many people dying with them, and at the felf-fame hour.

Finally; they go into a place where they shall not desire this life. How desire it? If it were lawful to resume it, they would resuse it, and if a man were worthy to know what it is before he receive it, he would never accept of it: Vitam nems acciperet, si dareturs cientibus: No man mould accept of life, if he knew what he received: Why, or how should they desire it, since they are either wholly nothing, as miscreants believe, or in tar better state than before, as the wisust of the world do affirm? why then are they offended with death, since it quits them of all gries? The self-same journey they have made from death, that is to say, from nothing to sife, without passion, without sear, they make again from life unto death, Reverti unde veneris, quidgrave of ? To return from mbence thou camest, what burthen, what grief is it?

But it may be that the spectacle of death displeaseth them, because they that dye look gastly. It is true, but this is not death, but the mask of death, that which is hid under it, is very beautiful, for death hath nothing mit that is fearful: we have sent idle and poor spies to know it; who report not what they have seen, but what

they have heard, and what they fear.

But it taketh out of our hands so many things, or rather taketh us from them, and us from our selves; it taketh us from that we know, and have been accustomed unto, and bringeth us to an estate unknown: At borremus ignota: But me abb r things unknown; it taketh us from the light, to bring us into darknesse; and to conclude, it is our end, our ruine, our dissolution: These are the weightiest objections: whereunto in a word a man may auswer. Thus death being the inevitable law of nature (as shall be said hereaster) we need not dispute so much thereof; for it is, a folly to sear that which a man cannot avoid, Dementic of timere morism; suna certa exspectantur, dubia metunum , mors habet necessita em equin convictam: It is more folly to sear death, because things certain are exspected; doubtfull things are feared; the necessity of death is mist just and invincible. But these kind of people make not their count wells for it is quite contrary to that which they say, for instead of taking.

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any thing from us, it giveth us all; in flead of taking us from our felves, it fets us in liberty, and makes us free to our felves; in flead of bringing us into darknesse, it taketh it from us, and putsus into the light; and it doth the same tous, that we do to all fruits, spoiling them of their barks, their fiels, their foldings, their fperes, their skins, to bring them into light, ule, nature; ha folet fieri, pereune Comper velamenta nafetntinen : So it was mont to be done, for alwayes the veil and covering of every thing doth perift. It taketh us from strait, incommodious, rheumatick, dark place, where we see but a small part of the heavens, and the light but a farre off, through the two narrow holes of our eyes, to bring us into an open liberty, as affured health, a perpetual light; into fuch a place, fuch an effate where we may wholly see the whole heavens, and the light in his natural place. Agualiter tibi fplendebis omne egli latus, totam besem fuo loco prope totas afpieies quam nune per anguftifimas vondarum vias procul intueris & miraris: Every part of beaven fhall together shine upon thee, who wholly shalt behold all the glory thereof in bis due place, which now through the straight and narrow passage of the fight, then doft but fee and difeern afar off. To conclude, It taketh us from that death, which began in the wombe of our mother, and now endeth; to bring us to that life which shall never end. Dies ifte quem tanquam extremum reformidas, eterni natalis eft: This day which thou fearest as thy last, is the birth day of Eternity.

The second manner of carriage of men in this matter of death, is of a good, fweet, and moderate foul, and is justly practifed in a to attend both common and peaceable life, by those that with reason make account is good. of this condition of life, and content themselves to endure it, by governing themselves according to reason, and accepting of death when it cometh. This is a well tempered mediocrity, fuitable to fuch a condition of life, between the extremities (which are to defire and fear, to feek and to flie, vicious and faulty: Summum nes metuas diem, nec optes (mortem concupiscentes, & timentes aque objurgat Epicurus) I Fear not thy last day, neither wish for it: (for both to defire death, and to fear it, is alike condemned by Epicurus) if they be not covered and excused by some reason, not common and or dinary, as shall be faid in his place. To feek and defire death is ill; it is injuffice to defire death without a cause, and to be out of charity with the world, which our lives may be beneficial unto. It is to be unthankful to nature, to contemn it, and not to make the best

use thereof: to be over anxious and scrupulous, and not to enduse that state that is not burthensome, and we are called unto. To slie and sear death on the other side, is against nature, reason, justice, and all duty.

Death is matu-

. For to die, it is a thing natural, necessary, and inevitable, just, and reasonable: Natural, for it is a part of the order of the whole Universe, and of the life of the world: wilt thou then that the world be ruinated, and a new made for thy felf? Death holdeth a high place in the policy and great common-wealth of the world, and it is very profitable for the fuccession and continuance of the works of nature: the fading or corruption of one life, is the paffage to a thousand others: Sic rerum fumms nevatur: And it is not onely a part of this great whole Universe, but of our particular effence, not leffe effential than to live to be born. In flying death thou flieft thy felf; thy effence is equally parted into these two, life and death, it is the condition of thy creation. If it grieveth thee to die, why west thou born? Men come not into the world with any other purpose but to go forth again; and therefore he that is not willing to go forth, let him not come in. The first day of thy birth bindeth thee, and fetteth thee as well in the way to death. as to life.

Nescentes morimur, sinisque ab origine pendes.

Man born to die, doth of sentimes do so,

Even (if he could) before he can say, no:

His birth and death, concurring sa together,

As do a dog stwo ends in soldest weather.

Sola more jus aquim est generis humani; vivere no nit qui mori non vult; vita cum exceptione mortis data est; sam est sultus qui timet mortem, quam qui seneciutem: Death onely is mans due right: he sould not desire to live, that would not desire to die; life is given to us with exception of death; As foolish is he that search to die, as to be ald.

To be unwilling to die, is to be unwilling to be a man, for all men are mortal; and therefore a wife man faid, and that without passion, having received news of the death of his sonne; I knew I begot, and bred him up a mortal man. Death being then a thing so patural and essentiall, both for the world in grosse, and for thy self in particular, why should it be horrible unto thee? Thou goest against nature, the sear of grief and pain is natural, but not of death; for being so serviceable to nature, and nature having insti-

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tuted it, to what end should it imprint in us a hatred and horrour thereof? Children and beafts fear not death, yea, many times they fuffer it chearfully: it is not then nature that teacheth us to

fear it, but rather to attend or receive it, as being fent by it.

Secondly, it is necessary, fatal, inevitable; and this thou knowest, that fearest and weepest. What greater folly can there be, than for Mers fary. a man to torment himself for nothing, and that willingly and of purpose, to pray and importune him, whom he knows to be inexorable; to knock at that door that cannot be opened? What is there more inexorable and deaf than death? We must therefore fear things uncertain; do our best endeavours in things that are not remedilesse; but such as are certain, as death, we must attend, and grow resolute in things past remedy. The sot feareth and flieth death; the fool feeks and runs after it; the wife man attendeth it: It is folly to grieve at that, that cannot be mended; to fear that, that cannot be avoided: Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non poteft? Wilt thou not bear the blows thou canft not avoid? The example of David is excellent, who understanding of the death of his dear child, put on his best apparel, and made himself merry, saying, to those that wondered at this kind of carriage, that whilst his fonne lived, he importuned God for his recovery; but being dead, that care was ended, and there was no remedy. The fool thinks he maketh a better answer, to say, that that is the cause of his grief, and that he tormenteth himself, because there is no remedy; but he doubleth and perfecteth his own folly thereby. Sciencer feuftra niii extrema dementia eft : It is extreme madnelle to labour wittingly, and on fet purpose, in vain. Now death being so necessary and inevitable, it is not onely to no purpose to fear, but making of necessity a virtue, we must welcome it and receive it kindly; for it is better for us to go to death, than that death should come to us; to catch that, before that catch us.

Thirdly, to die is a thing reasonable and just, it is reason to arive to that place, towards which we are alwaies walking, and if a man que and rea fear to come thither, let him not walk, but flay himfelf or turn back fonable. again, which is impossible to do. It is reason that thou give place to others, fince others have given place to thee; If thou have made thy commodity of this life, thou must be satisfied and be gone, as he that is invited to a banquet, takes his refection and departeth. If thou have not known how to make use and profit thereof, what needeft thou care if thou lose it? or to what end wouldett

thou keep it? It is a debt that must be paid, a pawn that must be restored, whensoever it is demanded. Why pleadest thou against thy own scedule, thy saith, thy duty? It is then against reason to spurn against death, since that thereby thou acquittest thy self of so much, and dischargest thy self of so great an account. It is a thing general and common to all, to die; why then troublest thou thy self? Wilt thou have a new priviledge, that was yet never seen, and be a lone man by thy self? Why searest thou to go whither all the world goeth? Where so many millions are gone before thee, and so many millions shall sollow thee? Death is equally certain to all, and equality is the first part of equity; Omnes eddem cogimur, omnium versair urna; serious ocyus sors exitura, &c. We all are diven thereunto: men daily die, even at their lot fals sorth, &c.

To contemn death is good, of it be for a thing that deferves it.

The third is the part of a valiant and generous mind, which is practifed with reason, in a publick, elevated, difficult, and busie condition of life, where there are many things to be preferred before life, and for which a man should not doubt to die. In such a case howsoever matters go, a man must more account thereof than of his life, which is placed upon the stage and scaffold of this world t he must runne his race with resolution, that he may give a lustre to his other actions, and perform those things that are profitable and exemplary. He must lay down his life, and let it runne his fortune. He that knoweth not how to contemn death, shall never not only perform any thing of worth, but he exposeth himself to divers dangers; for whilest he goeth about to keep his life fafe and fure, he layeth open and hazardeth his devoir, his honour, his virtue and honesty. The contempt of death is that which produceth the boldest, and most honourable exploits whether in good or evil. He that feareth not to die fears nothing; he doth whatfoever he will, he makes himfelf a mafter both of his own life and of anothers: the contempt of death, is the true and lively fource of all the beautiful and generous actions of men; from hence are derived the brave resolutions and free speeches of virtue uttered by fo many great personages. Elvidius Priscus, whom the Emperour Vespasian had commanded not to come to the Senate; or coming to speak as he would have him, answered, That he was a Senatour, it was fit he hould be at the Senate; and if being there, he were requited to give his advice, he would speak freely that which his confeience commanded him. Being threatned by the fame

fame man, that if he spake he should die; Did I ever tell you (faith he) that I was immortal? Do you what you will, and I will do what I ought: it is in your power to put me unjustly to death, and in me to die constantly. The Lacedemonians being threatned with . much hard dealing, if they did not speedily yield themselves to Philip the father of Alexander, who was entred into their country with a great power; one for the rest answered, What bard dealing can they Suffer that fear not to die? And being told by the same Philip that he would break and hinder all their defignments; What, fay they, will he likewise hinder us from dying? Another being asked by what means a man may live free, answered, By contemning death. And another youth being taken and fold for allave, faid unto him that bought him, Then falt fee what then buft bought, I were a feel to live a flave whileft I may be free, and whilt be spake, cast himself. down from the top of the bonfe. A wife man faid unto another, deliberating with himself how he might take away his life, to free himfelf from an evil that at that time pressed him fore; Thoudost not deliberate of any great matter, it is no great thing to live : thy flaves, .. thy beafts do live, but it is a great matter to die honeftly, wilely, conttantly. To conclude and crown this article, Our religion hath. not had a more firm and affured foundation, and wherein the author thereof hath more infuted, than the contempt of this life. But many there are that make a flew of contemning death, when they fear it. Many there are that care not to be dead, yea they with they were dead, but it grieveth them to die: Emori nolo, fed me effemortum nibil aftimo; I would not die, but I make little account of deaths. Many deliberate in their health and foundelt judgements to fuffer. death with confirmey, may to murther themselves, a part played by. many, and for which end Heliosabelus made many fumptuous preparations, but being come to the point, some were terrified by the. bleeding of their nofe, as Lucius Dominius, who repented that he had poisoned himself. Others have turned away their eyes and: their thoughts, as if they would fleal upon it, fwallowing it down. insensibly as men take pills, according to that laying of Cefor. abat the best death was the shortest and of Bling, That a short death mas the happiest bour of mins life. Now no man can be faid! to be resolute to die, that search to confrontit, and to suffer with his eyes open, as Secontes did, who had thirty whole daice co rum! -nate & to difgeft the fentence of his death, which he did without any passion or asteration, yes without any shew of endeavour, mildly

and chearfully, Pompon. Attieus, Tullius Marcellinus Romans, Cleantes the Phylosopher, all three almost after one manner : for having affaied to die by abstinence, hoping thereby to quit themselves of those Maladies that did torment them; but finding themselves rather cured thereby, neverthelesse they would not desist till they had ended that they went about, taking pleasure by little and little to pine away, and to confider the course and progresse of death. Other and . Cato having prepared all things fit for their death, upon the very point of the execution setled themselves to sleep, and slept profoundly, being no more assonished at death, than at any other ordinary and light accident.

The fourth is the part of a valiant and resolute mind, practised To defire death. in former times by great and holy personages, and that in two cafes: the one the more natural and lawful, is a painful and troublesome life, or an apprehension of a farre worse death. To be brief. a miserable estate which a man cannot remedy. This is to defire death as the retrait and onely haven from the torments of this life, the fovereign good of nature, the onely stay and pillar of our liberty. It is imbecillity to yield unto evils, but it is folly to nourish them. It is a good time to die, when to live is rather a burthen than a bleffing, and there is more ill in life than good; for, to preferve our life to encrease our torment, is against nature. There are some that fay, that we should defire to die, to avoid those pleasures that are according to nature; how much more than to flie those miseries that are against nature? There are many things in life farre worse than death, for which we should rather die and not live at all, than live. And therefore the Lacedemonians being cruelly threatned by Antipater, if they yielded not to his demand, answered, If thou threaten us with any thing that is worfe than death, death shall be welcome unto us. And the wifelt were wont to fay, That a wife man liverb as long as be should, not so long as be ean, death being more at his command and in his power, than life. Life hath but one entrance, and that too dependeth upon the will of another. Our death dependeth on our own wills, and the more voluntary it is the more honourable; and there are a thousand wayes unto it. We may want means whereby to live, but not to die. Life may be taken away from every man, by every man, but not death : Ubique mors eft , optime boc cavit Deus's eripere vitam nemo non bomini poteft , as nemer martem : mille ad banc aditus patent : Death is every where : God best forefam this; one man may bereave another of life, but of death no man; whereunto there are infinite wayes and means: The most favourable present that nature hath bestowed upon us, and that taketh away from us all means of complaint is, that it hath left unto us the key of the closet, liberty to die when we will. Wherefore complainest thou in this world? it holdest thee not; if thou live in pain, thy idlenesse and fear is the cause; for to die, there is nothing

necessary, but a will.

The other case is a lively apprehension and desire of life to come, which maketh a man to thirft after death, as after a great gain, the feed of a better life, the bridge unto Paradife, the way to all good, and an earnest penny of the resurrection. A firm belief and hope of these things is incompatible with the fear and horrour of death: it perswadeth us rather to be weary of this life, and to desire death, Vitam babere in patientia, & mortem in desiderio; To endure our life with patience, but rather to defire death : To have life in affliction, and death in affection: their life is a croffe, their death a comfort, and therefore their vowes and their voices are; Cupio diffolvi: mibi mors lucrum: quis me liberabit de corpore mortis bujus? I defire to be diffolved : for death is profitable unto me ; who shall then free me from death? and for this cause those Philosophers and Christians have been justly reproached (which is to be undergood of those that are weak and idle, and not of all) that play the publick diffemblers, and do not in verity believe that which they fo much talk of, and so highly commend, touching that happy immortality, and those unspeakable pleasures in the second life, since they doubt, and fear death so much, the necessary passage thereun.

The fifth and last, is the execution of this precedent defire, which is for a man to be his own executioner, and the author of his own To kill hime. death. This seemeth to proceed from virtue and the greatnesse of Joseph. a mans courage, having been anciently practifed by the greatest and most excellent men and women of every nation and religion, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Medes, French, Indians. Philosophers of all fects: Jews, witneffe that good old man Kazis, called the .. father of the Jews for his virtue; and his wives, who under Antiochus, having circumcifed their children, caft themselves head-long from the rock with them: And Christians too, witnesse those two canonized Saints, Pelagins and Sopbronia, whereof the first, with his mother and fifters, cast himselfinto the river, and the other killed her self with a knife, to avoid the violence of Maxentins the Emperour::

Emperour: Yea witness divers people and whole cities, as Capona in Italy, Astupa, Numantia in Spain belieged by the Romans; the Abideens enforced by Philip, a city in India belieged by Alexander. But this resolution hath been likewise approved and authorized by many common weals, by laws and rules established thereupon, as at Marfeilles, in the Ile of Gea, in Nigropont, and other nations, as in the Hyperborian Ilands; and justified by many great reasons, drawn from the precedent article, which is of the just defire of death. For if it be permitted to desire, to ask, to seek after death, why should it be an ill act to give it unto our selves? If a Mans own death be just in the will, why should it not be as just in the hand, and the execution? Why should I expect that another, from which I can do my felf? and why should it not be better to give it, then to fuffer another to give it; to meet, than to attend it? for the fairest death is the more voluntary. Finally, I offend not the law made against thieves and robbers, when I take but my own goods, and cut but my own purse; neither am I guilty of the laws made against murtherers by taking away my own life. But this opinion is reproved by divers, not onely Christians, but Jewes, as Fosephur disputeth against his Captains in the cave du Puis : and Philosophers, as Plato, Scipie, who held this proceeding not onely for a vice of cowardlinesse and impatiencie; for it is for a man to hide himself from the blowes of fortune. Now a true and lively virtue must never yeild, for evils and crosses are nourishments thereunto; and it is greater constancy well to use the chain wherewith we are tied, then to break it; and more settled resolution in Regulus, than in Cato.

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam,
Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.
Si fracius illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruine.
'Tis no virtue to despise
Alise long lead in miseries:
But to smile infortune rude.
Is the mot of fortitude.

The ruineus world, should it on this man fall, Kill him it may, dant him it never shall.

But also for a fault of desertion; for a man ought not to abandon his charge without the expresse commandement of him that gave it him; we are not here for our selves, not our own masters. This then is not a matter beyond all doubt or disputation.

It is first Beyond all doubt, that we are not to attempt this last exploit without very great and just cause, (nay I cannot see how any cause should be great and just enough) to the end that it be as they fay, Eunoy G riceyoyi, an honest and reasonable departure. It must not then be for any light occasion, what soever some say, that a man may die for light eauses, since they that hold us in life are not weighty. It is ingratitude to nature, not to accept and use her present, it is a fign of lightnesse to be too anxious and scrupulous, to break company for matters of no moment, and not for fuch as are just, and lawful, if there be any fuch. And therefore they had not a fufficient excuse, and just cause of their death, of whom I made mention before Pomponius, Attions, Marcellinus and Cleantes, who would not flay the course of their death, for this only reason, because they were already neer unto it. The wives of Petrus, of Scaurus, of Labis, of Fulvius the friend of Augustus, of Senera, and divers others, who died only to accompany their husbands in death, or rather to encourage them therein. Cate and others, who died because their bufinesse succeeded not well, and because they would not fall into the hands of their enemies, notwithstanding they feared no ill usage at their hands. They that have murthered themselves because they would not live at the mercy, and by the grace and favour of those whom they hated; as Gravius Silvanius, and Statius Proximus, being pardoned by Nero. They that die to recover a shame and dishonour past, as that Roman Lucretia, Sparzapizes the son of Queen Tomiris, Boges the Lievtenant of King, Xerxes. They that for no particular cause, but only because they see the weal-publick in a bad and declining estate, murther themselves, as Nerva that great Lawyer, Vibius Virens, Jubelieus, in the taking of Capona. They that are weary with living, or for private cause loath to live any longer. Neither is it sufficient that the cause be great and just but that it be necessarily and remedilesse, and that all manner of means to preferve life be first put in practise. For precipitation and anticipated despair is very vicious, as in Brutus and Cassius, who killing themselves before the time and occasion, lost the reliques of the Roman liberty whereof they were protectors. A man, faith. Cleomenes, mult manage his life, and make use thereof to the uttermost? for to take it away, a man never wants time, it is a remedy which he hath alwaies in his own hands; but the effate of things may change and grow better. Fofeph and divers others have to their great

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great benefit practised this councel: things that seem altogether desperate, do many times change, and have a happy successe; Aliquis carnifici suo superstes suit: Some men bave out-lived their miseries.

Multa dies varinsque labor mutabilis avi Restulit in melius.

.H ve patience, man, and be content to live, That which a day denies, a day may give.

A man must carry himself in his place and calling, as a defendance against him that affaileth him , cum moderamine inculpate tutele : with the government of blameleffe protection: he must try all manner of means before he come to this extremity. Secondly and without doubt it is far better, and more commendable to fuffer, and to continue constant and firme to the end, than fearfully and cowardly to flie or die; but foralmuch as it is a gift not given unto all, no more than continence is: Non omnes capiunt verbum iftud, unde melius nubere quam uri: All men take not this Saying. Better to marry than to burn: the question is, whether an insupportable and remedilesse evil happening, which may utterly unde and turn topfie turvey our whole resolution, and drive us into despair, despight, and murmuring against God, be more expedient, or a lesse evil for a man couragiously to deliver himself having his senses sound and settled, than by standing to it, for fear of failing in his duty, expose himself to the danger of finking, and being utterly loft. It is not a leffe evil to guit the place, than to be obstinate and perish; to flie, than to be taken. It is true that it feemeth by all humane and philosophical reason to be practised, as hath been said, by so many famous people of all countries and climates. But Christianity doth no way approve it, nor alloweth therein any dispensation.

Finally, it is a great point of wisdome to learn to know the point and period, to choose a fit hour to die: Every man hath his time and season to die; some prevent it, others prolong it: there is weaknesse and valour in them both; but there is required discretion. How many men have survived their glory, and by a desire to lengthen their life but a little, have darkned it again, and lived to help to bury their own honour? And that which lastly sticketh by them, hath no relish or feeling of what is past, but continueth like an old filthy clout sowed to the hem of a rich and beautiful ornament. There is a time to gather fruit from the tree, which is thang too long, it rotteth and grows worse and worse; and the losse

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is as great too, if it be gathered too foon. Many Saints and holy men have fled from death, because they are yet profitable to the Church and Weal-publick, though in respect of their own particular they could be content to die. It is an act of charity to defire to live for the benefit of another; Si populo suo fim necessarius, non recuso la-

borem : If Lam needfull to thy people, I refuse not labour.

Death hath divers forms, some more easie than other, and taketh divers qualities according to the fantalie of every one. Among those Forms of that are naturall, that they proceed from weaknesse and a numnels of death, divers the members are the sweetest and the easiest : among those that are violent, the best is the shortest, and the least premeditated. Some defire to make an exemplary and demonstrative death of constancy and fufficiency; this is to confider another thing, and to feek their own reputation: but this is vanity, for this is an act of society, but of one only person, who hath enough to do with himself, to minifter to himself inward comfort, and hath no need to trouble himfelf with what belongeth to another, especially all the interest he hath in his reputation ceasing with his death. That is the best death which is well recollected in it felf, quiet, folitary, and attendeth wholly to that which at that time is fitted. That great affiliance of parents and friends, bringeth a thousand discommodities; it oppresent and smothereth him that is dying, one tormenteth his ears, another his eyes, another his mouth; their cries and complaints if they be true, stiffe the heart; if faigned, afflict and torment it. Many great personages have sought to die far from their friends, to avoid this inconvenience, accounting it a childish thing, & a foolish humor, to be willing by their miferies to move forrow and compassion in their friends; we commend constancy to suffer bad fortune, we accuse and hate it in our friends, and when it is our own case, it is not sufficient that they suffer with us, but they must afflict themselves too: A wife man that is fick, should content himself with the setled countenance of his affiftants.

CHAP. XII.

To maint ain himself in true tranquillity of Spirit, the fruit and crown of wisdome, and the conclusion of this Book.

"He tranquility of the spirit is the soveraign good of man. This is that great and rich treasure, which the wifeft seek by sea and

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by land, on foot, and a horseback; all our care should tend thereunto, it is the fruit of all our labours and studies, the crown of wisdome. But lest a man should mistake himself herein, you must know that this tranquility is not a retrait or vacation from all affairs, a delightful solitarinesse and corporally pleasant, or a prosound carelesses of all things: if it were so, many women, idle, dissolute and voluptuous persons, would at their pleasure enjoy as great a good as the wisest can aspire unto with all their study: Neither multitude nor scarcity of business doth any thing herein. It is a beautitul, sweet, equall, just, firm and pleasant estate of the soul, which neither businesse nor idlenesse, nor good accidents, nor ill, nor time, can any way trouble, alter, mend, or depresse; Vera tranquistas non

concutitur : Nothing troubles true tranquility.

The means to attain thereunto, to get and preserve it, are the points that I have handled in this fecond Book, whereof this is a brief collection. They confift in freeing and disfurnishing of a man from all lets and impediments, and furnishing him with those things that entertain and preserve it. The things that do most hinder and trouble the rest and tranquility of the spirit, are common and vulgar opinions, which for the most part are erroneous; and secondly defires and passions, which ingender in us a kind of delicacy and difficulty: which are the cause that a man is never content, and these are kindled and stirred in him by those two contrary fortunes, prosperity and adversity, as with two violent and mighty winds: and finally, that vile and base captivity, wherewith the spirit (that is to fay, the judgement and will) is enthralled like a beaft under the voke of certain local and particular rules and opinions. Now he must emancipate and free himself from the stocks and unjust subjections, and bring his spirit into liberty, restore himself to himfelf, free, universal, open, seeing into all; and wandring through the beautiful and universal circuit of the world and of nature. In commune genitus, mundum ut unam domum specians, toti se inferens mundo, & in omnes ejus actus contemplationem fuam mittens : He shat is begotten generally, holds this world but as one house, applying bimself to the whole world, and exercifing his contemplation in all the actions there-

The places being thus trimmed and made ready, the first foundations that are to be laid, are, a true honesty, and to live in such an estate and vocation whereunto a man is sit. The Principal parts wherewith he must raise, assure, and settle this building, are first true

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picty, whereby, with a foul not aftenished, but setled, pure, free, devout, a man contemplateth God, the great Sovereign, and absolute work-master of all things, who can neither be seen, nor known: but yet he must be known, adored, worshipped, served with the whole heart, from whom he is to hope for all manner of good, and to fear no evil: afterwards he must walk roundly in simplicity and truth, according to the laws and customes, live with a heart open both to the eyes of God and the world; Conscientiam suam aperiens, semper tanquam in publico vivens, se magis veritus, quam alios : Shewing his conscience, and alwaies living as it were in publick, more afeard of bimself, than of others. Again, he must keep in himselfand with others, and generally with all things, in his thoughts, speeches, defignments, actions, a moderation the mother or nurse of tranquillity, laying aside all Pomp and vanity, rule his desires, content himself with a mediocrity and sufficiency: Quod sit effe velit, nibilque malit: Would be as be is, and rather nothing than so; rejoyce in his fortunes. A tempest hath a great deal lesse force, and doth less hurt when the fails are taken down, than when they are hoifed up, and laid open to the winds. He must be constant against whatsoever may wound or hurt him, raise himself above and beyond all fear, contemning all the blows of fortune, of death, holding it as the end of all evils, and not the cause of any, Contemptor omnium, quibus torquetur vita, supra omnia que contingunt accidunique eminens, Imperturbatus, intrepidus: A contemner or despiser of all things, wherewith mans life may be afflicted, raising bimself above all things that may change or happen, without perturbation, without fear. And fo hold himself firm unto himself, agree with himself, live at ease without any pain or inward contention, full of joy, of peace, of comfort and content in himself: Sapiens plenus gaudio, bilaris, placidus cum diis ex pari vivit : Sapientia effectus gaudii aqualitas, selus sapiens gaudet : A miseman is full of joy, merry, peaceable, liveth in equal pleasure with the Gods: the effect of wisdome, is the equality of joy, wherein onely a wife man delighteth. He must I say entertain himself, and continue content in himself which is the proper fruit and effect of wisdome : Nifi sapienti sua non placent: omnis stultitia laborat factidio sui. Non est beatus, effe fe qui non putat : No man, but a wife man is content with his own: every fools travels dislike him. No man is happy, but he that so thinks himfelf.

To conclude, to this tranquility of spirit two things are necessary, innocency and a good conscience; this is the first and princi-

pall part which doth marvellously arm and confirm him with assurance; but this is not alwayes sufficient, in the force of the tempess, as it is many times seen in divers that are troubled and lott: Erit tanta tribulation at seducantur justi: There shall be so great tribulation: that even the righteous shall be seduced. And there fore the other other is likewise necessary, which is force and constancy of courage, as likewise this alone were not sufficient: for the force and resistance of the conscience is marvellous, it makes us to betray, to accuse our selves, and for want of other witnesses, it is as a thousand witnesses against us.

Occulsum quatiente animo tortore flagellum. Shaking a double relish with a whip. That strikes the soul, where at the devils skip.

It frameth an enditement, condemneth, and executeth us, there is no closet close enough for wicked men, saith Epicurus, because they never can affure themselves to be hid, their own conscience alwayes discovering, them to themselves. Prima of bae ultio, quod, so Judice nemo nocens absolvitur: This is the first revenge of sin, that every man being his own Judge, no sinner is quit. So likewise neither a weak and fearful soul, he it never so holy, nor a strong and couragious, if it be not sound and pure, can never injoy this so rich and happy tranquility; but he that hath them all worketh wonders; as Socrates, Epaminondas, Cato, Scipio, of whom there are three admirable exploits touching this subject. These two Romans being publickly accused, made their accusers to blush, won the Judges and the whole assembly, being strucken with an admiration.

He had a heart too great by nature, faith Titus Livius of Seipio, to know how to be faulty, and to debafe himself so much, as to defend his own innocency.



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OF

WISDOME

The third Book

Wherein are handled,

The particular Advisements of Wisedome, by the four Moral Virtues.

THE PREFACE.

Prudence, is as a general guide and conduct of the other Virtues, and of our whole life, though properly it be exercised in the affairs that belong thereunto. Infine concerneth the persons of men; for it is to give unto every one that which belongeth unto him. Fortitude and Temperance, concern all accidents good and evil, pleasant & painful, good & ill fortune. Now in these three, persons, affairs, and accidents.

accidents, is contained all our life and humane condition, and the traffick of this world.

Of Prudence, the first Virtue.

CHAP. I.

Of Prudence in general.

The excellency thereof.

Rudence is with Reason put in the first Rank, as the general Queen, superintendent, and guide of all other Virtues, Auriga virtuum; without which there is nothing good, beautiful, fit, and decent; it is the salt of our life, the lustre, the ornament, the sauce or seasoning of our actions, the square and rule of our Affairs, and in a word, the Art of our Life, as Physick the Art of our Health.

It is the knowledge and choice of those things we must either defire or fly; it is the just estimation or tryal of things; it is the Eye that seeth all, that directeth and ordaineth all. It consisteth in three things, which are all of one rank; to consult and deliberate well, to

judge and resolve well, to conduct and execute well:

3. It is an universal Virtue, for it extendeth it self generally to all It is univer-humane things, not onely in grosse, but by peice-meal to every parti-

cular thing, and is as infinite, as are the Individuals.

It is very difficult, both by Reason of the aforesaid infinitenesse, for the particulars are without knowledge, as without number; Sique siniri non possum, extra sapientiam suite: Things infinite, and that cannot be defined are beyond wisdome: And of the great uncertainty and inconstancy of humane things, which are the greater, by reason of their accidents, circumstances, appurtenances, dependencies, times, places, persons; in such fort, that in the change of one onely, and that the least circumstance, the whole thing it self is altered. And likewise in the office thereof, which is the gathering together, and temperature of contrary things, the distinction and trial of those that are like one another; the contrariety and resemblance hindreth much.

It is very obscure, because the causes and jurisdictions of things are unknown, the seeds and roots are hidden, and such as the Nature of man cannot find, nor ought to seek after. Occultat corum semina Deus, & plerumque bonorum malorumque cause sub diversa specie latent: Their seeds God keepeth unknown and for the mist part the causes of good and evil sie hid under divers similizades. Moreover

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Difficult. Senec.

fal.

Observe. Plin. in paneg. fortune, deffiny, (use what words you will) a soveraign, secret, and unknown power and authority, hath alwaies the advantage, and maintaineth it against all Counsels, forefights, and preventions whatfoever: whereby it many times comes to pass, that the best Counsels have the worlt iffues, that one and the fame Counfel doth very happily succeed to one, unhappily to another, in one and the same case, and with one and the same man, things went luckily yesterday unluckily to day. It is an opinion juffly received, that we ought not to judge of Counfels, nor of the fufficiency and capacity of Persons by the events. And therefore one answered those well, that marvelled and aftonished at the ill success of their business, considering with how wife and mature deliberation they were undertaken, That they were masters of their deliberations, not of the success of their Affairs; for that was in the power of Fortune, which feemeth to sport it self with all our fairest designments and counsels: overthrowed in a moment that which hath a long time been projected and deliberated, and seemeth to be strongly fortified, chocking, as they say, our Artillery. And indeed, Fortune to thew its Authority in all things, and to abate their prefumption, not being able to make men wife, that are not apt thereunto, maketh them nevertheleffe happy in despight of Virtue, whereby it many times comes to pass, that simple men bring to a happy end great matters both publick and private. Prudence then is a Sea without either bottome or brink, and which cannot be limitted and prescribed by Precepts and Advisements. It doth but compass things, and goeth about them, like a dark Cloud, many times vain and frivolous.

Nevertheleffe, it is of such weight and necessity, that alone, and of it felf, it cannot do much, and without it all the reft is nothing, no not Necessary: riches, means, force : Vis confilii expers mole ruit sua : mens una sati- Horat. 3.od. ens plurium vincit manus: Et multa que natura impedita funt, confilio Livius. expedientur: Strength void of Counsel falleth to ruine even of it self; One wife mind overcometh the bands of many: And many things that are bindred by Nature, are ended by Counfel. And the principal cause of this necessity is the perverse Nature of man, the roughest and hardest senec. I. de to tame of all other Creatures; Impatiens aqui, nedum fer vitutis; clement, Impatient of equity, much more of fervitude; and which mutt be handled with art and industry, for it doth not more willingly set it felf a- Xenophon in gainst any, than against these that would contemn it. Now Prudence is the Art to handle it, and a gentle Bridle that holdeth it within

the compass of Obedience.

Pedag.

The acquificion sberrof.

Now though the feed of Prudence, as of other Virtues, be in us by Nature, yet it is acquired and learnt more than any other, and that in fome fort by precepts and advisements; this is the Theorick: but much more and principally (though with more time) by experience and practice, which is twofold : the one, and the true, is that which is proper and personal whereof it takes the name; this is the knowledge of those things which we have seen and handled : the other is strange by the act of another, this is History, which we know by relation or by reading. Now Experience and use is more firm and more affured; Us efficacissimus omnium rerum magister: Use and Experience is a most effectual master of all things, the Father and Mistriss of all the Arts, but more long; it is old, Seris venit usus ab annis : Experience cometh in a mans latter dayes; more difficult, painful, rare the knowledge of History, as it is lesse firm and affured, so it is more easy, more frequent, open and common to all. A man is made more refolute and affured at his own charges, but it is more easie to the charge of another. Now from these two properly, Experience, and History, doth Prudence arile: Ulus me genuit mater, peperit memoria; fen, memorie anima & vita, Historia : Experience begat me, my Mother m:m) y bare me; the foul and life of Memory, is History.

Now prudence may and must be diverily distinguished according The diffinition, to the persons and the affairs. In regard of the persons there is private Prudence, whether it be solitary and individual, which can hardly be termed prudence, or fociable and Oeconomical, among a fmall company; and Prudence publick and politick. This more high, excellent, difficult, and unto which those aforesaid qualities do properly belong, and it is two-fold, Peaceable and Military.

> In regard of the Affairs, forafmuch as they are of two forts, the one ordinary easie; the more extraordinary. These are accordents which bring with them some new difficulty and ambiguity. A man may likewife fay, that there is an ordinary and easie prudence, which walketh according to the Laws, Customes, and course already established;

another extraordinary and more difficult.

Hefiod. Livius. Cicero.

There is likewise another distinction of Prudence, both in respect of the persons and of the affairs, which concerneth rather the degrees, than the kinds thereof; that is to fay, proper prudence, whereby a wan is wife, and taketh counsel of himself: the other borrowed, whereby a man followeth the counsel of another. The wife fay, that there are two forts and degrees of wife men : the first

and chiefeft is of those that have a clear infight into all things, and know of themselves how to find the remedies and helps ; but where are these to be found? Doubtless they are rare and singular. The other is of those that know how take, to follow, to make use of the good counsels of another, for they that know neither how to give, nor to take counsel, are Fools.

The general and common advisements, which belong to all forts of prudence, all forts of persons and affairs, hath been touched and briefly delivered in the second Book, and they are eight : first, know- Chap. 10. ledge of the persons and affairs: Secondly, estimation of things: Thirdly, choice and elections: Fourthly, from them to take counfel upon all: Fifthly, temperature between fear and affurance, confidence and diffidence: Sixthly, to take all things in their feafon, and to feize upon the occasion: Seventhly, to carry himself well, with industry and fortune: Laftly, discretion in all. We must now handle the paticulars, first of publick wildome which respecteth the persons, afterwards of that which respecteth the affairs.

> Of the Politick Prudence of a Sovereign, to govern States.

THE PREFACE.

T His Doctrine belongeth to Sovereigns and Governours of: I States. It is uncertain, infinite, difficult, and almost impossible to be ranged into order, to be limited and prescribed by Rules and Precepts: but we must endeavour to give some small light, and brief instruction thereof. We may referre this whole Doctrine to two principal heads, which are the two duties of a Sovereign. The one comprehendeth and intreateth of the props and pillars of a State, Principal and effential parts of publick Government; as the bones and finews of this great Body, to the end that a Sovereign may provide for himself and his State; which are seven principal, that is to fay, knowledge of the State, virtue, manners, and falhions, counsels, treasure, forces, and arms, alliances. The three first are in. the person of the sovereign; the fourth in him, and near him, the three latter without him. The other is to act, well to employ, and to make use of the forefaid means, that is to say, in groffe, and in. a word, well to govern and maintain himself in Authority, and the love roth of his subjects and of strangers, but distinctly. This part is twofold, Peaccable and Military. Behold here fummarily.

and grosly the work cut out, and the first great draughts that are to be handled hereafter. We will divide then this politick matter, and of State, into two parts; the first shall be of provision, that is to say, of the seven necessary things: the second, and which presupposet the sirst, shall be of the action of the Prince. This matter is excellently handled by Lipsius, according as he thought good: the marrow of his book is here. I have not taken nor wholly followed his method, nor his order as you may already see in this general division, and more you shall hereafter: I have likewise lest somewhat of his, and added something of mine own, and other mens.

CHAP. II.

The first part of this Politick prudence and Government, of State, which is of Provision.

The chief point of this provision, to know the State.

HE first thing that is required before all others, is the knowledge of the State: for the first rule of all Prudence confisteth in Knowledge, as hath been faid in the second Book. The first in all things is to know with whom a man hath to deal. For inafmuch as this ruling and moderating prudence of States, which is a knowledge and fufficiency to govern in publick, is a thing relative, which is handled between the Sovereign and the subjects; the first duty and office thereof, is in the knowledge of the two parts, that is, of the People, and the Sovereignty, that is to fay, of the State. Fire, then the Humours and Natures of the People must be known. This Knowledge formeth, and giveth Advice unto him that should govern them. The Nature of the People in general hath been described at large in the first book, (light, inconstant, mutinous, vain, a lover of novelties, fierce and insupportable in prosperity, cowardly and dejected in advertity) but must it likewise be known in particular; fo many Cities and Perfons, fo many divers humours, There are People cholerick, audacious, Warriers, fearful, given to wine, fubject to women , some more than others : Nofeenda natura vulei eft & quibus modis temperanter babeatur : The nature of the vulgar fort is to be known and by what means it may be temperately ruled. And in this sense is that saying of the wife to be understood : He that hath not obeyed, cannot tell how to command. Nemo bene imperat. nifi qui ante paruerit imperio.

Not because Sovereigns should or can alwaies take upon them the

Bame

name of Subjects; for many are born Kings and Princes, and many States are successive: but that he that will well command, should acquaint himself with the humours and wills of his Subjects, as if himself were of their Rank, and in their place. He must likewise know the nature of the State, not onely in general, such as it hath been described; but in particular, that which he hath now in handy the Form, Establishment, Birth thereof, that is to fay, whether it be old or new; fallen by Succession, or by Election; obtained by the Laws, or by Arms; of what extent it is, what neighbours, means, power it hath: for according to thefe, and other circumstancies, he must diversly manage the Scepter, loosen and straiten the Rains of his Government.

After this knowledge of the state, which is as a Preamble, the first of those things that are required, is virtue, necessary in a Sove- The second reign, as well for himself, as for the State. It is first necessary and con- bead of this venient that he that is above all should be better than all, according provision, is to the faying of Cyrus: and then it Randeth him upon for his credit virtue. and reputation. For common fame and report gathereth and foreadeth abroad the speeches and actions of him that governeth. He is in the Eye of all, and can no more hide himself than the Sun : and therefore what good or ill foever he doth, shall not want means to blazon it, shall be talked of enough. And it importest him much, both in respect of himself and his State, that his Subjects have a good opinion of him. Now a Sovereign ought not onely in himself, and in his life and conversation to be virtuous, but he must likewise endeavour that his subjects be like unto himself. For as all the wifest of the world Salus, ad Care. have ever taught, a State, a City, a Company cannot long continue nor prosper, where Virtue is banished; and they do grossy equivocate, who think that Princes are fo much the more affured in their States by how much the more wicked their Subjects are, because, fay they, they are more proper, and as it were born to fervitude and the voke ; Patientieres fervitutis quis non decet nife effe fervos : very patient of feruitude whom it becometh not to be other than fervants. For contrarily, wicked men bare their yoke impatiently; and they that are good plin, Pan. and debonair fear much more than their cause is, Pessimus quifque a- Salift; ad Czac. Sperrime rectorem patitur: contrà facile imperium in bonos qui metwentes muis quam metwendi. The most wicked are most impatient of Ambority: cantrarily the helt men are most obedient, fearing others more than they are feared shemselves. Now the most powerful means to induce them. and to form them unto virtue, is the example of the Prince; for as ex-

perience.

Pli. Paneg.

telleth us, all men do frame themselves to the pattern and model of the Prince. The reason is, because example present more than Law. It is a mute Law which carrieth more credit than a command, Ne tam imperio nobis opus quam exemplo: & muins jubetur exemplo: Neither down so much need commandment, as example; and it is more gentle to command by example. Now the eyes and thoughts of the lesser always upon the great; they admire and simply believe, that all is good and excellent that they do: and on the other side, they that command, think they sufficiently enjoyn and bind their sufficients to imitate them by acting onely. Virtue then is honourable and prohiable in a Sovereign, yea, all virtue.

Especially four virtues.

But especially and above all, Piety, Justice, Valour, Clemency. These are the four principal and princely virtues in principality. And therefore that great Prince Augustus was wont to fay, that Piety and Justice did deifie Princes. And Seneea faith, that Clemency agreeth better with a Prince, than any other. The piety of a Sovereign confilteth in his care for the maintenance and prefervation of Religion, as the Protector thereof. This maketh for his own honour and preservation of himself: for they that fear God dare not attempt, nay think of any thing, either against their Prince, who is the Image of God upon Earth, or against the State. For as Laciantius doth many times teach, it is Religion that maintaineth humane Society, which cannot otherwife fublift, and would foon be filled with all manner of wickednesse and favage cruelties, if the respect and fear of Religion did not bridle men, and keep them in order. The state of the Romans did encrease and flourish more by Religion. faith Cicero himself, than by all other means. Wherefore a Pri ce must take care and endeavour that Religion be preserved in its purity, according to the ancient Laws and Ceremonies of the Countrey, and hinder all innovation, and controverties therein, roughly chastiling those that go about to break the peace thereof. For doubtless change in Religion, and a wrong done thereunto, draweth with it a change and a declination, of the common-wealth, as Mecenas well discourseth to Augustus.

After Piety, cometh Justice, without which States are but Robberies, which a Prince must keep and practife both in himself and others: In himself, for he must detest all those tyrannical and barbarous speeches, which dispense with Sovereigns, quitting them from all Laws, Reason, Equity, Obligation; which tell them that they are not bound unto any other duty, than to their own wills and plea-

fures

Dion. 4.

fures, that there is no law for them ; that all is good and just that ferveth their turns; that their equity is their force; their duty is in their power. Principi leges nems scripfit : licet, si libet. In fumma fortuna, id aquius qued validius : nibil injustum quod frucines um: Plin. Pan. Sanctitas , pietas , fides , privata bona funt : qua juvat, reges cant : Tacitus. None bath written lames for the Prince: bis will is bis law. In the Senec. in tra: higheft degree of fortune, that is most just, which is of mist force : Nothing is unjust, which is profitable: Sancity, piety, faith' are private goods, and go that may that may benefit the Prince. And he must oppose against them those excellent and holy councels of the wife, that he that hath most power in him to break lawes should take most care to keep them, and live most in order. The greatest power should be the straightest bridle, the rule of power is duty; mini- Senec. mum decet libere, cui nimium licet; non fas potentes poffe, fieri and Euripides. nefas : be that bath power to do too much, ought to be least free; It is not lawfull that mighty men should do that, which is unlawful to be done. The Prince then must first be just, keeping well and inviolably his faith, the foundation of justice, to all and every one whofoever he be. Then he must cause that his justice be kept and maintained in others, for it is his proper charge, and for that cause he is installed. He must understand the causes and the persons, give unto every one that which appertaineth to him, justly according to the laws, without delay, labyrinths of fuits and controversies, involution of processe, abolishing that villanous and pernicious mystery. of pleading, which is an open Fair, or Merchandise, a lawfull and honourable robbery, concessium latrocinium; avoiding the multiplicity of laws and ordinances, a testimony of a sick Common-weal, Colum.

Corruptissima reipublica plurima leges: the most corrupted Common-Tacit. wealths abound with most laws as medicines and plaisters of a plin. Pan. body ill disposed: and all this to the end that that which is established by good laws be not destroyed by too many laws. But an advertiseyou must know, that the justice, virtue, and probity of a sovereign ment. goeth after another manner, than that of private men: it hath a gate more large and more free by reason of the great weight and dangerous charge which he carrieth and swayeth, for which cause it is fit to march with a pase, which seemeth to others uneasie and irregular, but yet it is necessary and lawfull for him, He must sometimes -Rep alide, and go out of the way, mingle prudence with justice, & as they fay, cover himself with the skin of the Lion, if that of the Fox fervenot the turn. But this is not always to be done, and in all cases,

For the weal-

but with these three conditions, that it be for the evident & important necessity of the weal-publick, (that is to say, of the State and the Prince, which are things conjoyned) unto which he must run; this is a natural obligation, and not to be dispensed with: and to procure the good of the common-wealth, is but to do his duty.

Salus populi suprema lex esto. Princes counsels, love and hate, Do homage to the law of state, That peoples safety have no mate. Other laws do very well,

But peoples Safety bears the bell.

For defence and confervation,

That it be to defend, and not to offend; to preserve himself, and not to encrease his greatness, to save and shield himself either from deceits and subtilities, or from wicked and dangerous enterprises and not practise them. It is lawful by subtilty to prevent subtiltie, and among Foxes to counterfeit the Fox. The world is full of Art and malicious couzenage; and by deceits and cunning subtilties, States are commonly overthrown, saith Aristotle. Why then should it not be lawful, nay why should it not be necessary to hinder, and to divert such evil, and to save the weal publick by the self-same means that others would undermine and overthrow it? Alwayes to deal simply and plainly with such people, and to follow the streight line of true reason and equity, were many times to betray the State, and to undo it.

Discreetly without wick-

Thirdly, it must be with discretion, to the end that others abuse it not, and fuch as are wicked take from thence occasion to give credit and countenance to their own wickednesse. For it is never permitted to leave virtue and honefty, to follow vice and diffionesty. There is no composition or compensation betwirt these two extremities. And therefore away with all injuffice, treachery, treason, and disloyalty. Curied be the doctrine of those, who teach (as hath been faid) that all things are good and lawful for Sovereigns: but yet it is sometimes necessary and required, that he mingle profit with honesty, and that he enter into composition with both. He must never turn his back to honesty, but yet sometimes go about and coast it employing therein his skill and cunning, which is good, honest and lawful, as saith that great Saint Basil, waxin & trustles narroyias; and doing for the weal-publick like as mothers and phylitians, who feed their children, and patients, with fair speeches, and deceive them for their health. To be brief, doing that closely closely which he may not do openly, joyn wisdome to valour, art and spirit where nature and the hand sufficeth not; be, as Pindarus faith, a Lion in his blows, a Fox in his counfels; a Dove and a Ser-

pent, as divine verity speaketh.

And to this matter more diffinctly, there is required in a Sovereign, diffruft, and that he keep himself close, yet so, as that he be Diffruft restill virtuous and just. Distrust which is the first, is wholly necessary, quired in a as the contrary, which is credulity, and a carel fe truft or confi- Prince. dence is vicious, and very dangerous in a Sovereign. He watcheth over all, and multanswer for all; his faults are not light, and therefore he must be well advised. If he trust much, he discovereth himfelf, and is exposed to shame and many dangers, Opportunus fit injurie, yea, encourageth fuch as are falle and treacherous, who may with little danger, and much recompence commit great wickednesse, Aditum nocendi perfido praftat fides : Trust maketb may for Seneca. the treacherous to do mischief. It is necessary therefore that he cover himself with his buckler of distrust, which the wifest have thought to be agreat part of prudence, and the finews of wisdome. that is to fay, that he watch, believe nothing, take heed of all; and hereunto doth the nature of the world induce him, wholly composed of lies, coloured, counterfeit, and dangerous, namely such as Ephichar. are neer unto him in the court and houses of great personages. He Euripids. must then trust but few, and those known by long experience and often tryals: Neither is it necessary that he abandon them, and in fuch fort leave all the cord, that he still hold it not by one end, and have an eye unto them: But he mult cover and disguise the diffidence, yea, when he distrusteth, he must make a shew and countenance of great trust and confidence. For open distrust wrongeth. and inviteth, as much to deceive, as an over-careleffe confidence; and many by making too great a flew of fear to be deceived, flew the way how they may be deceived. Multi fallere decuerunt dum timent Senec. falli: Many bave taught to deceive, whilft they fear to be deceived: as contrarily, a professed and open trust hath taken away the desire to deceive, hath obliged loyalty, and ingendred fidelity; Vult quifque fibi credi, & habita fides ipfam plerumque obligat fidem : Every man would be believed; and, to be credited for the most part binderb trust the

From diffrust comes diffimulation the science or seed thereof; for if that were not, and that there were trust and fidelity in all, dif- and diffigurefimulation which openeth the front, and covereth the thought, could lation.

have no place. Now diffimulation which is vicious in private perfons, is very necessary in Princes, who otherwise could not know how to reigne, or well to command: And they must many times diffemble, not only in warre, with thrangers and enemies; but also in time of peace, and with their subjects, though more sparingly. Simple and open men, and fuch as carry (as they fay) their hearts in their foreheads are not in any fort fit for this mysterie of commanding, and betray many times both themselves and their State: But yet he must play this part with art and dexterity, and to the purpose, neither so openly or so simply as that it may be discerned. For to what purpose dott thou hide and cover thy self, if a man may fee thee obliquely or fide-wayes? Wily devices and cunning fubtilties, are no more deceits and subtilties, when they are known and vented out. A Prince then the better to cover his art, must make profession of loving simplicity, must make much of free and open minded men, as being enemies to diffimulation : and in matters of leffe importance, he must proceed openly, to the end he may be taken for such as he seemeth.

Prattice.

All this is in omission, in retaining himself, not acting: but it is likewise required sometimes, that he passe farther, and come to action, and this is twofold. The one is to make and frame fecret practices and intelligences cunningly to win and draw unto him the hearts and fervices either of the officers, fervants, and truffieft friends of other Princes and forrein Lords or of his own subjects. This is a fubtilty which is much in request and authority, and very common among Princes, and a great point of prudence, faith Cicero. It is wrought in some fort by perswafion, but especially by presents and pensions, means so powerfull, that not only the Secretaries, the chief of the Counsel, the most inward friends and favourites, have been thereby drawn to give advice, and to divert the defignments of their Mafter; yea, great Captains to give their helping hand in the warre, but also wives have been won to discover the secrets of their husbands. Now this fubtil policy is also allowed, and approved by many, without difficulty or scruple. And to say the truth, if it be against an enemy, against a subject whom he suspecteth, and likewise against any stranger, with whom he hath no alliance nor league of fidelity and amity, it is not greatly to be doubted. But against his alliance, his friends and confederates, it cannot be good; and it is a kind of treachery, which is never permitted.

Subtiliies.

The other is to win some advantage, and to obtain his purpose, by

by close and covert means, by equivocations and fubtilties, to circumvent by fair speeches and promises, letters, embassages, working and obtaining by fubtil means, that which the difficulty of times and affairs will not permit him otherwise to do, and to do that closely which he cannot do openly. Many great and wife men fay, Plato. that this is lawful and to be permitted : Crebro mendacio & frande Plin. uti imperantes debent ad commodum subditorum. Decipere pro mori- Val. Maxbus temporum, prudentia eft: Great commanders ought to use lying and fraud for the commodity of their Subjects. To deceive according to the state and condition of time, is wisedome. It were over-boldnesse simply to affirm that it is permitted. But a man may fay, that in case of great necessity, in a troublesome and tumultuous time, when it is not only to procure a great good, but to divert a great mischief from the State and against such as are wicked and traiterous, that is no great fault, if it be a fault.

But there is a greater doubt and difficulty in other things, because they have a finell of much Injustice in them. I say much and not Injustice prefisebolly, because with their Injustice there are mingled in them some fable to the grains of justice. That which is wholly and apparently unjust, is weal publick. reproved of all, even of the wicked, at leastwife in word and shew, if not in earnest and in deed. But of these actions ill mingled, there are so many reasons and authorities on the one side and the other. that a man hardly knoweth how to refolve himself, I will reduce them here to certain heads. To dispatch, and secretly to put to death, or otherwise, without form of justice, some certain man that is troublesome and dangerous to the flate, and who well deserveth death but yet cannot without trouble and danger be enterprised & repressed by an ordinary course : herein there is nothing violated but the forms and the Prince, is he not above the form?

To cut the wings, and to leffen the great means of any one that shall raise and fortine himself too much in the State, and maketh himself fearfull to his Sovereign; not staying till he be invincible. and able to attempt any thing against the state, and the head of his Sovereign when it pleafeth him.

To take by authority the riches of the richeft in a great necessity

and poverty of the state.

To weaken and cancel the laws and priviledges of some subjects, who hold them to the prejudice and diminution of the authority of the Sovereign.

To take by prevention, and to possesse himself of a place, city, or a

province, very commodious for the State, rather than to suffer another strong and fearfull neighbour to take and possesse it, to the great hurt, subjection, and perpetual alarum of the faid State.

All these things are approved as just and lawfull by many great and wife men, provided that they succeed well and happily, of whom these are the sayings and sentences: To do justice in great matters, a men may sometimes go aftray in Small: and, To execute justice in groffe, it is permitted to do wrong by retail : for commonly the greatest actions and examples have some Injustice, which satisfieth particular men, by the profit which ariseth to all in general: Omne

Plutarch, in magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod adversus singulos

Plutarch.

Tacit.

Flam.

Sence,

Ariftot.in Politic. Democrit. utilitate tublica rependitur. That a prudent and wife Prince should not onely know how to command according to the Laws, but also the Laws themselves, if necessity require; and they must make the Laws to will it, when they cannot do what they would. In confused and desperate affairs, a Prince must not follow that which may be well spoken of, but that which is necessary to be executed. Necessity, a great support and excuse to humane fragility, infringethall law, and therefore he is not very wicked, that doth ill by constraint: Necessitas magnum imbecillitatis bumane patrocinium, omnem legem frangit : non est nocens quicunque non sponte est nocens. If a Prince cannot be wholly good, it sufficeth if he be half good, and that he be not wholly wicked; That it cannot possible be, that good princes should commit no Injustice. To all this, I would add for their justification, or diminution of their faults, that Princes finding themfelves in fuch extremities, they ought not to proceed in fuch actions. but with great unwillingnesse and grief of mind, acknowledging that it is an infelicity and a disfavour from heaven, and so carrying themsclves therein as a father, when he is enforced to cauterise or cut off a member of his child, to fave his life; or to pluck out a tooth to purchase ease. As for other speeches more bold, which refer all to profit, which they either equall or prefer before honefty, an honeft man must ever abhor them.

We have flayed long upon this point of the virtue of Juffice, because of the doubts and difficulties that arise from the accidents and necessities of States, and which do many times hinder the most resolute and best advised.

11. Valour.

After justice cometh Valour; I mean that military virtue; wifedome, courage, and fufficiency to play the warriour; necessary in a Prince for the defence and fafety of himfelf, the State, his subjects,

of the publick peace and liberty, and without which he can hardly deserve the name of a Prince.

But let us come to the fourth princely virtue, which is Clemency. a virtue which inclineth the Prince to a sweet kind of mildnesse and Clemincy. lenity, whereby he lesseneth and qualifieth the rigour of justice with judgement and discretion, it moderateth, and sweetly manageth all things, delivereth those that are faulty, relieveth those that are fallen. faveth those that are like to be loft. It is that in a Prince, which humanity is in a common person. It is contrary to cruelty, and extreme rigour, not to justice; from which it differeth not much, but it sweetneth and moderatethit. It is necessary by reason of our humane infirmity, and frequency of offences, the facility to offend: for an over-great and continuall rigour and severity, ruinatethall, and maketh chastisements contemtible; Severitas amittit assiduatate anthoritatem: It stirreth malice and rancor, moveth rebellions, and men by despight are made wicked. For fear, that keepeth men in their duty, must be sweet and temperate; if it be too sharp and continual, it is changed into rage and revenge: Temperatus timor est qui cobibet, affiduns & acer in vindiciam excitat : Temperate fear is Senec. that which refraineth, but continual fear stirreth up revenge. It is likewife very profitable to a Prince and State, it winneth the love and good will of his subjects, and consequently confirmeth and affureth the State, Firmissimum id imperium que obedientes gaudent : That Tit.Liv. Empire is mift firm, where the subjects so obey, as they rejoyce, as cap. 3. shall be said hereafter. It is likewise very honourable to a soveraign, begin, for his subjects will honour and adore him as a god, as their tutour, their father; and in stead of fearing him, they will fear all for him, left any ill happen unto him. This then shall be the lesson of the Prince, to know all that paffeth, not to believe all; yea, many times Tacit. to diffemble, withing rather to be thought to have found good fub- Agricol. jects, than to have made them such; to pardon light faults, to lessen the rigour of the great; not to be over-streight and exact in punish. ing (Which is as great a dishonour and intamy to a Prince, as to a Phylician many Patients that die under his hand) to content himfelf many times with repentance'as a sufficient chastisement.

> -ign scere pulchrum Jam mifero, panequegenus vidiffe precantem. Tis foul and fair enough : for them and thee, To pardon, where the Lord afflicis, not we.

And let him not fear that which some object very untruly, that it

Saluft, ad Cæfar.

debafeth, vilifieth, and weakneth the authority of the Sovereign and of the State, for it contrarily fortifieth it, and gives credit and vigour thereunto: And a Prince beloved, shall do more by love; than by fear, which makes men fear and tremble, but not obey ; and as Saluft discoursed to Cefar, Those states that are governed with fear, are never durable. No man can be feared by many, but he must likewise sear many, and that fear which he would put upon all, falleth upon his own head. That life is doubtfull wherein a man neither before nor behind, nor on any fide is covered, but is alwayes in agitation, in danger, in fear. It is true, as hath been faid in the beginning, that it must be with judgement; for, as tempered and well conducted it is very venerable, to being too loofe, too remisse. it is very pernicious.

After these four principal and royal virtues, there are also others though leffe worthy and necessary, yet in a second place very profitable, and requifite in a Sovereign; that is to fay, liberality, so fit and alfo liberality. necessary for a Prince, as it is lesse bentting him to be vanquished by arms, than by magnificence. But yet there is herein required a great discretion, otherwise it will be more hurtfull than commodi-

ous.

Liberality swofold.

After which are required

> There is a twofold liberality, the one confifteth in charge and shew, and this serves to small purpose. For it is an idle thing in Sovereigns, and to little end, to endeavour by great and excellive charges to make shew of themselves, or to increase their credit. especially with their subjects, where they have power to do what they lift. It is a testimony of pusillanimity, and that they understand not what they are; and belides that, it feemeth to their subjects, the fpectatours of these triumphs, that they make this glorious shew with their own spoils, that they feast it at their charges, that they feed their eyes with that, that should feed their bellies.

And again a Prince should think that he hath nothing properly his: he oweth himself to another. The other liberality consisteth in gifts bestowed upon another, and this is farre more commodious and commendable, but then it must be well governed, and he must be well advised to whom, how, and how much he must give. He must give to those that have deserved it, that have done service to the weal publick, that have run their fortunes, and spent themselves in the warres. No man will envy them, if they be not very wicked. Whereas contrarily, great gifts, bestowed without respect and merit, frame the giver, and purchase envy to the receiver, and is received

without thankfulness and acknowledgement, Some tyrants have been facrificed to the malice of the people, even by those whom they have advanced, railing on them with the reft of the people, and fecuring their goods, by making known how much they contemn and hate him, from whom they received them. Again, this liberality must be with measure; for if it be not, and that he give unto all, and upon all occasions, the ruine of the State and Sovereign must needs enfue: This is to play and to lofe all. For men will never be fatisfied, but be as excessive in asking, as the Prince shall be in giving, framing themselves not according to reason, but example; to that when the common treasury shall fail, he shall be enforced to lay hands upon the goods of another, and supply by Injustice that which ambition and prodigality did diffipate, quod ambitione exbauftum, per sectora supplendum. Now it is far better not to give at all, than to take away to give : for a man shall never enjoy in so high a degree the love and good will of those whom he hath clothed, as the hatred and ill will of those whom he hath robbed and spoiled. And again, this liberality without measure, worketh the ruine of himself: for a fountain drieth up, if it be overmuch drawn. Hieronym Liberalitate liberalitas perit: By liberality liberality perifherb. Liberality likewife must be spun with a gentle thread by little and little and not altogether: for that which is done over-speedily, be it never fo great, is in a manner insensible, and soon forgotten. Pleafant and pleafing things must be exercised with ease and leasure, that a man may have time to tall them: Things rude and cruel (if they must needs be done) must contrarily be executed speedily. There is then Art and prudence in giving, and in the practice of liberality. Falluntur quibus luxuria specie liberalitatis imponit : perdere multi Sciunt, donare nesciunt. They are deceived whom riot blindesh in Shew Tacit. of liberality: many know how to wafte, but not bow to give. And to fay the truth, liberality is not properly any of the royal virtues; for it agreeth and carrieth it felf well with tyranny it felf. And fuch as are the governours of young Princes do wrong, in working fo firong an impression of this virtue of bounty in their minds and wills, that they should refuse no means to put it in practice, and think nothing well employed, but that which they give (this is their common language); but they do it either for their own benefit, or else they know not to whom they speak it. For it is a dangerous thing to imprint liberality in the mind of him that hath means to furnish himself as much as he will at the charges of ano-

ther. A prodigat or liberal Prince without discretion and measure. is worse than a covetous : but if this liberality be well ruled and ordered, as hath been faid, it is well befeeming a Prince, and very profitable both to himfelf and the effate.

wof choler. Senec.

Another virtue requisite in a Prince, in a second degree, is Magna-Magnanimitis nimity, and greatnesse of courage, to contemn injuries and badi and moderati- speeches, and to moderate his choler; never to vex himself for the outrages and indifcretions of another: Magnam fortunam magnus animus deces; injurias & offensiones Superné despicere, indignas Cafaris ire; a great mind becometh a great fortune; and bighly to de-Spife injuries, and offences, which be unworthy the anger of Cafar. For a man to afflict himself, and to be moved, is to confesse himfelf to be faulty, whereas by neglect and light account it eafily vanisheth. Convitia, fi irafcere, agnita videntur; fi fpreta exelescunt. Thou fremest to confesse those accusations being angry; which contemned, either vanish of themselves, or return upon the Author. And if there be fit place, and a man must be angry, let it be openly and without diffimulation, in fuch fort that he give not occasion to fufpect a hidden grudge, and purpose of revenge: this is a token of a bad and incurable nature, and best bentting the baser fort: Obscuri & irrevocabiles reponunt odia : Seve cogitationis indicium fecreto. odio Catiari. Bafe persons and unrec verable do conceal their batreds. B is a token of a barbarous and cruel mind, to be g! utted mith fecret eru lee :. It doth better become a great personage to offend, than to hate. The other virtues are leffe royal and more common.

Tacit.

Tacit

on, The man, mers of the. Princt.

After virtue come the manners, carriages, and countenances that The third head become and belong unto Majesty, very requisite in a Prince. I will of this provift- not fland upon this point : I onely, fay, as it were paffing by, that not onely nature helpeth much hereunto, but also art and study. Hereunto do appertain the good and beautiful composition of the vifage, his port, pale, speech, habiliments. The general rule in all these points, is a fweet, moderate, and venerable gravity, walking betwixt fear and love, worthy of all honour and reverence. There is likewise his residence, and conversation or familiarity. Touching his relidence or abode, let it be in some glorious, magnificent, and eminent places and as neer as may be in the middle of the whole flare, to the end he may have an eye over all, like the Sun which. from the middle of heaven giveth light to all: for keeping himfelf at one end, he giveth occasion to those that are farthest from him. to rife against him, as he that standeth upon one end of the table. maketh. make h the other end to rife up. His conversation and company, let it be rare; for to thew and to communicate himfelf too much, breedeth contempt and dejecteth majelty : Continues afpecine minus verendos mignos bomines ipfa fatietate facit : Majestati major ex longin uo Lucius. reverentia, quia omne ignoium pro magnifico eft. Often and day'y foed Tacic. caufeth great men the leffeto be feared : But the rareneffe fibei prefence procures the greater reverence; because all strange and unknown things feem

italely and magnificent.

After these three things, knowledge of the state, virtue, and The fourth manners, which are in the person of the Prince, come those things bead of this which are neer and about the Prince: That is to fay, in the fourth provision. place Counfel, the great and principal point of this politick Do- counsel. Arine, and so important, that it is in a manner all in all. It is the foul of the state, and the spirit that giveth life, motion and action to all the other parts: and for that cause it is said, that the managing of affairs confifteth in prudence. Now it were to be withed that a Prince had in himfelf counfel and prudence sufficient to govern and to provide for all. Which is the first and highest degree of wisedome, as hath been said; and if so it were, the affaires would go Chap. 1far better: but this is rather to be wished than hoped for, whether it be for want of good nature, or a good inflitution; and it is almost impossible that one onely head should be sufficiently furnished for fo many matters. Newit princeps fua fcientia cuntta completti, Tacit. nec unius mens tanta molis eft capax. The Prince cannot comprehend all things by his own knowledge, neither is the mind of one alone caps ble of fo much greatneffe. A ione man feeth and heareth but little. Now Kings have need of many eyes, and many ears; and great burdens, and great affaires have need of great helps. And therefore it is requifite that he provide and furnish himself with good counsel. and fuch men as know how to give it: for he whofoever he be, that will take all upon himself, is rather held to be proud, than discreet or wife. A Prince then had need of faithfull friends and fervitours to be his affiftants, quos affum it in partem curarum, whom he may take to bear part of his cares. These are his true treasures, and pro- Tit. Livius. htable instruments of the state : In the choice whereof he should espe- Tacit: cially labour and employ his whole judgement, to the end he may have them good. There are two forts of them; the one aid the Plin. Prince with their duty, counfel, and tongue, and are called Counfellors; the other ferve him with their hands and actions, and may be called Officers. The first, are farre more honourable: For

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the two greatest Philosophers say, that it is a sacred and divine thing well to deliberate, and to give good counsel.

The condition. of good counfellors, Fidelity. Plin. Sufficiency. Plin.

Now Counsellors mult first be faithful, that is to fay in a Word. honeft men. Optimum quemque fideliffimum puto : Every man

Curtius.

Liberty.

Tacit.

that is truly baneft, I hold to be most faithful. Secondly, they must be sufficient in this point, that is to say, skilful in the State, diversly experimented and tryed (for difficulties and afflictions are excellent leffons and instructions ; Mibi foriuna multis rebus ereptis u'um dedit bene suadendi: Fortune having taken from me many things baib given me the faculty of well perswading.) And in a word, they must be wife and prudent, indifferent quick, and not over sharp; for fuch kind of men are too moveable; novandis quam gerendis rebut aptiora ingenia illa ignea : Thefe fiery wits are fitter for innovation, than admiration. And that they may be fuch, it is requifite, that they be old and ripe; for, belides that young men by reason of the fost and delicate tendernesse of their age, are eafily deceived, they do eafily believe and receive every impression. It is good that about Princes there be some wife. some fubtile; but much more such as are wife, who are required for honour and for all times, the fubtile onely fometimes for necessity. Thirdly, it is necessary that in proposing and giving good and wholesome counsel, they carry themselves freely and couragiouslywithout flattery, or ambiguity, or difguilement, not accommodating their language to the present state of the Prince; Ne cum fortuna potius principis loquantur. quam cum ipfo ; Left they speak rather with the fortune of the Prince than with him If; but without sparing the truth, speak that which is fit and requisite. For although liberty, roundnesse of speech and fidelity, hurt and offend for the time, those against whom it opposeth it self, yet afterwards it is reverenced and esteemed. In presentia quibus resistis, offendis; deinde ilis ipfis suspicitur laudaturque : For the prefent thou offendest them whom thou contradictest, but afterwards thou art even of them respected and praised. And fourthly, Constantly, without yielding, varying and changing at every meeting to please and follow the humour, pleasure, and passion of another; but without opinative obstinacy, and a spirit of contradiction which troubleth and hindereth all good deliberation, he must sometimes change his opinion, which is not in constancy, but Prudence. For a wise man marcheth not alwaies with one and the same pase, although he follow the fame way; he changeth not, but accommodateth himfelf;

Non semper in uno gradu, sed una via; um se mutat, sed aprat : As a good mariner ordereth his failes according to the times, and the Senec. wind; it is necessary many times to turn and wind, and to arrive to that place obliquely, by fetching a compass, when he cannot do it directly, and by a streight line. Again; a religious dexterity to Silence. keep fecret the counsels and deliberations of Princes, is a thing very nec. ffary in the managing of affairs ; Res magne suffineri ne- Curtius. queunt ab eo cui tacere grave eft: Great affairs cannot be sustained by him, who cannot be secret. And it sufficeth not to be secret, but he must not pry and search into the secrets of his Prince; that is an ill, and a dangerous thing, Exquirere ebditos principis sensus, illicitum Tacit. & anceps : yea he must be unwilling and avoid all means to know them. And these are the principal good conditions and qualities of a Counfellor, as the evils which they must warily avoid, are prefumptuous confidence, which maketh a man to deliberate and de- The vices that termine over boldly and obstinately; for a wife man in deliberating counsellors thinketh and rethinketh, doubting what foever may happen, that must avoid. he may be the bo'der, to execute. Nam animus vereri qui scit, scit Presumptuous tuto aggredi: For the mind that knoweth how to fear, knoweth how confidence. with Safety to execute. Contrarily the fool is hardy and violent in Tit. Livius, his deliberation: but when he comes to the iffue, his nofe falls a b'eeding: Consilia calida & audacia prima specie leta sunt, tractatu dura, eveniu triftis: Hafty and audacious counfels at the first here, are plausible, but in the managing prove bard, and in the end full of Passion. discontent. Secondly, all passion of choler, envy, hatred, avarice, concupifcence, and all private and particular affection, the deadly Tacit. poison of judgment and all good understanding; Private ressemper offecere, officientque publicis confiliis, possimum veri affecius & judicii venenum sua cuique uti'itas : Private affaires have ever been burtful, and do binder the publick courfels: and every mans particular Precipitation profit is the worst possin of true affection and judgement. Lattly, pre- See I. 2 cap. cipitation, an enemy to all good counsel, and onely fit to do mis- 10. Tacit. cheif. And thus you fee what manner of men, good Counfellors ought

Now a Prince must make choice of such as are good, either by The duty of his own knowledge and judgement, or if he cannot so do, by their the Prince in reputation which doth seldome deceive, whereupon one of them choosing good said to his Prince. Hold us for such as we are esteemed to be. Nam counsellors. finguli decipere & decipi possure: nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt: For every one may deceive and be deceived: no man all; all

have deceived none: And let him take heed that he choose not his minions and favourites, Courtiers, flatterers, flaves, who thame their matters and betray them. There is nothing more dangerous than the counsel of the cabinet. And having chosen and found them, he must wisely make use of them, by taking counsel of them at due times and hours, not attending the event and execution, and lofing the time whileft he hearkemeth to them; and this must be do with judgment, not suffering himself to be carried over-loosly by their counfels, as that simple Emperour Claudius was; and with mildnesse. without roughnesse, it being more reasonable, as that wise Ma. Anconius was wont to fay, to follow the counfel of a good number of friends, than fuch as are constrained to bend unto his will. And making use of them, to do it with an indifferent authority, neither rewarding them with presents for their good counsel, left by the hope of the like presents he draw such as are wicked unto him, nor use them over-roughly for their bad counfels; for he shall hardly find any to give him counfel, if there be danger in giving it : and again many times bad counsel hath a better successe than good, by the provident' care and direction of the Sovereign. And fuch as give good counsel, that is to say happy and certain, are not therefore alwayes the best, and most faithfull servicors, not for their lib rty of speech neither, which he should rather agree unto, looking into such as are fearfull and flatterers with a wary eye. For milerable is that Prince with whom men hide or disguise the truth. Cujus aures ita formata funt, ut afpera que utilis, & nil nifi jucundum & lafurum accipiant : Whose ears are so framed, that they will not bearken to profitable things that are barth, nor any thing but what is pleasing though burtfull. And laftly, he must conceal his own judgement and resolution, secrecy being the soul of counsel: Nulla meliora confilia, quam que ignoraverit adversarius antequam fierent : They are the best counsels which the adversary knowerb not before they be effected.

of Officers.

As touching officers which are in the next place, and who serve the Prince and State in some charge, he must make choice of honest men, of good and honest families. It is to be thought that such as serve the Prince, are the best fort of people, and it is not sit that base people should be neer him, and command others, except they raise themselves by some great and singular virtue, which may supply the want of nobility: but by no means let them be infamous, double, dangerous, and men of some odious condition. So likewise they should be men of understanding, and employed according to their

natures.

Tacit.

Veget.

natures. For fome are fit for the affairs of the War, others for peace. Some are of opinion, that it is best to choose men of a sweet carriage, and indifferent virtue: for those excellent surpassing foirits. that keep themselves alwaies upon the point, and will pardon nothing, are not commonly fit for affaires; Ut pares negotiis, neque supra fint; redi non eredi, Men fufficient for their employment, not faltidious;

equal in their affaires, and not much above them.

After counsel, we place Treasure, a great and puissant mean. This is the finews, the feet, the hands of the flate. There is no fword fo The fifth head sharp and penetrable, as that of silver, nor master so imperious, nor of provision, oratour that winneth the hearts and wills of men, or conquers caftles and cities, as riches. And therefore a Prince must provide that Exchange his treasury never fail, never be dryed up. This science consisteth in knowledge in three points, to lay the foundation of them, to employ them well three points, to have alwaies a refervation, and to lay up fome good part thereof for all needs and occasions that may happen. In all these three a Prince must avoid two things, Injustice, and base Niggardlinesse.

preserving right towards all, and honour for himself.

Touching the first which is to lay the foundation, and to increase the treasury, there are divers means, and the forces are divers which 1. To lay the are not all perpetual, nor alike affared, that is to fay, the demain foundation. and publick revenue of the State, which must be managed and used, without the alienating of it in any fort, forasmuch as by nature it is facred and inalienable. Conquelts made upon the enemy, which must be profitably employed, and not prodigally dislipated, as the ancient Romins were wont to do, carrying to the Exchequer very great fums, and the treasuries of conquered cities and countreys, as Livie reporteth of Camillus Flaminius, Paulus Emilius, of the Scipioes, Luculus, Cofir; and afterwards receiving from those conquered countreys, whether from their natural country men left behind them, or from colonies fent thither certain annual revenues, Presents, gratuities, pensions, free donations, tributes of friends, allies, and fubicats, by testaments, by donations among the living, as the Lawyers term it; or otherwise. The entrance, coming and going, and paffages of merchandize, into docks, havens, rivers, as well upon strangers as subjects, a means just; lawful, ancient, general, and very commodious; with these conditions: Not to permit the traffick and transportation of things necessary for life, that the subjects may be surnished; not of raw unwrought wares, to the end the subject may be set on work, and gain the profit of his

21

Anton. Pius Severus. Augustus

own labours. But to permit the traffick of things wrought and dreffed, and the bringing in of fuch wares as are raw, and not of fuch as are wrought; and in all things to charge the stranger much more than the subject. For a great forrein imposition increaseth the treasure and comforteth the subject; to moderate neverthelesse the imposts upon those things that are brought in, necessary for life. These four means are not only permitted, but just, lawful, and honeft. The fifth, which is hardly honeft, is the traffick which the Sovereign useth by his factors, and is practifed in divers manners more or leffe base; but the vilest and most pernicious is of honours, estates, offices, benefices. There is a mean that cometh near to traffick, and therefore may be placed in this rank, which is not very dishonest. and hath been practifed by very great and wife Princes, which is, to employ the coin of the Treasure or Exchequer to some small profit, as five in the hundred, and to take good fecurity for it either gages, or some other found and sufficient affurance. This hath a threefold use, it encreaseth the treasure, giveth means to particular men to traffick, and to make gain; and which is best of all, it faveth the publick Treasure, from the paws of our thieving Courtiers, the importunate demands and flatteries of favourites, and the overgreat facility of the Princel And for this only cause, some Princes have lent their publick treasure without any profit or interest, but onely upon pain of a double forseiture, for not payment at the day. The fixth and last is in the lones and subsidies of subjects, whereunto he must not come but unwillingly, and then when other means do fail, and necessity presseth the State. For in this case it is just, according to that rule, That all is just that is necessary. But it is requifice, that these conditions be added after this first of necessity. To levy by way of lone (for this way will yield most Silver, because of the hope men have to recover their own again, and that they shall lose nothing, befides the credit they receive by succouring the wealpublick) and afterwards the necessity being past, and the warres ended to repay it again, as the Romans did, being put to anextremity by Hannibal. And if the common treasury be so poor that it cannot repay it, and that they must needs proceed by way of impolition; it is necessary that it be with the consent of the subjects, making known unto them their poverty and necessity, and preaching the word of that King of kings, Dominus iis opus habet : The Lord bath need of them: infomuch that they make them fee; if need be, both the receit, and the charge. And, if it may be, let per-

perswasion prevail without constraint; Themistocles said, Impetrare melius eft, quam imperare: It is better to obtain by request, than by command. It is true, that the prayers of Sovereigns, are commandements ; Sais imperat qui rogat potentia : armate funt preces regum : He commandeth Sufficiently that intreateth with power : the requests of Kings are armed: but yet let it be in the form of a free donation, at the least that they be extraordinary moneys, for a certain prefixt time and not ordinary; and never prescribe this law upon the subjects, except it be with their own consent. Thirdly, that fuch impolitions be levied upon the goods, and not the heads of men, (capitation being odious to all honest people) the real and not personal (it being unjust that the rich, the great, the nobles, should not pay at all, and the poorer people of the countrey should pay all). Fourthly, that they be equally upon all. Inequality afflicteth much; and to these ends these moneys must be bestowed upon fuch things as the whole world hath need of, as Salt, Wine, to the end that all may contribute to the present necessity. Well may a man, and he ought, to lay extraordinary impolts and great, upon such merchandize and other things as are vicious, and that serve to no other end, than to corrupt the subjects, as whatsoever serveth for the increase of luxury, infolency, curiofity, superfluity in viands, apparrel, pleafures, and all manner of licentious living, without any other prohibition of these things. For the denial of a thing sharpneth the appetite.

The second point of this science, is well to employ the Treasure. 20 employ the And these in order are the articles of this imployment and charge. treasure. The maintenance of the Kings house, the pay of men of war, the wages of officers, the just rewards of those that have deserved well of the common weal, pensions and charitable succours to poor, yet commendable, persons. These five are necessary; after which come those that are very profitable, to repair cities, to fortifie and to defend the frontiers, to amend the high-wayes, bridges, and paffages, to establish Colledges of honour, of virtue and learning; to build publick houses. From these five forts of reparations, fortifications, and foundations, cometh very great profit, besides the publick good: Arts and Artificers are maintained; the envy and malice of the people because of the levy of moneys ceaseth, when they fee them well employed : and thefe two plagues of a common-weal idlenesse and poverty, are driven away. Contrarily, the great bounties, and unreasonable gifts, to some particular favourites; the great,

proud

proud, and necessary edifices, superfluous and vain charges, are odious to the subjects, who murmur that a man should spoil a thou-fand to cloath one; that others should brave it with their substance,

The third point confifteth in the refervation, which a man must

make for necessity, to the end he be not constrained at a need, to

have recourse to heady, unjust, and violent means, and remedies:

this is that which is called the Treasury or exchequer. Now as to gather together too great aboundance of treasure of gold and silver, though it be by honest and just means, is not alwayes the best is be-

build upon their bloud and their labours.

3. To make Spare and reservation.

May 20.

2 Paralip.

cause it is an occasion of warre active or passive; either by breeding envy in others to fee it done, when there is no cause, their being plenty-of other means; or else because it is a bait to allure an enemy to come, and it were more honourable to employ them as hath been faid: So to spend all and leave nothing in the exchequer is far worse, for this were to play to lose all; wise Princes take heed of this. The greatest treasuries that have been in former times, are that of Darius the last King of the Persians, where Alexander found fourscore millions of gold. That of Tiberius, 97 millions; of Trajan, 55. millions kept in Egypt. But that of David did farre exceed all these (a thing almost incredible in so small estate) wherein there was fix score millions. Now to provide that these great treasuries be not spent, violated or robbed, the ancients caused them to be melted, and cast into great wedges and bowl, as the Persians and Romans: or they put them into the Temples of their uods, as the fafelt places; as the Greeks in the temple of Apillo, which neverthelesse hath been many times, pilled and robbed; the Romans in the temple of Saiurn. But the best and securest way and most profitable is, as hath been said, to lend them with some small profit to particular persons, upon good gages, or sufficient security. So likewise for the safer custody of the treasures from thieves and robbers, the managing of them, and the exchequer offices must not be fold to base and mechanical persons, but given to gentlemen, and men of honour, as the ancient Romans were accufromed to do, who chose out young men from amongst their Nobles and great houses, and such as aspired to the greatest honours and charges of the common-wealth.

The fixth head of this provifion. An armed power.

After counsel and treasure, I think it not amisse to put Arms which cannot subsist nor be well and happily levied and conducted without these two. Now an armed power is very necessary for

a Prince to guard his person and his State: for it is an abuse to think to govern a State long without Arms. There is never any furety between the weak and the strong; and there are alwayes some that will be stirring either within or without the State. Now this power is either ordinary at all times, or extraordinary in times of warre. The ordinary confilteth in the persons and places; The persons are of two forts; the guard for the body and the person of the Sovereign. which serve not only for the surety and conservation, but also for his honour and ornament: for that good faying of Agefilans is not perpetually true, and it were too dangerous to try and truft unto it, that a Prince may live fafely enough without a guard, if he command his subjects, as a good father doth his children (for the malice of men stayeth not it self in so fair a way.) And certain companies, maintained and alwayes ready for those necessities and fudden occurrences that may fall out. For at fuch times to be bufied in levying powers is great imprudency. Touching the places, they are the fortresses and citadels in the frontiers, in the place of which, some, and the ancient too, do more allow of the colonies. The extraordinary force confifteth in arms, which he must leavie and furnish in times of warre. How he should govern himself therein, that In the Chapter is to fay, enterprize and make warre, it belongeth to the fecond following, part, which is of the action: this first belongeth to provision. Onely I here say, that a wife Prince should besides the guard of his body, have certain people alwayes prepared, and experienced in arms, either in great number or leffe, according to the extent or largeness of his State, to represse a sudden rebellion or commotion, which may happen either without or within his State, referving the raiting of greater forces, untill he must make warre, either offensive or defensive, willingly and of purpose: and in the mean time keeping his arfenals and store-houses well. furnished, and provided with all-sorts of offensive and defensive arms, to furnish both foot and horsmen, as likewise with munitions, engines, and instruments for warre. Such preparation is not onely necessary to make warre (for these things are not found . and prepared in a short time) but to let and hinder it. For no man is fo fool-hardy as to attempt a State, which he knoweth to be ready to receive him, and thorowly furnished. A man multarm. himself against warres, to the end he may not be troubled with it Qui cupit pacem, paret bellum: He that defireth peace, let bim provide for marre. .

After:

The feventh head of this Provision, Alliance or Leagues,

With whom.

After all these necessary and essential provisions, we will lastly put Alliances or Leagues, which is no smal prop or stay of a State. But wiscome is very necessary in the choice thereof, to build well, and to take heed with whom and how he joyn in alliance; which he must do with those that are neighbours and puissant: For if they be weak and far off, wherewith can they give aid? It is rather likely, that if they be assaulted, from their ruine ours may follow. For then are we bound to succour them, and to joyn with them because of this league whosever they be. And if there be danger in making this alliance openly, let it be done secretly, for it is the part of a wise man to treat of peace and alliance with one, in the view and knowledge of all, with another secretly; but yet so, as that it be without treachery and wickednesse, which is utterly forbidden, but not wisedome and policy, especially for the desence and surety of his State.

26.

Finally, there are many forts and degrees of Leagues and alliances; the leffer and more simple is for commerce, and traffick only, but commonly it comprehendeth amity, commerce, and hospitality; and it is either defentive only, or defensive and offensive together, and with exception of certain Princes and States; or without exception. The more straight and perfect is that which is offensive and defensive towards all, and against all, to be a friend to his friends, and an enemy to his enemies; and fuch it is good to make, with those that are ftrong and puiffant. And by equal alliance, Leagues are likewife either perpetual, or limited to certain times, commonly they are perpetual, but the better and furest is to limit it to certain times, to the end he may have means to reform, to take away, or add to the articles, or wholly to depart if need be, as he shall see it most expedient. And though a man would judge them to be fuch, as should be perpetual, yet it is better to renew them (which a man may and must do, before the time be expired) than to make them perpetual. For they languish and grow old; and whosoever findeth himself aggrieved, will fooner break them, if they be perpetual, than if they be limited, in which case he will rather stay the time. And thus much of these seven necessary provisions.

CHAP. III.

The fecond part of this Politick Prudence, and Government of the State, which concerneth the Adion and Governement of the Prince.

TAving discoursed of the provision, and instructed a sovereign with what, and how he should furnish and defend himself and A summary his State, let us come to the action; and let us fee how he should em-description ploy himself, and make use of these things, that is to say, in a word, of the action well to command and govern. But before we come to handle this of the Prince. distinctly, according to the division which we have made, we may fay in groffe, that well to govern and to maintain himfelf in his State confifteth in the acquifition of two things, Good-will and Authority. Good-will is a love and affection toward the Sovereign and his Benevolence, State; Authority is a great and good opinion, and honourable efteem Authority, of the Sovereign and his State. By the first, the Sovereign and the two Pillars State is loved : By the second, feared. These are not contrary things, of a Prince but different, as love and fear. Both of them respect the subjects and and State. strangers; but it seemeth that more properly, Benevolence belongeth to the Subject, and Authority to the stranger; Amorem aprid populares, metum apud boftes querat : The Prince muft feek love from his own, fear from enemies. To speak simply and absolutely, Autho- Tacit. rity is the more strong and vigorous, more large and durable. The temperature and harmony of both is a perfect thing, but according to the divertity of States of Peoples, their Natures and Humours, the one is more easie and more necessary in some places than in others. The means to attain them both, are contained and handled in that which hath been faid before, especially of the manners and virtue of a Sovereign: nevertheleffe of each, we will speak a little.

Benevolence or Good will (a thing very profitable, and almost wholly necessary, insomuch that of it selfit prevaileth much, and Benevolence without it all the rest hath but little assurance) is attained by is attained three means, gentlenesse or clemency, not only in words and deeds, by clemency but much more in his commands, and the administration of the State; for so do the Natures of men require, who are impatient both of serving wholly, and maintaining themselves in entire liberty, Nec tram fervitutem patitur, nec totam libertatem : Neither to endure Tacit. whilly fervitude, nor altogether liberty: They obey willingly as Sub-

iccts,

The lecond part of this Politick Prudence

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Senec.

Tacit.

jects, not as flaves, Domiti ut pareant, non ut ferviant. And to fay the truth, a min doth more willingly obey him which commandeth gently and mildly; Remissus imperanti melius pareiur; qui vult amari languida regnet manu: He ibat will be beloved let bim reign with a loft band. Power (faith Cefar, a great Doctor in this matter) indiffe. rently exercised preserveth all; but he that keepeth not a moderation in his commands, is never beloved nor affured. But yet it must not be an over-loofe, and foft effeminate mildnesse, lett a man thereby come into contempt, which is worfe than fear. Sed in corrupto ducis bonore: The Leaders bonour being both ways intemerate. It is the part of Wisedome to temper this, neither seeking to be feared by making

himself terrible, nor loved by too much debusing himself.

The fecond mean to attain benevolence is beneficence, I mean first towards all, especially the meaner people, by providence & good policy, whereby Corn and all other necessary things for the sufte. nance of this life may not be wanting, but fold at an indifferent price,

yea may abound, if it be possible, that dearness and dearth afflict not the subject. For the meaner fort have no care for the publick good, but for this end, Vulgo una ex republica annona cura: The onely care the vilgar fort bave of the Common-wealth, is the provision of vicinal and other

neceffaries. The third mean is liberality (Beneficence more special) which is a bait, yea an enchantment, to draw, to win, and captivate the wills

of men: So sweet a thing is it to receive, honourable to give. In such fort, that a wife man hath faid, That a State did better defend it felf by good deeds, than by Arms. This virtue is alwaies requilite, but especially in the entrance, and in a new State. To whom, how much, and how liberality must be exercised, hath been said before. The means of

Benevolence hath been wisely practised by Augustus; Qui militem donis, populum annona, cunctos du'cedine otii pellexit: wbo mon the fouldi-

ers with gifts, the people with provision of victuals, and all with the sweet-

nels of rest and peace.

Authority is another Pillar of State; Majestas imperit, Salutis tutela : 7 be majefty of Empire, is the guardian of Safety. The invincible forcress of a Prince, whereby he bringeth into reason all those that dare to contemn or make head against him: Yea, because of this they dare not attempt, and all men defire to be in grace and favour with him. It is composed of fear and respect, by which two, a Prince

By what it is and his State is feared of all, and secured. To attain this authority required. besides the provision of things above-named there are three means

which

Ben ficence

Tacit.

Liberality.

Chap.2. art,23.

Tacit.

Authority.

which must carefully be kept in the form of commanding.

The first is feverity, which is better, more wholesome, affured, durable, than com mon lenity, and great facility: which proceedeth first Severity. from the nature of the people, which as Ariffeele faith, is not fo well born and bred, as to be ranged into duty and obedience by love, or shame, but by force and fear of punishment; And secondly, from the general corruption of the manners, and contagious licentiousnesse of the world, which a man must not think to mend by mildness and lenity, which doth rather give aid to ill attempts. It engendreth contempt, and love of impunity, which is the plague of Common-weals Cicero. and States: Il'ecebra peccandi maxima, spes impunitatis: Hope of imbunity, is the greatest allurement to offend, It is a favour done to many, and the whole weal-publick, sometimes well to chastise some one. And he muß fometimes cut off a finger, left the Gangrene, spread it felf through the whole arm, according to that excellent answer of a King of Thrace, whom one telling that he played the mad-man and not the King, answered, That his madnesse made his subjects found and wife. Severity keepeth Officers and Magistrates in their devoir, driveth away Flatterers, Courtiers, wicked perfons, impudent demanders, and petty Tyrannies. Whereas contrariwife, too great telicity openeth the Gate to all these kind of people, whereupon followeth an exhaufting of the Treasuries, impunity of the wicked, impoverishing of the people, as Rheums and Fluxes in a rheumatick and diseased body fall upon those parts that are weakest.

The goodnesse of Pertinax, the licentious liberty of Heliogabalus, are thought to have undone and ruinated the Empire: the feverity of Severus, and afterwards of Alexander, did re-establish it, and brought it into good effate. But yet this severity must be with some moderation, intermission, and to purpose, to the end that rigour towards a few, might hold the whole world in fear: Ut pens ad paucos, metus ad omnes: That as the punishment lights upon a few, so the

fear may invade all.

And the more seldome punishments serve more for the Reformation of State, faith an ancient Writer, than the more frequent. This is to be understood, if Vices gather not strength, and men grow not opinatively obttinate in them; for then he must not spare either fword or fire: Crudelem medicum intemperans ager facit: An intemperate fick person maketh a cruel Physitian.

The fecond is Conftancy, which is a flayed Refolution, whereby the Prince marching always with one and the same pace, with- Constancy.

B b a

out altering or changing, maintaineth always, and enforceth the obfervation of the ancient Laws and Customs, to change and to be
re-advised, besides that it is an Argument of inconstancy and irresolution, it bringeth both to the Laws, and to the Sovereign, and to the
State, contempt and sinister opinion. And this is the reason why
the wifer fort do so much forbid the change, and rechange of any
thing in the Laws and Customes, though it were for the better: for
the change or remove bringeth alwaies more evil and discommodity, besides the uncertainty and the danger, than the novelty can
bring good. And therefore all Innovators are suspected, dangerous,
and to be chased away. And there cannot be any cause or occasion
strong and sufficient enough to change, if it be not for a very greatevident, and certain utility, or publick necessity. And in this case likewise he must proceed as it were stealingly, sweetly and slowly, by

little and little, and almost insen fibly, leviter & lente.

Ariftot.

Senec.

Against Authority and Tyranny.

The third is to hold always fast in the hand the Stern of the State, the Rains of Government, that is to fay, the honour and power to command and to ordain, and not to truft or commit it to another; referring all things to his Counsel, to the end that all may have their Eye upon him, and may know that all dependeth upon him. That Sovereign that loseth never so little of his Authority marreth all. And therefore it standeth him upon; not overmuch to raise and make great any person, Communis custadia principatus, neminem unum mignum facere: the common and furest guard of principality is to make no one man too great. And if there be already any fuch, he must draw him back, and bring him into order, but yet sweetly and gently; and never make great and high charges and offices perpetual, or for many years, to the end, a man may not get means, to fortifie himfelf against his mafter, as it many times falleth out. Nil tam utile, quam brevem potestatem effe, qua mag na sit. Nothing so. profitable, as fort Authority if it be great.

Behold here the just and honest means in a Sovereign to make tain with benevolence and love his Authority, and to make himself to be loved and feared altogether: for the one without the other is neither secure nor reasonable. And therefore we abhor a tyrannical Authority, and that fear that is an Enemy to love and benevolence, and is with a publick hate, Oderint quem metann: They will have whom they fear, which the wicked seek after, abusing their power. The conditions of a good Prince and of a Tyrant, are nothing alike, and easily distinguished. They may be all reduced to these two

points,

points, the one to keep the laws of God and of nature, or to trample them under foot; the other to do all for the publick good and profit of the subject, or to employ all to his particular profit and pleasure. Now a Prince, that he may be such as he should, must alwaies remember, that, as it is a felicity to have power to do what a man will, fo it is true greatness to will what a man should; Cafari Plinde Traje. exm omnia licent, propier boc minus liceat : ut felicitatis eft poffe quantum velis, fic magnitudinis velle quantum poffis, vel potius quantum debeas. Seeing all things are lawfull for Cafar to do , it is therefore the leffe larful for him to do it: As it is a felicity to be able to do robatfoever thou wilt, so it is a point of greatnesse to will what thou shouldest, or rather what thou oughteft. The greatest infelicity that can happen to a Prince, is to believe that all things are lawful, that he can, and that pleaseth him. So soon as he consenteth to this thought, of good he is made wicked. Now this opinion is fetled in them by the help of flatterers, who never cease alwayes to preach unto them the greatness of their power; and very few faithful servitors there are, that dare to tell them what their duty is. But there is not in the world a more dangerous flattery, than that wherewith a man flattereth himfelf; when the flatterer and flattered is one and the fame, there is no remedy for this disease. Neverthelesse it falleth out sometimes in confideration of the times, persons, places, occasions, that a good King mutt do those things which in outward appearance may seem tyrannical, as when it is a question of repressing another tyranny, that is to fay, of a furious people, the licentious liberty of whom is a true tyranny; or of the noble and rich, who tyrannize over the poor and meaner people: or, when the King is poor and needy not knowing where to get filver, to raile lones upon the richest. And we must not think that the severity of a Prince is alwaies tyranny, or his guards and fortreffes, or the majefty of his imperious commands; which are sometimes profitable, yea necessary, and are more to be defired than the fweet prayers of tyrants.

Thefe are the two true flayes and pillars of a Prince, and of a State. Hate and conif by them a Prince know how to maintain and preserve himself temps, two from the two contraries, which are the murtherers of a Prince and murtherers of State, that is to fay, Hatred and contempt: whereof, the better to a Prince. avoid them, and to take heed of them, a word or two. Harred Pol. contrary to benevolence, is a wicked and obstinate affection of sub- Harris. jects against the Prince and his State: It ordinarily proceedeth B b 3 from

Cicero.

from fear of what is to come, or desire of revenge of what is past; or from them both. This hatred when it is great, and of many, a Prince can hardly escape it; Multorum odiis nulla opes pessuant resister: No power or riches can resist the batred of many. He is exposed to all, and there needs but one to make an end of all. Multa illis manus, illi uns cervix: They have many hands, he but one neck. It standeth him upon therefore to preserve himself, which he shall do by slying those things that ingender it, that is to say, cruelty and avarice, the contraries to the aforesaid instruments of benevolence.

Matred proseedeth from ernelty. Cap. 2. art. 12.

An advice for punishments.

He must preserve himself, pure and free from base cruelty, unworthy greatnesse, very infamous to a Prince: But contrarily he must arm himself with clemency, as hath been said before, in the virtues required in a Prince. But forasmuch as punishments, though they be just and necessary in a state, have some image of cruelty, he must take heed to carry himself therein with dexterity, and for this end I will give him this advice: Let him not put his hand to the fword of juttice, but very seldome and unwillingly: Libenter damnat, qui cito : ergo ili parsimmia etiam vilifimi sanguinis : He condemnet b willingly, that doth it haftily; therefore he is to be faring even of the baself blood. 2. Enforced for the publick good, and rather for example, and to terrifie others from the like offence : 3. That it be to punish the faulty, and that without colour, or joy, or other paffion: and if he must needs shew some passion, that it be compassion: 4. That it be according to the accustomed manner of the Country. not after a new; for new punishments are testimonies of cruelty; 5. Without giving his affiftance, or being present at the execution: 6. And if he must punish many, he must dispatch it speedily, and all at a blow; for to make delays, and to use one correction after another, is a token that he taketh delight, pleaseth and seedeth himself therewith.

I 2

He must likewise preserve himself from avarice, a sin ill bestting a great personage. It is shewed either by exacting and gathering overmuch, or by giving too little. The first doth much displease the people, by nature covetous, to whom their goods are astheir blood and their life. The second, men of service and morit, who have laboured for the publick good, and have reason to think that they deserve some recompence. Now how a Prince should govern himself herein, and in his treasure and exchequer affairs, eitherin laying their soundation, or spending or preserving them, hath.

ocen.

been more at large discoursed in the second Chapter. I will here only fay, That a Prince must carefully preserve himself from three things: First from resembling, by over-great and excessive impofition, those tyrants, fubject-mongers, Cannibals; Qui devorant plebem ficat efcam panis, SauoCogos, quorum grarium fpoliarium civium cruentarumque pradarum receptaculum; Who deviur the people as a mirfel of bread, and whose store-bouse is the receptacle of the spils of the Citizens, and bloody preys: for this breeds danger of sumult, witnesse so many examples, and miserable accidents: Secondly, from base unhonest parlimony, as well in gathering together, (indignum lucrum ex omni occasione odorari; & ut dicitur. eliam à morino auferre; To smell unworthy gain out of every occafion; and, as it is faid, to take away even from the dead : and therefore he must not serve his turn herein with accusations, confiscations, unjust spoils) as in giving nothing, or too little, and that mercenarily and with long and importunate fuit : Thirdly, from violence, in the levie of his provision, and that, if it be possible, he never seize upon the moveables and utenfils of husbandry. This doth principally belong to receivers and purveyers, who by their rigorous courses, expose the Prince to the hatred of the people, and dishonour him, a people fubril, and cruell, with fix hands and three heads, as one faith. A Prince therefore must provide that they be honest men, and if they fail in their duties, to correct them severely with rough chastisement, and great amends; to the end they may rettore and disgorge like spunges, that which they have sucked and drawn unjustly from the people.

Let us come to the other worse enemy, contempt; which is a sinister, base, and abject opinion of the Prince, and the State; This is the death of a state, as authority is the soul and life thereof. What doth maintain one only man, yea an old and worn man, over so many thousands of men, if not authority, and the great esteem of his person: which if it be once lost by contempt, the Prince and State must necessarily fall to the ground. And even as authority, as hath been said, is more strong and large than benevolence, so contempt is more contrary and dangerous than hatred which dareth arrown out any thing, being held back by fear, if contempt which shaketh off-sear, arm it not, and giveth courage to execute. It is true that contempt is not so common, especially if he be a true and lawfull Prince, except he be such a one, as doth wholly degrade and protti-Plin. In Paneture himself, Et videatur exire de imperio; And sem to give ver bis

B b

Emtire.

come, that we may the better know how to avoid it. It proceedeth from thing's contrary to those means that win and beget authority, and especially from three, that is to say, from too loose, effeminate, milde, languishing, and carelesse, or very light form of government, without any hould or flay; this is a flate without a flate; under fuch Princes, the subjects are made bold and insolent; all things being permitted, because the Prince takes care of nothing. Malum principem babere sub quo nibil ulli liceat : pejus, sub quo omnia omnibus : It is an evil thing to have a Prince, under whom nothing is lawful for any man: But worfe, to bave bim, under whom all things are lawfull for. all men. Secondly, from the ill hap and infelicity of the Prince, when ther it be in his affairs which succeed not well; or in his line and iffue if he have no Children, who are a great prop and stay to a Prince; or. in the uncertainty of his fuccessors, whereof Alexander the great complained: Orbitas mea quod fine liberis fum, Bernitur: Munimen anle, regii liberi : My want of Children makes me to be despised : Royal Children, are a defence to the Kings house. Thirdly from manners, el

also rusticity, childishnesse, scurrility. Thus in groffe have I spoken of the action of a Prince. To handle The diffinition it more diffinctly and particularly, we must remember, as hath been of the action of faid in the beginning; that it is twofold, peaceable and military; by the peaceable I here understand that ordinary action, which is every, day done, and at all times of peace and of warre: by the military,

pecially diffolute, loofe, and voluptuous, drunkennesse, gluttony, as

that which is not exercised, but in time of war.

The peaceable and ordinary action of a Sovereign, cannot be wholly prescribed; it is an infinite thing, and consisteth as well in taking heed to do, as to do. We will here give the principal and more necessary advisements. For therefore a Prince must provide that he be faithfully and diligently advertised of all things. This (all things) may be reduced to two heads, whereupon there are two forts of advertisments and advertisers, who must be faithfull and assured, wife and fecret, though in some there be required a greater liberty. and conflancy than in others. Some are to advertise him of his honour, and duty, of his defects, and to tell him the truth. There are no kind of people in the world, who have so much need of such friends, as Princes have; who neither fee nor understand, but by the eyes and ears of another. They maintain and hold up a publick life, are to fatishe fo many people, have fo many things hid from them.

All ill forms of Lovernment.

Infelicity.

Manners.

e Prince.

of the peace able. An advice.

that before they be aware, they fall into the hatred and detellation of their people, for matters that would be easily remedied and cured, if they had been in time advertised of them. On the other fide free advertisements, which are the best offices of true amity, are perillous about Soveraigns, though Princes be over-delicate, and thew. great infirmity, if for their good and profit, they cannot endure a tree advertisement, which entorceth nothing, it being in their power whatfoever they hear, to do what they lift: others are to advertise the Prince whatsoever passeth, not only amongst his subicas, and within the circuit of his State, but with his bordering neighbour; I fay, of all, that concerneth either a far off, or near athand, his own state or his neighbours. These two kind of people. answer in some fort to those two friends of Alexander, Epheltion and Graterus, of whom the one loved the King, the other Alexander; that is to fay, the one the state, the other the person.

Secondly, a Prince must alwaies have a little book in his hand or. memorial containing three things thick and principally a brief register 2. To have of the affairs of the state; to the end he may know what he must memorial of do, what is begun to be done, and that there remain nothing imperfect and ill executed: A catalogue or Bed-roll of the most wor- 2. Per fons, thy personages that have well deserved, or are likely to deserve well of the weal-publick: A memorial of the gifts which he hath be- 3, Gifts. flowed, to whom, and wherefore; otherwise, without these three, there must necessarily follow many inconveniences. The greatest Princes and wifest Politicians have used it, Auguitus, Tiberius, Vefpasian,

Trajan, Adrian, the Antonies: Thirdly, inalmuch as one of the principal duties of a Prince, is to appoint and order both rewards and punishments, the one where- 3. To appoint ? of is favorable, the other odious, a Prince must retain unto himself rewards and the distribution of rewards, as estates, honours, immunities, restitutions, graces, and favours; and leave unto his Officers, to execute and pronounce condemnations, forfeitures, confications, deprivations,

and other punishments.

Fourthly, in the diffribution of rewards, gifts, and good deeds, 4. To diffribute he must alwaies be ready and willing to give them before they be rewards. asked, if he can; and not to look that he should refuse them : and he must give them himself, if it may be, or cause them to be given in l is presence. By this means gifts and good turns shall be better received, and given to better purpole: and he shall avoid two great and common inconveniences, which deprive men of honour and

the I. Affairs ..

worth .

worth of those rewards that are due unto them: the one is a long pursuit, difficult and chargeable, which a man must undergo, to obtain that which he would, and thinketh to have deferved, which is no small grief to honourable minds, and men of spirit. The other, that after a man hath obtained of the Prince a gift, before he can possesse it, it costeth the one half, and more, of that it is worth, and many times comes to nothing.

18 allion which confifteth in thee points. To enterprife, where swo -things are required.

Let us come to the military action, wholly necessary for the preof the military Servation and defence of a Prince, of the Subjects, and the whole flate, let us speak thereof briefly. 'All this matter or subject may be reduced to three heads. To enterprise, make, finish war. In the enterprife, there must be two things, justice and prudence, and an avoidance of their contraries, injustice and temerity. First, the war must be just, yea justice must march before valour, as deliberation before execution. These reasons must be of no force, yea abhorred That right confifter in force; That the iffue or event decideth it; That the stronger carriesh it away. But a Prince must look into the cause, into the ground and foundation, and not into the iffue: Warre hath its Laws and Ordinances as well as Peace. God favoureth just warres, and giveth the victory to whom it pleaseth him; and therefore we must first make our selves capable of this favour, by the equity of the enterprise. Warre then must not be begun and undertaken Plin, in Pan, for all causes, upon every occasion: Non ex omni occasione querere triumphum: Not to feek triumph for every occasion. And above all a Prince must take heed that ambition, avarice, colour, possesse him not, and carry him beyond reason, which are alwaies, to say the truth, the more ordinary motives to warre: "Una & ca vetus causa bellandi est profunda cupido imperii & divitarum: maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant : Rupêre fædus impius lucri furor, & ira preceps : One, and that an ancient cause of war is, the greedy defire of rule and of riches : they esteem the greatest glory in the greatest command : the micked rage of gain, breakerb leagues, and firs up wrath.

Saluft.

That a war may be in all points just, three things are necessary; that it be denounced and undertaken by him that hath power to do it, which is onely the Sovereign.

· Three things make an enterprife juft.

That it be for a just cause, such as a defensive war is, which is abso-«Cic pro Milo, Intely just, being justified by all reason amongst the wife, by necessity amongst the barbarians, by nature amongst beasts: I say defensive, of himfelf, that is, of his life, his liberty, his parents, his country : of

his allies and confederates, in regard of that faith he hath given, of fuch as are unjuftly oppreffed. Qui non defendit, nec obfiftit, fi po- In officits. telt, injurie; tam eft in vitio, quam fi parentes, aut patriam, aut ficios deferat : He that defendeth not, nor resisteth injury, if he can, is as much in fault, as if be betrayed bis parents, his countrey, or his friends. These 3. heads of defence are within the bounds of justice, according to Salust. S. Ambrofe; Fortitudo, que per bella tuetur à barbaris patriam, vel defendit infirm's, vel à latronibus socios, p'ena justinie est : It is forsiende full of justice, which by wars defendeth the Countrey form barbarians, or protelieth the meak, or companions or friends from rubbers. Another more briefly divided it in two heads, faith and fafety; Nulum bellum a civitate optima Suscipitur, nift aut pro fide, aut pro Salute : No war is undertaken by any worthy city, but either for faithfulineffe or for fafety. And to offensive war he puts two conditions; that it proceed from fome former offence given; as outrage or usurpation, and having redemanded openly by a Herald that which hath been surprised and taken away (pot clarigati mem) and fought it by way of justice, which ken away (pot clarigationem) and fought it by way or juttice, which plin.1.22.nate must ever go foremost. For if men be willing to submit themselves hist. cap. 2. unto justice, and reason, there let them stay themselves; if not, the Livius. last, and therefore necessary, is just and lawful : Justum bellum quibus necessarium, pis arma quibus nulla nisi in armis re'inquitus foes: That war is just, to whom it is necessary; arms are bonest and righterus to them, that be ve no other be or r. fuze left, but only in erms.

Thirdly, to a good end, that is to fay, peace and quietneffe. S. pientes pacis canfa bellum gerunt, & labrem fpe otii fuftentant : ut in pace fine injuria vivant : wife men wage war for peace fake, and futain labour in hope of reft : that they may live in peace without in Mry.

After justice cometh prudence, whereby a min doth advisedly deliberate, before, by found of trumpet, he publisheth the war. And Prudente. therefore, that nothing be done out of passion, and over-rash'y, it is necessary that he consider of the points; of forces and means, as well his own, as his enemies: secondly, of the bazzard and dangerous revolution of humane things, especially of arms, which are variable, and wherein fortune hath greatest credit, and exerciseth more her Empire than in any other thing, wherein the issue may be such, that in an hour it carrieth all: Simul parta ac fperata, dec ra unius ho- Livius. ra. forthing vertere piteft: The fortune of one bour my overthrow all homour both cotten and hoped for.

Thirdly ...

Tacit.

Pinder.

Thirdly, of those great evils, infelicities, and publick and particular mileries, which war doth necessarily bring with it, and which be such as the only imagination is lamentable. Fourthly, of the calumnies, maledictions, and reproaches that are spread abroad against the authors of the war, by reason of those evils, and miseries that follow it. For there is nothing more subject to the tongues and judgments of men than War. But all lighteth upon the Chieftain. Iniquiffima bellorum conditio bac eft, profpera omnes fibi vendicant, adver-Sa uni imputantur: This is a most unjust conditition of war, when all do challenge to themselves the prosperous events, and the unbappy successes are imputed to one alone. All thefe things together make the justeft war that may be, deteftable, faith S. Augustine; and therefore it Handeth a Sovereign upon, not to enter into warres but upon great necessity, as it is said of Augustus; and not to suffer himself to be carried by those incendiaries and firebrands of warr, who for some particular passion, are ready to kindle and inflame him. Quibus in pace durius fervitium eft, in id nati, ut nec ipfi quiefcant, neque alios finant : They to whom service is hard in peace, are born to this, that neither them-Telves can be quiet, nor yet fuffer others. And these men are commonly fuch, whose noses do bleed when they come to the fact it self. Du'ce belluminexpertis: War is sweetest to them that have not known it. A wise Sovereign will keep himself in peace, neither provoking, nor fearing war, neither disquieting either his own state, or anothers, betwixt hope and fear, nor coming to those extremities of perishing himfelf, or making others to perish.

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shings are required.
Provision, and
Munision.

The fecond head of military action, is, To make war, whereunto are required three things, Munitions, Men, Rules of war. The first is provision and munition of all things necessary for war, which must be done in good time and at leisure: for it were great indiscretion in extremities to be employed about the search and provision of those things which he should have alwaies ready; Din apparandum est, ut vincas celerius: It must be long preparing, that then mayest the speedier overcome. Now of the ordinary and perpetual provision required for the good of their Prince and the State at all times, hath been spoken in the first part of this Chapter, which is wholly of this subject. The principal provisions and munitions of war are three, Money, which is the vital spirit, and sinews of war, whereof hath been shewed in the second Chapter. 2. Arms both offensive and defensive, whereof likewise heretofore. These two are ordi-

mary,

24

nary, and at all times, 3. Victuals, without which a man can neither conquer, nor live; whole armies are overthrown without a blow flrucken, fouldiers grow licentious and unruly, and it is not possible to do any good, Disciplinam non servat jejunus exercitus, A softing and Castiod, bungry Army observeth no discipline. But this is an extraordinary provision, and not perpetual, and is not made but for War. It is necessary therefore, that in the deliberating of War, there be great Store-houses made for Victuals, Corn, poudred Flesh, both for the Army which is in the field, and for the Garrisons in the Frontiers, which may be besieged.

The second thing required to make War, are men fit to assail and to desend; we must distinguish them. The first distinction is into Men. Souldiers, and Leaders or Captains, both are necessary. The Souldiers are the Body, the Captains the Soul, the life of the Army, who give motion and action: We will speak first of the Souldiers, who make the Body in grosse. There are divers forts of them: There are Footmen and Horsemen; natural of the same Country, and strangers; ordinary and subsidiary. We must first compare them all together, to the end, we may know which are the better, and to be preterred; and afterwards we will see how to make our choice; and lastly, how to govern and discipling them.

how to govern and discipline them.

In this comparison all are not of one accord. Some, especially rude

and barbarous peop'e, preser horsemen before sootmen, others quite Rather Face contrary. A man may say that the foot are simply and absolutely the than Horse better, for they serve both throughout the War, and in all places, and

at all oc asions; whereas in hilly, rough, craggie, and streight places and in sleges, the Cavalry is almost unprostable. They are likewise more ready and lesse chargeable: and it they be well lead and armed, as it is sit they should, they endure the shock of the horsemen. They are likewise preserved by such as are Doctors in this Art. A man may say that the Cavalry is better in Combat, and for a speedy dispatch. Equational virium proprium, cito parare, eito cedere victoriam: It is proper to the Troops of Horsemen quickly to get, and quickly to lose the victory. For the foot are not so speedy, but what they do, they perform more surely.

As for natural Souldiers and strangers, divers men are likewise of 26 divers, opin ons touching their precedency; but without all doubt And nave the natural are much better, because they are more loyal than merce-ral than mary strangers.

Vena-

Venalesq: manus ubi fas, ubi maxima merces. These mercenary hands that use to sight, For greatest wages, not for greatest right.

More patient and obedient, carrying themselves with more honour and respect towards their Leaders, more courage in Combats, more affection to the Victory, and good of their Countrey: They coft less and are more ready than strangers, who are many times mutinous, yea in greatest necessities, making more stirre, than doing fervice, and the most part of them are importunate, and burdensome to the Common-weal, cruel to those of the Countrey, whom they forrage as enemies. Their coming and departure is chargable, and many times they are expected and attended with great loife and inconvenience. It in some extremity there be need of them, be it so, but yet let them be in faire leffe number than the natural, and let them make but a member and part of the Army, not the Body. For there is danger, that if they shall see themselves equal in force, or more strong than the natural they will make themselves their masters that called them, as many times as hath fallen out. For he is mafter of the State. that is mafter of the Forces. And again, if it be possible, let them be drawn from Allies and confederates, who bring with them more trust and service than they that are simple strangers. For to make more use of strangers, or to employ them more than natural Subjects, is to play the Tyrants, who fear their Subjects; and because they handle them like Enemies, they make themselves odious unto them, whereby they fear to arm them, or to employ them in the Wars.

As well ordinary as subsidary. As touching ordinary Souldiers and subsidiaries, both are necessary, but the difference between them is, that the ordinary are lesse in number, are alway associated and in arms, both in peace, and in warre: and of these we have spoken in the provision, a people wholly destinated and confined to the Wars, formed to all exercise of Arms, resolute. This is the ordinary force of the Prince, his honour in peace; his safegard in War: such were the Roman Legions: These should be divided by Troups in times of peace, to the end they raise no commotions. The subsidiaries are in far greater number, but they are not perpetual, and wholly destinated to War: they have other Vocations: At a need and in times of War, they are called by the sound of a Trumpet, enrolled, mustered, and instructed to the Wars; and in times of peace they return, and retire themselves to their Vocations.

We have understood their distinctions and differences, we must now confider of the good choice of them: A matter whereof we must Will to chaft be carefully advised, not to gather many, and in great numbers, for number winneth not the Victory, but Valour; and commonly they are but few that give the Overthrow. An unbridled multitude doth more hurt than good. Non vires babet fed pondus, potius impedimentu n quam auxilium: It is not of force, but a burden; a binderance rather than a belp. Victory then confilteth not in the number, but in the force and valour; Manibus opus est bello, non multis nominibus: In mar ibre is need of hands, not of miny names. There must therefore be a great care in the choice of them (not preffing them pell-mell) that they be not voluntary Adventurers, ignorant of War, taken forth of Cities, corrupt, vicious, dissolute in their manners, arrogant Boalters, hardy and bold to pillage, far enough off from blows, leverets in dangers; Affecti latrociniis bellorum insolentes, ga'eati lepores, purgamenta urbium, quibus ob egestatem & fligitia maximapeccandi necessitudo : Accustomed to tillage, and the Robberies of the Wars, infolent, armed bures, the off- foum of the City, on whom want and the crim: sthey be subject unto, have brought a necessity of offending.

To chuse them well, there needs judgment, attention and infru-Ction, and to this end five things must be considered of, that is to say Election of the place of their birth and education. They must be taken out of fuldiers continued the fields, the mountains, barren and hard places, Countreys neer ad-things. joyning to the Sea, and brought up in all manner of labour. Ex agris 1. Countrer. Supplendum precipue robur exercitus, apiam armis rustica plebs Sub dio & Veget. in laboribus enutrita ipfo terre fue filo & calo acrius animantur. Et minus mortem timet qui minus deliciarum novit in vita: The strength of the Army is chiefly to be supplied out of the field; Countrey people are fitter for Arms, being trained up abroad in the air and in labours, are more eagerly encuraged by the feil and open air of the fields. And be feareth death leaft, who bath leaft tafted of delabts in his life. For they that are brought up in Cities, in the pleafant shadow and delights. thereof, in gain, are more idle, insolent, effeminate; Vernaculo multi- Tacit. sudo, lascivia sueta, laborum intolerans. The bome-bred multitude, used tofloath and wantonness, are impatient of labour. Secondly, the age, that 2.Age. they be taken young, at eighteen years of age, when they are most pliant and obedient: the elder are possessed with many vices, and not fit for Discipline.

Thirdly, the bodies, which some will have to be of great stature, 3.B. dier.

as Marius and Pyrrbus: But though it be but indifferent, fo the body be strong, dry, vigorous, finewie, of a fierce look, it is all one. Dura car. tor a, fricii artus, minax vultus, major animi vigor. Hard bodies, well knie joun's, a fierce and threatning countenance, great courage and vig our of fi-

4 S, irit.

Fourthly, the Spirit, which must be lively, resolute, bold, glorious, fearing nothing fo much as dishonour and reproach.

5. Condition.

Fitchly, the condition, which importeth much; for they that are of a base and infamous condition, or dishonest qualities, or such as are mingled with the effeminate Arts, serving for delicacy, and for women

are no way ht for this profession.

Well disciplined. Veget.

After the choice and Election, cometh Discipline: for it is not enough to have chosen those that are capable, and likely to prove good Souldiers, if a man make them not good; and if he make them good, if he keep and continue them not such. Nature makes a few men valiant, it is good Institution and Discipline that doth it. Now it is hard to fay how necessary and profitable good Discipline is in War: This is all in all, it is this that made Rome to Hourish, and that wonit the Signory of the world: yea, it was in greater account, than the love of their Children. Now the principal point of Discipline is in Obedience, to which end ferved that ancient precept, That a Souldier must more fear his Captain than his Enemy.

Discipline bathtmo parts. I Valour, which is attained by Exercife.

Now this Discipline must tend to two ends; to make the souldiers valiant, and honest men: and therefore it hath two parts, Valour and Manners. To Valour, three things are required; daily Exercise in Arms, wherein they must always keep themselves, in practice without intermission; and from hence cometh the Latine word Exercitus which fignifieth an Army. This Exercise in Arms, is an instruction to manage and use them well, to prepare themselves for Combats, to draw benefit from Arms, with dexterity to defend themselves, to discover and present unto them whatsoever may fall out in the fight, and come to the tryal, as in a ranged battel: to propose Rewards to the more active, and to enflame them.

2. Travel.

Secondly, travel or pains, which is as well to harden them to labour, to sweatings, to dust, Exercitus labore proficit, otio confenefcit, An Army profiteth by labour, and decayeth with ease and idienesse, as for the good and service of the Army, and Fortification of the Field, whereby they must learn to digge, to plant a Palisade, to order a Barricado, to run, to carry heavy Burthens, These are necessary things, as well to defend themselves, as to offend and surprise the Enemy.

E nemy. Thirdly, Order, which is of great use, and must be kept in 3. Order. War for divers causes, and after a divers manner. First, in the distribution of the Troops, into Battalions, Regiments, Enfigns, Camerades, Secondly, in the lituation of the camp, that it be disposed into quarters with proportion, having the places, entries, iffues, lodgings fitted both for the horsemen and footmen, whereby it may be easie for every man to find his quarter, his companion. Thirdly, in the march in the field, and against the Enemy, that every one hold his Rank; that they be equally distant the one from the other, neither too neer, nor too far from one another. Now this order is very necessary, and ferves for many purposes. It is very pleasing to the eye, cheareth up friends, aftonisheth the Enemy, secureth the Army, maketh all the Removes and the Commands of the Captains easie; in fuch fort, that without stirre, without confusion the General commandeth, and from hand to hand his intents and purposes come even to the least. Imperium ducis simul omnes copie sentiunt; & ad nutum regentis fine tumultu respondent. All the Army together know their Leaders command; and answer without tumult, the will of the General. To be brief this order well kept, maketh an Army almost invincible; and contrarily many have lost the field for want of this good order, and good intelligence.

The fecond part of this Military Discipline concerneth manners, which are commonly very diffolute, and in Arms hardly ordered, Af- Manners, sidue dimicantibus difficile morum custodire mensuram: It is a bard the second matter for fouldiers, that are in continual employment, to keep a measure part of in their manners. Nevertheleffe, there muh be pains taken, and Discipline. especially to enstall, (if it may be) three Virtues; Continency, where- Continencie. by all Gluttony, Drunkenness, Whoredome, and all manner of dishonest pleasures are chased away, which do make a Souldier loose and licentious. Degenerat à robore ac virtute miles affuetudine volupta- Tacit, tum; A Souldier degenerateth from courage and virtue, by enfrome of sensual pleasures; witness, Hannibal, who by delicacy and delights in a Winter was effeminated, and he, by Vice, was vanquished, that was invincible, and by Arms vanguished all others. Modelly in Modelly. words, driving away all vanity, vain boafting, bravery of speech; for true valour stirreth not the tongue, but the hands, doth not speak but execute. Viri nati malitie, factis magni, ad verborum linguag; certamina rudes : discrimen ipsum certaminis differunt : viri fortes, in opere acres, ante id placidi. Men that are born

of the conflict: valiant men are sierce in execution. And contrarily great speakers are small doors. Nimit verbis, lingua servees, Now the tongue is for counsel, the hand for combat, saith Homer; Modesty in action, (that is, a simple and ready obedience, without merchandizing or contradicting the commands of the captains:) Hee sum bone militia, velle, vereri, obedire: These things are sit in good Souldiers, to stand in sear, and ready to obey. Abstinency, whereby Souldiers keep their hands clean from violence, forraging, robbery. And this is a briefe summe in the military discipline; that which the General must strengthen by rewards and recompences of honour towards the good and valourous, and by severe punishments against offenders: for in dulgence undoeth souldiers.

Abfinoney.

of Captains.

Of the Gem-

Tacit.

Taeit.

Tacit.

Let this suffice of Souldiers: Now a word or two of Captains, without whom the fouldier cando nothing; they are a body without a foul, a ship with oars without a Master to hold the stern: There are two forts, the General and first, and afterwards the subaltern, the Master of the Camp, Collonels: But the General (who must never be but one, under pain of loseing all) is all in all. And therefore it is faid, that an army can do as much as a General can do; and as much account must be made of him as of all the rest; Plus in duce repones, quam in exercitu: repose more in the General, than in the army. Now this General is either the Prince himself and Sovereign, or such as he hath committed the charge unto, and made choice of. The presence of a Prince is of great importance to the obtaining of a victory; it doubleth the force and courage of his men; and it seemeth to be requisite when it standeth upon the fafeguard and health of his state, and of a Province. In warres of lesse consequence he may depute another; Dubiis preliorum exemptus Summa rerum & imperii seipsum reservet : In a doubtful battel be may exempt himself from the danger, and reserve himself for the seenrity of bimself and State. Finally, a General must have these qualities; he must be experienced in the Art military, having feen and fuffered both fortunes; Secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens coque interritu; Having tafted both good and bad fortune, and sherefore fearlesse. Secondly, he must be provident and well advifed; and therefore staid, old, and settled; farre from all temerity, and percipitation, which is not only foolish, but unfortunate. For faults in warre cannot be mended : Non lieet in bello bis pecsare ; Faults may not twice be committed in warre. And therefore he must rather look back, than before him; Ducem oporget potiis respicere quam prospicere. Thirdly, he must be vigilant and active. and by his own example teaching his fouldiers to do his will Fourthly, happy; good fortune comes from heaven, but yet willingly it followeth and accompanieth these three first qualities.

After the munitions and men of warre, let us come to the rules head and general advicements to make warre. This third point is a very The third point great and necessary infirmment of warre, without which both muni- of the rules tions and men, are but phantalies; Plura confilio quam vi perficiun- male war. tur; More things are brought to passe by counsel than by force. Now to prescribe certain rules and perpetual, it is impossible; For they depend of fo many things that are to be confidered of, and whereunto a man must accommodate himself, whereupon it was well said, That men give not counsel to the affairs, but the affairs to men, that a man must order his war by his eye. A man must take his counsel in the field Confilium in arena: for new occurrents yield new counsels. Neverthelesse there are some so general, and certain, that a man cannot fail in the delivery and observation of them. We will briefly fet down some few of them, whereunto a man may adde as occasions shall fall out. Some are to be observed throughout a war, which we will speak of in the first place, others are for certain occasions and affairs.

1. The first is carefully to watch and to meet the occasions : not to Rules for the lose any, nor to permit, if it be possible, the enemy to take his: oc- whole time of casion hath a great place in all humane affairs, especially in war, war, where it helpeth more than force.

2. To make profit of rumours and reports that run abroad, for whether they be true or false, they may do much, especially in the beginning, Fama bella conftant, fama bellum conficit, in spem met imve impellit animos, By fame or report wars continue, fame endeth war, and moveth mens minds either to hope or fear.

3. But when a man is entred his course, let not reports trouble him: he may consider of them, but let them not hinder him to do that he should, and what he can, and let him stand firm to that which

reason hath counselled him.

4. Above all, he must take heed of too great a confidence and affurance, whereby he grow into contempt of his enemy, and thereby becomes negligent and careleffe; it is the most dangerous evil that can fall out in war. He that contempeth his enemy, difcovereth and betrayeth himfelf, Frequentiffmum initium calimi-

taris securitus. Nems celerius opprimitur quam qui non timet. Nil suro inh mejte despicitur: quem spreveris, valentiorem negligentià faci es: Security is the most common beginning of calamity. No man is sooner overcome than he thus scareth not: Nothing safely is to be despised, in an Enemy: thou wilt muste by thy negligence, him whom thou despises, more strong and valiant. There is nothing in War that must be despised: for therein there is nothing little, and many times that which seemeth to a man to be of small moment, yieldeth great effects. Sepe parvis momentis magni essus: un nibil timendi, sie nibil contemnendi: From things of small moment of instimes arise great events: As nothing is seared so nothing is to be entemned.

5 To enquire very carefully, and to know the estate and affairs of the Enemy, especially these points: 1. The nature, capacity, and designments of the Chiestain. 2. The nature manners and manner of life of his Enemies. 3. The situation of the places, and the nature of

the Countrey where he is. Hannibal was excellent in this.

For the fight to be considered of; when, where, against whom, and how; to the end it be not to small purpose. And a man must not come to this extremity, but with great deliberation, but rather make choice of any other mean, and seek to break the force of his Enemy by patience, and to suffer him to beat himself with time, with the place, with the want of many things before he come to this hazzard. For the issue of Battels is very uncertain, and dangerous: Incerti exitus pugnarum Mars communis quisape spoliantem & jam exultantem evertit, & perculit ab abjecto: The issue and event of war is uncertain: Mars is common to all who often everthroweth him that spoileth, and now triumpheth, and confoundeth and striketh him by the abject, and by him that was vanquish-

Wben.

7 A man then must not come to the Battel, but seldome, that is to say in great necessities, or for some great occasion. In necessity, as if the distincties grow on his part; his vians, his treasure faileth; his men begin to distaste the Wars, and will be gone, and he cannot long continue; Capienda rebus in malis praceps via est: In extremisies a studen course is to be taken upon great occasions, as if his part be clearly the stronger that the victory seemeth to offer it self, That the enemy is weak, and will shortly be stronger, and will offer the Battel, that he is out of doubt and sear, and thinketh his enemy far off; that he isweary and faint, revictualleth himself; his horses feed upon the Litter.

8 He

8. He must consider the place, for this is a matter of great conse- Where. quence in battels. In general, he must not attend (if he may prevent it) his enemy, till he enter within his own territories. He must go forth to meet him, or at least stay him in the entrance. And if he be already entred, not hazzard the battel, before he have another Army in readiness, to make a supply; otherwise he puts his State in hazzard. More particularly, he must consider the field where the Battel is to be fought, whether it be fit for himself, or his Enemy : for the field many times gives a great advantage. The plain Champion is good for the Cavalry; ffrait and narrow places, let with piles, full of Ditches, Trees, for the Infantry.

9. He must consider with whom he is to fight, not with the strong- With and a eft, I mean not the strongest men, but the strongest and stoutest courages. Now there is not any thing that giveth more heart and courage, than Necessity, an enemy invincible. And therefore I fay, that a man must never fight with such as are desperate. This agreeth with the former, that is, not to hazzard a battel within his own Countrey; for an enemy being entred, fighteth desperately, knowing if he be vanquished, he cannot escape death, having neither fortress, nor any place of retreat or fuccour ; Unde necessitas in loco, fes in virtute falus. ex victoria : When necessity is in place, hope is in courage and resolution, and safety out of victory.

10. The manner of fight that brings best advantage with it, what- How. foever it be, is the best: whether it be surprise, subtilty, ciose and covert faining to bear, to the end, he may draw the Enemy, and catch him in his gin ; Spe victoria inducere, ut vincantur : To bring him tute bope of Villary, that he may be vanquished; to watch and mark his over-fights and faults, that he may the better prevail against him, and

give the charge.

For ranged battels, these things are required. The first and principal, is a good and comely ordering of his people. 2. A supply and Rules for ray fuccour alwayes ready, but close and hidden, to the end, that coming ged basels. fuddenly and unawares, it may altonith and confound the Enemy. For all fudden things, though they be vain and ridiculous, bring fear and aftonishment with them.

Primi in omnibus p. e iis oculi vincuntur & aures.

In skirmishes and battels all, The eyes and eares are first that fall.

3. To be first in the field, and ranged in battel aray. This a General doth with fo much the more ease, and it much encreaseth the

courage of his Souldiers, and abateth his enemies; for this is to make himself the affailant, who hath alwaies more heart than the defendant.

4. A beautiful, gallant, bold, resolved countenance, of the General and others Leaders. 5. An oration to encourage the Souldiers, and to lay open unto them the honour, commodity, and security that there is in valour; that dishonour, danger, death, are the reward of cowards: Minus timeris minus periculi, audaciam pro muro esse; effugere mortem, qui cam contemnit: The lesse fear, the lesse danger; courage is a wall of desence, he avoideth death that contemns it.

Maving joyned

Being come to hand-strokes, if the Army waver, the General must hold him firm, to the duty of aresolute Leader, and brave man at arms, run before his assonished Souldiers, stay them recoyling, thrust himself into the throng, make all to know, both his own, and his e-

nemies, that his head, his hand, his tongue trembleth not.

And if it fall out, that he have the better, and the field be his, he must stay, and with-hold them, lest they scatter and disband themselves, by too obstinate a pursuit of the vanquished. That is to be feared, which hath many times come to passe, that the vauquished gathering heart, make use of despair, gather to a head, and vanquish the vanquisher, for this Necessity is a violent School-mistris. Clausis ex desperatione crescit audacia: & cum Spei nibil eft, sumit arma formido : The courage of them that are enclosed, groweth out of despair : and when there is no hope, fear taketh arms. It is better togive paffage. unto them, and to remove all lets and hindrance that may flay their flight. Much leffe must a General suffer himself or his men, to attend the booty, or to be allured thereby over halfily, if he be Conquerour. He must use his victory wisely, lest the abuse thereof turn to his own harm. And therefore he must not defile it with cruelty, depriving the enemy of all hope, for there is danger in it. Ignavian necessitas acuit; Sape desperatio spei causa est, gravissimi sunt morsus irritate necessitatis : Necessity Barpneth cowardize ; despair is oftentimes the cause of hope; must bitter are the bitings of urged necessity. But contrarily, he must leave some occasion of hope, and overture unto peace, not spoiling and ransacking the Countrey, which he hath conquered; for fury and rage are dangerous beafts. Again, he must not stain his victory with infolency, but earry himfelf modefly, and alwayes remember the perpetual flux and reflux of this World, and that alternative revolution, whereby from advertity fpringeth prosperity. from prosperity advertity. There are some that cannot digest a good. fortune : Magnam felicitatem concoquere non poffunt : fortuna vitrea eft; tune cum Splendet, frangitur : O in idam fiduciam! & Sape vicior victus: They cannot digest great felicity: fortune is brittle and slippery. when it fhineth, it breaketh : O faithleffe confidence! that often the victor is vanquished. If he be vanquished, wisdome is necessary to weigh well, and confider of his loffe; it is fottishness to make himself believe that it is nothing, and to feed himfelf with vain hopes, to suppresse the newes of the overthrow. He must consider thereof, as it is at the worst. otherwise how shall he remedy it: And afterwards with good courage. hope for better fortunes, renew his forces, make a new leavy, feek new fuccours, put good and ftrong Garrisons into his strongest places. And though the Heavens be contrary unto him, as fometimes they feem to oppose themselves to holy and just arms; it isneverthelesse, never forbidden to die in the bed of honour, which is far better than to live in dishonour.

And thus we have ended the second head of this subject, which is to make Warre except one scruple that remaineth: That is to say Aquifion of whether it be lawfull to use subtilty, policy, stratagems, in Warre. the Stratagem There be some that hold it negatively, that it is unworthy men of of War. honour and vertue, rejecting that excellent faying; Dolus an virtus quis in bofte requirat; Whether deceit or courage, is most requisite in an enemy? Alexander would take no advantages of the obscurity of the night, faying, that he liketh not of thieving victories; Malo me fortune pigeat, quam victorie pudeat : I bad rather be forry for my fortune, than victory should shame me. So likewise the first Remans, fent their Schoolmaster to the Phaliscians; so Pyrobus, his traiterous Phylitian, making profession of vertue, disavowing those of their Countrey, that did otherwise, reproving the subtilty of the Greeks and Affricans, and teaching, that true victory is by vertue; Que Salva fide & integra dignitate paratur, Which is gotten with a safe faith and true bonour; That which is gotten by wit and subtiley, is neither generous, nor honourable, nor fecure. The vanquished, hold not themselves to be well vanquished, non virture, sed occasione, & arte ducis se victor rati : Ergo non fraude neque occultis sed palam & armatum boftes fuos n'cifci. Think not shemfelves to be conquered by conrage, but by occasion, and by the canning and subtiley of the Generall: Therefore they would not be revenged on their enemies by deceit, or feeret fraud, but openly, and by force of Arms. Now all this is well, Side of the site of the Alexander in mile at a new extra since

Polib. Plut. in Marc. Elp. lib. 1 de Prob. August.quæst. lup Jofue.

faid and true, but to be understood in two cases, in private quarrels, and against private enemies, or where faith is not given, or a league and alliance made. But without these two cases, that is to say, in Warre, and without the prejudice of a mans faith, it is permitted by any means what loever, to conquer the enemy that is already condemned. This, befides the judgements of the greatest Warriers, who contrarily have preferred the victory gotten by occasion, and by subtile stratagems, before that which is won by open force; whereupon, to that they have ordained an Oxe for a facrifice, to this only a Cock) is the opinion of that great Christian Doctor, Cum juctum bellum ful cipitur, ut apperte pugnet quis, aut ex incidiis, nibil ad juftitium interett. When a just Warre is undertaken, it is no prejudice to justice, whether any fight openly, or by lying in muit, and by miles. Warre hath naturally reatonable priviledges, to the prejudice of reason. In time and place, it is permitted to make use and advantage of the sottishness of an enemy, as well as of his weakness or idleness.

The third bead Of this military jubjelt, to fiwith war.

of peace in refred of the vanquifhed.

Let us come to the third head of this military matter more thort and pleasing than the rest, which is to finish the War by peace. The word is sweet, the thing pleasant, and good in all respects: Pax optima rerum Quas homini novisse datum elt. Pax una triumphis Inuumeris potior : Peace is the best thing that is given to man : one Peace is better than innumerable triumphs. And very commodious to both parts, the Conquerors and conquered. But first, to the vanquished, who are the weaker; to whom I do first give this counsel, To continue armed, to make thew of fecurity, affurance and resolution. For he that defireth peace, must be alwaies ready for war, whereupon it hath been faid, That treaties of peace, do well and happily succeed, when they are concluded under a Buckler. But this peace must be honeft, and upon reasonable conditions; otherwise, though it be faid, that a base peace is more profitable than a just warre, yet it is better to die freely, and with honour, than to serve dishonourably. And again, it must be pure and free, without fraud and hipocrifie, which milheth the war, differeth, it not : Pace fufpetta mins bellum: Warre is more fafe, than a doubtful and Sufpicious peace. Neverthelesse, in times of necessity, a man must accommodate himself as he may. When a Pilot feareth a ship-wrack, he casteth himself into the Sea to fave himfelfs and many times it succeedeth well, when a man-committeth himfelf to the diferetion of a generous adverfary :

the vanguisters Victores qui funt alto animo secunda res in miserationem ex tra vertunt :

Fors

Fortunate and good success, turnerb the mind of a noble and generous Conquerour, from wrath to mercy. To the vanquithers, I give this counsel. That they be not over-hardly perswaded to prace; for though perhaps it be leffe profitable unto them, than to be vanquished, yet some commodity it bringeth; for the continuance of war is odious and troublesome. And Lycurgus forbiddeth to make War often against one and the same enemies, because they learn thereby to defend themselves, and in the end to affail too. The bitings of dying beafts are mortal; Fractis rebus violentior ultima virtus : The last courage is more violent in a state overthrown. And again, the iffue is always uncertain; Melior tutiorque certa pax fferata vi-Goria; illa in tua, bec in decrum manuelt : Better, and more fife is a certain peace, than a boped for Victory, the one is in thine own hand, the other in the hand of God. And many times the poylon lieth in the tail, and the more favourable fortune is, the more it is to be feared; Nemo fe tuto din tericu'is offerre cam crebris potest: No man can with Safety prefent bimself long to open dangers. But it is truly honourable, it is a glory, having a victory in his hands, to be facil and eafily perswaded unto peace: it is to make known, that he undertaketh a war justly, and doth wifely finish it. And contrarily, to refuse it, and Honourable afterwards, by some ill success to repent the refusal, it is very dishonourable, and will be faid, that glory hath undone him. He refufeth peace, and would have honour, and to hath loft them both. But S. Ber nard. he must offer a gracious and a debonair peace; to the end, it may be durable. For if it be over-rough and cruel, at the first advantage that may be offered, the vanquished will revolt; Si bonam dederitis, fidam & perpetuam, fi malam band diuturnam: If though alt grant a go d Livius. peace it will be faithful and perpetual, if evil, it will not last long. It is as great greatness, to shew as much lenity towards the suppliant vanqui. shed; as valour against the enemy. The Romans did very well put this in practice, and it did them no harm.

Period This term appearing

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CHAP. IIII.

Of that Prudence which is required in difficult affairs, and ill accidents, publick and private.

THE PREFACE.

Having spoken of that politick prudence required in a Sovereign for the carriage of himself and his good government, we will here severally speak of that prudence that is necessary for the preservation of himself, and the remedying of those assars, and difficult and dangerous accidents, which may happen, either to himself, or his particular subjects.

The division of this matter, by distinction of the accidents

First, these affairs and accidents are very divers: they are either publick or particular, either to come, and such as threaten us, or present and pressing us: the one are only doubtful and ambiguous, the other dangerous and important, because of their violence: And they that are the greater and more difficult, are either fecret and hid; and they are two, that is to fay, conspiracy against the person of the Prince, or the State, and treason against the places and companies: Or manifelt and open, and these are of divers forts. For they be either without form of war, and certain order, as popular commotions for small and light occasions, factions and leagues between subjects of the one against the other, in small and great number, great or little: seditions of the people against the Prince or Magistrate, rebellion against the authority and head of the Prince: or they are ripe and formed into a war, and are called civil wars: which are of fo many kinds, as the above-named troubles and commotions, which are the causes, foundations and seeds of them : but have growen, and are come into-confequence and continuance. Of them all we will speak distinctly; and we will give advice and counsel, as well to Sovereigns, as particular persons, great and small, how to carry themfelves wisely therein.

I. Of the evils and accidents that do

In those crosse and contrary accidents, whereunto we are subject, there are two divers manners of carriage: and they may be both good, according to the divers natures, both of the accidents, and

of those to whom they happen. The one is strongly to contest, and to oppose a mans self against the accident, to remove all things that may hinder the diverting thereofy or at leaft, to blunt the point, to dead the blow thereof, either to escape it, or to force it. This requireth a strong and obstinate minde, and hath need of hard and painful care. The other is incontinently, to take and receive these accidents at the worft, and to refolve himself to bear them sweetly, and patiently, and in the mean time, to attend peaceably whatfoever shall happen, without cormenting himfelf, or hindering it. The former studieth how to range the accidents, this himself. That seemeth to be more couragious, this more fure. That continueth in suspence, is toffed between fear and hope; this putteth himfelf in fafety, and lyeth fo low, that he cannot fall lower. The lowest march is the furest, and the feat of contancy. That laboureth to escape, this to suffer : and many times this maketh the better bargain. Oftentimes it falleth out, that there is greater inconvenience and loffe, in pleading and contending, than in loseing; in flying for fafety, than in fuffering. A covetous man tormenteth himself more than a poor, a jealous than a cuckold. In the former, prudence is more requifite, because he is in action; in this, patience. But what hindereth, but that a man may perform both in order: and that where prudence and vigilancy can do nothing, there patience may succeed? doubtleffe in. publick evils, a man must affay the first; which such are bound to. do, as have the charge and cando it; in particular, let every one

II. Of evils and accidents, prefent, preffing and extreme.

The proper means to lighten evils, and to sweeten passions, is not for a man to oppose himself, for opposition enslameth and encreaseth them much more. A man by the jealousie of contention & contradiction sharpneth & sirreth the evil; but it is either in diverting them elsewhere, as Physicians use to do, who knowing not how to purge, and wholly to cure a Disease, seek to divert intosome other part lesse dangerous, which must be done sweetly and insensibly. This is an excellent remedy against all evils, and which is practised in all things, if a man mark it well, whereby we are made to swallow the sowrest morsels; yea, death it self, and that insensibly, Abducendus animus est ad alia studia, curas, negotia, leci denique mun-

tatione, tanquam egroti non convalescentes; sepe eurandus-eft : The mind is to be led away to other studies, cares, bufiness; lastly, with change of place, like fick persons not recovering, is fren cured. As a man counfelleth those that are to passe over some fearful deep place, either to thut, or to divert their eyes. When a man hath occasion to launce a fore in a Child, he flattereth him, and withdraweth his mind to some other matter. A man must practice the experiment and subtilty of Hippomenes, who being to run with Atalanta, a Damosel of excellent beauty, and to lose his life if he lost the Goal; to marry the Damosel, if he won it; furnished himself with three fair Apples of Gold, which at divers times he let fall, to flay the course of the Damosel, whilst she took them up, and so by diverting her, got the adwantage of her, and gained her-felf: so if the consideration of some present unhappy accident, or the memory of any that is past, do much afflict us, or some violent passion, which a man cannot tame, do move and torment us; we snuft change and turn our thoughts to fomething elfe, and substitute unto our selves, some other accident and pattion leffe dangerous. If a man cannot vanguish it, he must escape it, go out of the way, deal cunningly, or weaken and disfolve it, with other thoughts and alienations of the mind, yea, break it into many pieces; and all this by diversions. The other advice, in the last and more dangerous extremities, that are in a manner past hope, is a little to cast down the head, to lean unto the blow, to yield unto necessity; for there is great danger, that by too much obstinacy in not relenting at all, a man giveth occasion to violence, to trample all underfoot. It is better to make the Laws to will that they can, fince they cannot do that they would. It was a reproach unto Cata, to have been over-rough in the civil Wars of his time, and that he rather suffered the Common-weal to run into all extremeties, then fuccoured it, by tying himfelf over-firictly to the Laws. Contrarily Epaminondas in a necessity, continued his charge beyond his time, though the Law upon the pain of his life, did prohibit him: Philopamines is commended, that being born to command, he did not only know how to govern according to the Laws, but also commanded the Laws themselves, when publick necessity did require it. A Leader at a necessity must stoop a little, apply himfelf to the occasion, turn the Table of the Law, if not take it away, go a little out of the way, that he lose not all; for this is prudence, which is no way contrary, either to reason or justice.

III, Doubte

III. Doubtfull and ambiguous affairs .

In things doubtful, where the reasons are strong on all parts, and the inability to see and choose that which is most commodious, bringeth with it uncertainty and perplexity, the best and safest way is to lean to that part where there is most honesty and justice: for not-withstanding it fall not out happily, yet there shall alwaies remain an inward content, and an outward glory, to have chosen the better part. Besides, a man knoweth not, if he had taken the contrary part, what would have happened, and whether he had escaped his destiny. When a man doubteth which is the better and the shorter way, let him take the straiter.

IV. Difficult and dangerous affairs.

In difficult Affairs, as in Agreements, to be over-careful to make them over-fure, is to make them lesse firm, less assured; because a man employeth therein more time, more people are hindred, more things, more clauses are mingled and interposed than are needful, from whence arise all differences. Add hereunto, that a man seemeth hereby to scorn fortune, and to exempt himself from her jurisdiction which cannot be, Vim suorum ingruentem refringi non vult: He will not weaken their approaching force. It is better to make them briefly and quietly with a little danger, then to be so exact and curious.

In dangerous affairs a man must be wise and couragious, he must fore-see and know all dangers, make them neither lesse nor greater than they are by want of judgment, think that they will not all happen, or shall not all have their effects; that a man may avoid many by industry or by diligence, or otherwise; what they are from whom he may receive aid and succour, and thereupon take courage, grow resolute, not fainting for them in an honest Enterprise. A wise man is couragious; for he thinketh, discourseth, and prepareth himself for all, and a couragious man must likewise be wise.

V. Conjurations.

WE are come now to the greatest, most important, and dangerous accidents, which we will handle in order, expressely Description.
describing them one after the other, giving afterwards in every one

of them some advisements fit for a Sovereign, and in the end for every

particular person.

Conjuration is a confpiracy and enterprise of one or many a-gainst the person of the Prince or the State: it is a dangerous thing, hardly avoided or remedied, because it is close and hidden. How should a man defend himself against a covert enemy, such an one as carrieth the countenance of a most officious friend; how can a man know the will and thoughts of another, And again, he that contemneth his own life, is master of the life of another, Contemnit omnes ille, cui mortem prim: He contemneth all men, that contemneth death, in such fort that the Prince is exposed to the mercy of a private man whoseever he be.

Machiavel fetteth down at large, how a man should frame and order and conduct a conspiracy; we, how it may be broken, hinder-

ed, prevented.

Remedies and Advisements. r. The counsels and remedies hereupon are, first a privie search and countermine by faithful and discreet persons fit for such a purpose, who are the eyes and ears of the Prince: These must discover whatsoever is said and done, especially by the principal officers. Conspirators do willingly here and there defame the Prince, or lend their ears to those that blame and accuse him. Their discourse and conference then touching the Prince must be known, and a Prince must not stick to be bountiful in his rewards and immunities to such discoverers: But yet he must not over-lightly give credit to all reports He must lend his ear to all, not his belief; and diligently examine to the end he oppresse not the innocent, and so purchase unto himself the hatred and hard speech of the people.

2. The second advice is, that he endeavour by elemency and innocency to win the love of all, even of his enemies, sidisfins sustained Principis innocentia: innocency is the most faithful safeguard of the Prince. By offending no man, a man taketh a course to be offended by none: And it is to small purpose for a man to shew his power by wrongs and out-rages; Male vim suam posestas, alionum contumeliis experitur; power doth ill make proof of its force by the contempt of others.

3. The third is to make a good fnew, to shew a good countenance according to the accustomed manner, not changing or depressing any thing; and to publish in all places, that he is well perswaded of those meetings and assemblies that men appoint, and to make them believe that he hath them not in the wind; that he described not their plots and purposes. This was an experiment which Denys the Tyrant made

made good use of against an enemy of his, which cost him dear.

4. The fourth is to attend without aftonishment and trouble whatfoever may happen unto him. Cefar did well put in practice thefe three latter means but not the first. It is better, faith he, to die once, than to live (nay to die) alwaies in a trance and a continuall fever of an accident, which is past remedy, and must be wholly referred unto God. They that have taken another course and have endeavoured to prevent it by punishments and revenge, have very seldome found it the best way, and have not for all that escaped the danger, as many

Romane Emperour can well witnesse.

But the conspiracy being discovered, the truth found out what is to be done? the conspirators must rigorously be punished : to spare such conspirators, people, is cruelly to betray, the weal-publick. They are enemies to and the advise. the liberty, good, and peace of all: Justice requireth it, But yet wif- thereupon, dom and discretion is necessary herein; & he must not alwaies carry himself after one and the same manner. Sometimes he must excuse fuddenly, specially if the number of the conspirators be small. But whether the number be little or great, he must not speak by tortures to know the confederates (if otherwise and secretly he may know them. and to make as though he knew them not, is good) or a man feeketh that which he would not find. It is sufficient that by the punishment of a small number, good subjects are contained in their duty, and they diverted from their attempts, that either are not, or think not themselves bewraied. To know all by tortures doth perhaps stir up mens hearts against him. Sometimes he must delay the punishment, but yet never be flow in procuring of fafety. But yet the conspirators may be fuch, and the Treason discovered at such a time, that a man multinot diffemble, and to punish them instantly is to play and lose all. The best way of all others is, to prevent the conspiracy, to frustrate. it, faining neverthelesse not to know the conspirators, but so to carry himself, as if he would provide for another thing as the Carthaginians did to Hannon their Captain. Opimum & folum Jape infidiarum Juffin lib. 1.1. remedium, fi non intelligantur: The best, and oftentimes the onely re-Tacit. medy of treachery, is, that a man feem not to know them. And which is more, a Prince must sometime pardon, especially if he be a great man, that hath deserved well of the Prince and State, and to whom they are both in some fort bound, whose children, parents, friends are mighty. For what should he do? how should he break this band? If with safety he may, let him pardon, or at least lessen the punishment. Clemency in this case is sometimes not only glorious to a Prince, Wil

gloriofus Principe impune lafo, but it helpeth much for safety to come, diverteth others from the like designments, and worketh either shame in them, or repentance; the example of Augustus towards Cinna is very excellent.

VI. Tresfon.

I Description. T Reason is a secret Conspiracy or Enterprise against a place, or a Troop or company: it is as a conjuration, a secret evil, dangerous and hardly avoided: for many times a Traytor is in the middle and bosome of the Company, or place, which he selleth and betrayeth. To this unhappy mystery are willingly subject, such as are covetous, light spirits, hypocrites: and this is commonly in them, that they make a fair shew of trust and sidelity, they commend and keep it carefully in small matters, and by that means endeavouring to cover they discover themselves. It is the mark whereby to know them.

Advisements, and Remedies. The advicements are always the same that belong to conjurations: except in the punishments, which here must be speedy, grievous, and irremissible: for they are a kind of people ill-born and bred, incorrigible, pernicious to the world; whom to pity it is cruelty.

VII. Commotions of the People.

Advisements, and Remedies. There are many forts, according to the diversity of the causes, persons, manner and continuance, as we shall see hereaster: Faction, Confederacy, Sedition, Tyranny, Civil Wars. But we will speak here simply, and in general of those that are raised in a heat, as sudden Tumults that endure not long. The Advisements and Remedies, are to procure some one or other to speak and shew himself unto them, that is of Authority, vertue, and singular reputation, eloquent, having gravity mingled with grace, and industry with smooth speech to win the people: for at the presence of such a man, as at a sudden lightning, the people grow calm and quiet:

- Veluti magno in populo cum sepe coorta Seditio est, sevisq; animis ignobile vulgus, Jamque faces, & saxa volant: suror arma ministrat. Ium pictate gravem, ac meritis, si fortè virum quem Conspenére silent, arrectisque auribus adstant Illeregit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet,

When,

When as the Commons in tempel mous guife.

with furious rage do infedition rife,

Then stone and sire, and all things sty about,

as sury sills the hands of their base rout:

And if by chance a man hoth grave and sage,

of good desire, and reperant d for his age

They hap to see, when silent straight shay stand;

with listning ears his words to understand:

He with sweet words their anger deth as wage,

rules their stout minds, and doth appeals their rage.

Sometimes the Captain himself must undertake this business. But it must be done with an open front, a strong affurance, having his mind free, and pure from all imagination of death, and the worst that may happen unto him; for to go amongst them with a searful and unconstant countenance, with sattery and humble carriage, is to wrong himself, and to do little good. This Cofar didexcellently put in practice, upon those mutinous Legions and Armies, that rose up against him.

Cespitis, interpidus vultu, meruisque timeri
Nilmament.
On bigh upon a beapof tuofs be rear'd,
Undaunted flood, as in his looks appear'd,
And fearlesse show'd bim worthy takesear'd.

And Angustus did as much to his Action legions, faith Tachus. There are then two means to quiet and appeale a moved and furious people, the one is by rough ulage, and pure authority and reason. This is the better and more noble, and becometh a Captain, if it fland him upon'; hut yet he must take heed how he do it as hath been faid The other more ardinary is by flattery and fair speeches for he must not make an open resultance. Savage beats are never tamed with blows; and therefore a man must not be sparing of good words, and fair promites. In this case, the wise have permitted a man to lia, as men use to do with Children and fick folk. Herein Periales was excellentuiwho won the people, by the eyes, the ears. and the belly; that is to fay, Shews, Comedies, Feafis, and hereby did what he lift. This mean, more base and servile, but yet neceffary, must be practifed by him whom the Captain sendeth, as Menanius Agrippis did at Rome Bor if he think to win them by main force, when they are without the bounds of reason; no Way

way yielding unto them, as Appins, Contolonus, Cato, Phoeion, endeavoured to do, he is mistaken, and deceiveth himself.

VIII. Fallion and Confederacy.

Action or confederacy is a completment and affociation, of one The description. I against another, between the subjects ; whether it be between the great or the small, in great numbers or little. It arifeth sometimes from the hatreds that are between private men, and certain Familics; but for the most part from ambition (the plague of States)every one coveting the first rank. That which falleth out between great personages is more pernicious. There are some that flick not to say, That it is in some fort, profitable for a Sovereign; and it deth the self-same service to a Common-weal, that brawls of servants do in Families, faith Cato. But that he cannot be true, except it be in tyrants who fear lest their subjects should agree too well; or in small and light quarrels between Cities, or between Ladies of the Court, to know newes. But not important factions, which must be extinguilhed in their first birth, with their marks, names, habiliments; which are many times the feeds of vilanous effects, witness that great deflagration, and those bloudy murtherers happened in Conftantinople, for the colours of green and blue, under Jufinian. The advisements hereupon are, That if the factions be betwixt two great personages, the Prince must endeavour by good words or threatnings to make peace and attonement betwixt them; as Alexander the Great did betwixt Epbeffion and Craterus, and Acebidamus betwixt two of his friends. If he cannot do it, let him appoint arbitrators, fuch as are free from suspition and passion. The like he should do if the faction be betwixt divers subjects, or cities, and communities. And if it fall out, that it be necessary that he speak himsels, he must do it with counfel, being called to avoid the malice and hatred of those that are condemn'd. If the faction be between great multitudes, and that it be so strong, that it cannot be appealed by justice, the Prince is to imploy his force for the utter extinguishment thereof. But he must take heed that he carry himselfindifferent, not more affectioned to one than to another for therein there is great danger and many have undone themselves. And to say the truth, it is unworthy the greatness of a prince, and he that is mafter of all, to make himfelf a companion to the one, and an enemy to the other: And if some must needs be punished, letit light upon those that are the principal heads, and let that fuffice of live on yell the

The advisements and remedies.

CEdition is a violent commotion of a multitude against a Prince. Dor Magistrate. It ariseth or groweth, either from opprefion, or The Description fear : For they that have committed any great offence, fear punish-on. ment; others think and fear they shall be oppressed; and both of them by the apprehension of an evil, are stirred to sedition, to prevent the blow. It likewise springeth from a licencious liberty from want and neceffity, in fuch fort; that men fit for this bufineffe, are fuch as are indebted, male-content, and men ill accommodated in all things, light persons, and such as are blown up, and tear justice. These kind of people cannot continue long in peace; peace is war unto them, they cannot fleep but in the midft of fedition, they are not in liberty, but by the means of confusion. The better to bring their purposes to passe, they confer together in secret, they make great complaints, use doubtful speeches, afterwards speak more openly, feem zealous of their liberty, and of the publick good, and ease of the people; and by these fair pretences, they draw many unto them. The advisements and remedies are : First, the felf same that served for popular commotions, to cause such to shew themselves, and to speak unto them that are fit for such a purpose; as hath been said. Secondly, if that profit not, he must arm and fortifie himself; and for all that, not proceed against them, but rather give them leisure and Advisements time to put water in their wine, to the wicked to repent, to the good and remedies. to reunite themselves. Time is a great Physitian, especially in people more ready to mutiny and rebel, than to fight. Ferocior Plebs ud rebellandum, quam bellandum; tentari magis quam tueri libertatem : The common people are more front for rebellion, than for battel; apter to affay, than to defend their liberty. Thirdly he must in the mean time, try all means to shake and diffolve them, both by hope and fear; for thefe are the two wayes; Spem offer, metum intende: Offer mercy and intend judgement. Fourthly, endeavour to disjoyu them, and to break the course of their intelligence. Fifthly, he must win and draw unto him under-hand, some few amongst them, by fair promises, and secret rewards, whereby some of them withdrawing themselves from their company, and coming unto him, others remaining with them to serve him, and to give intelligence of their carriages and purpofes, they may the better be brought afleep, and their heat be somewhat allayed. Sixthly, to draw and win the reft, by yielding unto them some part of that which they

they demand, and that with fair promises and doubtful termes. It shall afterwards be easie, justly to revoke that, which they have unjustly by sediction entorted, Irrha factorina per fedicionem expression, and to make all whole with tenity and elemency. Lastly, if they return unto reason and obedience, and become honest men, they must be handled gently, and a man must be contented with the chastisement and correction of some sew of the principal authors and fire-brands, without any further enquiry into the rest of the consederates, that all may think themselves in safety, and in grace and sayour.

X. Tyranny and Rebellion.

The description.

Yranny, that is to fay, a violent rule, or domination against the Laws and Cuftoms, is many times the canfe of great and publick commotions, from whence cometh rebellion, which is as an infurrection of the people against the Prince, because of his tyranny, to the end, they may drive him away, and pluck him from his throne. And it differeth from fedition in this, they will not acknowledge the Prince for their mafter; whereas fedition proceedeth not fo far. being raifed only for a discontent of the government, complaining and defiring an amendment thereof. Now this tyranny is practifed by people ill-bred, cruel, who love wicked men, turbulent spirits, tale-bearers; hate and fear men of honefty, and honour; Quibus lemper aliena virtus formidolofa, nobilitas, opes, omifi geftique b mores pro crimine, ob virtutes certifimum exitium : & non minus ex magna fama quam mala: To whom other mens vertue is ever fearful, nobility, riches, bonours, are accounted for crimes; for vertues, they render most affered detruction; and no tels out of good as wil report. But they carry their punishing nt with them; being hated of all, and enemies to all. They life in continual fear, and apprehension of terrour; they suspect all things; they are pricked and gauled inwardly in their Consciences. and at last, die an evil death, and that very foon; For an old tyrant is feldom feen.

Cap 18. Plut.

The advertisements and remedies in this case, shall be set down at large hereaster in this proper place. The counsels are reduced to two: at his entrance to stay and hinder him, less the get the mastery; being enstalled and acknowledged to suffer and obey him. It is better to tolerate him, than to move sedition and civil war; Pejus deterins que syrannide, sive injusto imperis, bellum civile; Civil war is worse than yranni, or unjust government; for there is nothing

gotten

gotten by rebelling or spurning against him, but it rather incenseth wicked Princes, and makes them more cruel: Nibil tam exasperat fervorem vulneris, quam ferendi imparientia : Nothing fo much exasperateth the beat of the wound, as impatience in suffering it. Modesty and obedience allayeth and pacifieth the fierce nature of a Prince; for the clemency of a Prince faith that great Prince Alexander, doth not only confift in their own natures, but also in the natures of their subjects, who many times by their ill carriage and bad speeches, do provoke a Prince, and make him far worse : Obsequio mitigantur imperis ; & Curt Tacit. contra, contumacia inferiorum lenitatem imperitantu diminui ; contum :ciam cum pernicie quam obsequium cum sicuritate malunt : Soveraign authorities are mitigated by dutiful service; and contrariwise, the mildness of the Soveraign is diminished by the contumacy of subjects : They rather love disobedience with destruction, than dutifulnes with security.

XI. Civil Wars.

7 Hen one of these forenamed publick commotions, popular infurrections, faction, fedition, rebellion, comes to tortific it The description. felf, and continue until it get an ordinary train and form, it is a civil War : which is no other thing, but a press and conduct of Armies by the fubjects; either amongst themselves, and this is a popular commotion, or faction and confederacy; or against the Prince, the State, the Magistrate, and this is Sedition or Rebellion. there is not a mischief more miserable, nor more shameful; it is a Sea of infelicities. And a wife man faid very well, That it is not properly War, but a malady of the State, a fiery fickness and thrensie, And to fay the truth, he that is the Authour thereof, should be put out from the number of men, and banished out of the borders of There is no kind of wickedness that it is freed humane nature. from, impiety and cruelty between Parents themselves, murthers with all manner of impunity : Occidere palam, ignofeere non nifi fallendo licet, non atas, non dignitas quenquam protegit; nobilitas cum plebe perit, lateque vagatur enfis : It is lawful to kill openly, but not to pardon but in deceiving : No age, no dignity protelleth any man; the Nibility perisherb with the common people, and the Sward wandereth far and wide, All kind of disloyalty, Discipline abolished; In omne far nefasa; avidos aut venales; non Sucro, non profano abstinemes : Greedy and mercenary in all mischief, abstaining neither from Sacred nor Prophane. The inferiour and baleft fort, are companions with the beff.

best. Rheni mihi Cesar in undis Dun erat, hie socius. Facinus quos inquinat, aquat: Cesar was both my Capsain and Companion on the River of Rhine. Them whom mischief desiletheit maketh equal. He dareth not to open his mouth, for he is of the same profession, though he approve it not; Obnoxiis ducibus & prehibere non auss: The Leaders being guilty of the same erimes, dare not forbid them. It is an horrible consustion; Mein ac necessitate hue illus mutantur: With sear and necessity, they are changed hither and thicker. To conclude, it is nothing but misery: but there is nothing so miserable, as the victory. For though it fall into the hand of him that hath the right on his side; yet there followeth this inconveniency, that it maketh him insolent, cruel, inhumane; yea, though he were before, of a mild and generous nature. So much doth this intestine war slesh a man in bloud; yea, it is a poyson that consumeth all humanity. Neither is it in the power of the Captains to with-hold the rest.

Me Basfes.

There are two causes to be considered of civil wars: The one in fecret, which as it is neither known nor feen, fo it cannot be hindred or remedied: It is deftiny, the will of God, who will chaftife, or wholly dispeople a State. In se magna rusnt, latis bune numina rebus Crescendi posuere modum. They bring great ruines to themselves. God bath fent his stop to his growing prosperity. The other is well understood by the wife, and may be happily remedied, if men will, and they to whom it appertaineth, let to their helping hand. This is the diffolution and general corruption of manners, whereby men of no worth, and that hath nothing to do, endeavour to turn-all topfie turvey, to put all into combustion, cover their wounds with the hurt of the State ; for they love better to be over-whelmed with the publick ruine than their own particular. Miscere cunita, & privata vulnera reipublica malis operire: nam itaferes babet, ut publica ruina quifque melit quam fus proteri, & idem paffurus minus confpici : They confound all things, and cover private wounds by the evils of the Common-wealth : for the cafe fo flands, that every one bad rather be trodden down in the publick raine, than in his own, and to be least feen when they fuffer the fame.

The Counfels and Remedies,

Now the advisements and remedies for the mischief of civil war, are to end it as soon as may be, which is done by two means, agreement and victory. The first is the better, although it be not such as a man desireth, time will help the rest. A man sometimes must suffer himself to be deceived, to the end, he may end a civil war, as it is said of Antipater, Bellum sinire expients, opus eras decipi: He

that defireth to end the war, had need to be decieved. Victory is dangerous because it is to be feared, that the Conquerour will abuse it. whereby a tyranny may enfue. To the end, a man may carry himfelf well herein, he must quit himself of all the authors of troubles, and other commotions, and fuch like bloud-fuckers, as well on the one part, as the other, whether it be by fending them far off with forme charge, or under some fair pretext, and so dividing them; or by employing them against the stranger, and handling the meaner fort with lenity and gentleness.

> XII. Advicements for particular persons, touching the forefaid publick divisions.

Thus we have feen many kinds of publick troubles and divisions, for which and every one of them, we have given counfels and remedies, in respect of the Prince: It remaineth, that we now give them for particular persons. This cannot be determined in a word. There are two queftions; the one, whether it be lawful for an ho- Two Queftions nelt man to joyn himself to'one part, or to remain quiet and indifferent: the second, how a man must carry himself in both cases, that is to fay being joyned to one part, or not joyned to either. Touching the first point, it is proposed for such as are free, and are The first not yet engaged to any part; for if they be, this first question belongs not to them, but we fend them to the fecond. This I fay, because a man may joyn himself to the one part, not of purpose, and by election; yea, to that part which he approveth not; but only because he findeth himself carried and bound with strong and puissant bands, which he may not eafily break, which carry with them a fifficient excuse, being natural and equivalent. Now the first question, hath contrary reasons and examples. It seemeth on the one side, that an honest man cannot do better than to keep himself poiet; for he knoweth not how to betake himfelf to either part, without offence, because all these divisions are in their own natures unlawful, and cannot be carried, nor sublist without inhumanity and inju-Rice. And many good people have abhorred it, as Afinins Pollio an-Swered Augustus, who detired him to follow him against Marc Antony. On the other fide, is it not a thing reasonable, for a man to joyn with the good, and fuch as have right on their fide? Wife Solon, hath judged affirmatively, yea, roughly chastised him, that retireth himself, and taketh not part. The professor of virtue Cato, hath likewise put in practice, not being content to take

one part, but commanding it: To determine this doub, it seemeth that men of worth and renown, who have both publick charge and credit, and sufficiency in the State, may and ought to range themselves in that part which they shall judge the better: for they must not abandon in a tempest, the stern of that ship, which in a calm Sea they are content to govern; especially, being an honourable part, to provide for the safety of the State; And secondly, that private men, and such as are of a lower degree in the charge of the State, should stay and retire themselves into some peaceable and secure place, during the division: and both of them so to carry themselves, as shall be said hereaster. Finally, touching the choice of the part, sometimes there is no difficulty, for the one is so unjust, and so unfortunate, that a man cannot with any reason, joyn himself thereunto: But at another time, the difficulty is very great, and there are many things to be thought of, besides the justice and equity of the parts.

Let us come to the other point, which concerneth the carriage of all. This is determined in a word, by the counfel and rule of moderation, following the example of Attions, fo renowned for his modefly and prudence in such tempels, alwayes held to favour the good part, yet never troubling, nor intangling himself with arms, and

1. For they that are known to be of one part, must not be mo-

without the offence of the contrary part.

yed over-much, but carry themselves with moderation, not busying themselves with the affairs, if they be not wholly carried and preffed unto it, and in this case, carry themselves in such order and temperature, that the tempelt being paffed over their heads, without offence, they have not any part in these great disorders and insolencies, that are committed, but contrarily sweetning and diverting them as they can. 2. They that are not ingaged to any part (whose condition is sweetest and best) though, it may be inwardly, and in affection, they incline rather to one, than another, must not remain as neuters, that is, taking no care of the iffue, and of the state of either the one or the other, living to themselves, and asspectators in a Theater, feeding upon the miseries of other men. These kind of men are odious to all, and at the last, they run a dangerous fortune, as we read of the I behaves, in the war of Xerxes, and of Fabes Gilead; Neutralitas net amicos parit; nec inimicos tollit : Neutrality neither getteth friends, nor taketh away enemies. Neutrality is neither fair, nor ho.

nest, if it be not with consent of parts, as Cefer, who held neuters

for his friends, contrary to Pemper, who held them for enemies; or

Outragions.

The focund.

Renters.

Judg 2'.
Tit. Liv.

that

that he be a stranger, or such a one, as for his greatness and dignity. ought not to mingle himself with such a rout, but rather reclaim them if he can, arbitrating and moderating all. Much leffe, must men in fuch a case be unconstant, wavering mungrels, Protent's, far Inconstant more odious than neuters, and offentive to all. But they must (con. tinuing partakers in affection if they will, for thought and affection is whofly our own) be common in their actions, offensive to none, officious and gracious to all, complaining in the common infelicity. Common. These kind of people, neither get enemies, nor lose their friends, They are fit to be mediators, and loving arbitrators, who are better than the com mon. So that of fuch as are not partikers, who are Miliators. four, two are evil, neuters and inconstant persons; two good.common, and mediators; but alwayes the one more than the other, as of partakers, there are two forts, heady, outragious, and moderate.

XIII. Of private troubles and divisions.

IN private divisions, a man may commodiously, and loyally carry himself between enemies, if not with equal affection, yet in such a temperate manner, as that he engage not himself so much to one. more than to another, as that either part may think they have more interest in him, and so contenting himself with an indifferent meafure of their grace, report nothing but indifferent things, and fuch as are known, or that serve in common to both parts, speaking nothing to the one, that he may not lay to the other in its due time-changing only the accent and the form thereof.

Of Justice the fecond Virine.

CHAP. V.

Of Inflice in general.

I Uffice is to give to every one, that which appertaineth unto him, I to himself first, and afterwards to others : so that it comprehend- The description eth all the duties and offices of every particular person : which are two-fold, the first to himself, the second-to another, and they are contained in that general commandment, which is the fummary of all justice; Thou shalt love thy Neighbour, as thy felf: which doth not only fet down the duty of a man towards another, in the fecond

place.

place, but it sheweth and ruleth it, according to the pattern of that duty and love he oweth towards himfelf: for as the Hebrews fav, a 'man must begin charity with himself.

The fire and

The beginning then of all justice, the first and most ancient commandment, is that of reason over sensuality. B, fore a man can well original justice. command others, he must learn to command himself, yielding unto reason, the power of commanding, and subduing the appetite, and making it pliant to obedience. This is the first original, inward, proper, and most beautiful justice that may be. This command of the Spirit, over the brutal and fenfual part, from whence the passions do agife, is compared to an Esquire, or Horseman, who by reason, that he keepeth his horse and mounteth him often, and is ever in the faddle, he turneth and manageth him at his pleafure.

of juffice.

To speak of that justice which is outwardly practifed, and with an-The distinction other, we must first know, that there is a twofold justice; the one natural, universal, noble, philosophical; the other after a fort, artificial, particular, politick, made and restrained to the necessity of policies and states. That hath better rules, is more firm, pure and beautiful, but it is out of use, unprofitable to the world, such as it is. Veri peris germanaque justitia solidam & expressam effigiem nullam tenemus; umbris & imaginibus utimur : We hold no found and true image of right and perfect juffice; we only use the shadow and imaginations thereof: It is not in a manner capable thereof, as hath been faid. That is the rule of Polycletus inflexible, invariable. This is more loofe and flexible, accommodating it felf to humane weaknesse, and vulgar necessity. It is the leaden Lesbian rule, which yieldeth and bendeth it felf, as there is need, and as the times, persons, affairs, and accidents do require This permitteth upon a necessity, and approveth many things, which that wholly rejecteth and condemneth. It hath many vices lawful, and many good actions uplawful. That respecteth wholly and purely reason, honesty; This profit, joyning it as much as may be with honetty. Of that, which is but an Idea, and in contemplation, we shall not need to speak.

Fuffice in practice di-Ring wished.

The usual justice, and which is practised in the world, is first twofold, that is to fay, equal, bound, and restrained to the terms of the Law; according to which Judges and Magistrates are to proceed: the other just and conscionable, which not enthralling it self to the words of the Law, marcheth more freely, according to the exigency of the case, yea, sometimes against the words of the Law. Now

to speak better, it handleth and ruleth the Law, as need requireth. And therefore, faith a wife man, the Lawes themselves and justice. have need to be ordered and handled justly, that is to fay, with equitie; Que expositio & emendatio legis eft, exponit fensum, emendat defectum: Which is an exposition and amending of the Law, expounded the meaning, and amendeth the defets. This is fine flour of justice, which is in the hand of those that judge in sovereigntie. Again, to speak more particularly, there is a twofold justice; the one commutative, betwixt private men, which, is handled and practifed by Arithmetical proportion; the other distributive, publickly adminifired by Geometrical proportion: it hath two parts, reward, and

punishment.

Now this usual and practised justice, is not truly and perfectly justice : humane nature, is not capable thereof, no more then of all There is no tru other things in their purity. As humane justice is mingled with inflice in the fome grain of injustice, favour, rigour, too much, or too little, and Wolls. there is no pure and true mediocrity; from whence have forung these ancient proverbs, That he is enforced to do wrong by retail. that will do justice in groffe: and injustice in small things, that will do justice in great. Lawyers to give course and passage to commutative justice, do covertly and silently suffer themselves to deceive one another, and that in a certain measure, so that they passe not the moity of the just price; and the reason is, because they know not how to do better. And in distributive justice, how many innocents are apprehended and condemned? how many guilty guit and fet at liberty? and that without the fault of the Judges, never dreaming, either of that too much, or too little, which is alwayes perpetual in the purest justice? Justice is a let or hinderance to it felf; and humane fufficiency, cannot fee and provide for all. And here we may take notice among other matters, of a great defect in distributive justice, in that it punisheth only, and rewardeth not; although these are the two parts, and the two hands of justice : but as it is commonly practifed, it is lame, and inclineth wholly unto punishment. The greatest favour that a man receiveth from it, is indemnity, which is a pay too fhort, for fuch as deferve better than the common fort. But yet this is not all; for if a mun be fally acufed, and upon that acculation committed, he is fure to endure punishment sufficient : at the last, his innocency being known, he escapeth perhaps his uttermost punishment, but without amends of that wrongful affliction he hath endured, even such perhaps, as shall never leave him.

Of Justice in general.

him. And the acculer in the mean time, be the colour and ground of his acculation never so light (which is easie to do) escapeth without punishment; so sparing is justice in rewarding, as that it consisteth wholly in chastistement, whereof that common speech ariseth, that to do justice, and to be subject unto justice, is alwayes to be understood of punishment. And it is an easie matter for any man that will, to bring another man into danger of punishment, even to such an estate, as that he shall never know which way to get forth, but with loss.

6. Of justice and duty, there are three principal parts: for man is inthe division of debted to three, to God, to Himself, to his Neighbour: to One athis matter.

1. 2. 6. 5. bove himself, to himself, and to others beside himself. Of his duty
towards God, which is piety and religion, hath sufficiently been spoken before: It remaineth, that we now speak of his duty towards
himself, and his Neighbour.

Of the Justice and Duty of a man towards bimself.

This is sufficiently contained in this whole work; in the first book, which teacheth a man to know himself, and all humane condition; in the second, which teacheth a man to be wise, and to that end, giveth advisements and rules; and in the rest of this book, especially in the virtues of fortitude and temperance. Nevertheles, I will here summarily set down some advisements, more express and formal.

The first and sundamental advice is, to resolve not to live carelessy, after an uncertain fashion, and by chance and adventure, as almost all are accustomed to do, who seem to mock and deceive themselves, and not to live in good earnest, nor leading the life seriously and attentively, but living from day to day, as it falleth out. They taste not, they possess not, they enjoy not their life: but they use it, to make use of other things. Their designments and occupations do many times trouble, and hurt their life, more than do it service. These kind of people, do all things in good earnest, except it be to live. All their actions, and the lesser parts of their life are serious, but the whole body thereof passeth away, as if they thought not thereof: it is a bare supposition, that is not worth the thinking of. That which is but an accident, is principal unto them, and the principal as an accessary. They affect and incline themselves to all things,

things, some to get knowledge, honours, dignities, riches: others to take their pleasure, to hunt, to sport themselves, to passe away the time: others to speculations, imaginations, inventions: others to manage and order affairs: others to other things; but to live, is the least they think of. They live as it were infensibly, being wholly addicted and fastening their t houghts upon other things. Life is unto them but as a tearm, and a procrastination or delay to employ it about other things. Now all this is very unjust, it is an infelicity and treason against a mansself: it is for a man to lose his life and to go against that which every man should do, that is, live seriously, attentively, and chearfully, bene vivere & letari: fibi femper valere, & vivere docum: To live well and chearfully: ever to do good to bimfelf. and to live learned, to the end he may live well, and well die: it is the fault of every min. A man must lead and order his life, as if it were a bulinesse of great weight and consequence, and as a bargain mide whereof he must give an account exactly by parts and parcels. It is our greatest business, in respect whereof, all the rest are but toyes, things accessary and superficial. There are some that deliberate and purpose to do it, but it is when they must live no longer, wherein they resemble those that put of their buying and selling, till the market be past, and when they see their folly, they complain, faying, Shall I never have leifure to make my retreat, to live unto my felf? quam ferum eft incipere vivere eum definendum eft See Lib. 1. quam ftulta mortalitatis oblivio ? dum differtur, vita transcurrit. How Cap. 36. lite is it to begin to live, when a man muft ceafe to live? bow foolish is it to forget our mortality? whilft it is deferred, life paffeth away. And this is the reason why the wife cry out unto us, well to use the tim: tempori parce. That we have not need of anything to much as time, faith Zenon. For life is short, and Art is long: not the Art to heal, but rather to live, which is wisedome. To this first and principal advice, these following do serve.

To learn to dwell, to content, to delight himself alone, yea, to quit himself of the World, if need be: the greatest thing is for a man to know how to be himfelf; virtue is content with it felf: let us win so much of our selves, as to be able in good earnest and willingly, to live alone, and to live at our eafe. Let us learn to quit our felves of all those bands that fasten and bind us to another, and that our contentment depending of our felves neither feeking nor diffaining, or refusing company, but chearfully to go on, with or without company, as either our own, or anothers need do require: but yet not

to to that up our felves, and to lettle and eftablish our pleasure, as fome that are half loft being alone A man must have within himfelf wherewith to entertain and content himself, & in fine fun gandere, And to rejoyee within bimfelf. He that hath won this point, pleafeth himself in all places, and in all things. He most carry a countenance conformable to the company, and the affairs that are in hand and present themselves, and accommodate himself unto another, be fad if need be, but inwardly to keep himself one and the fame: this is Meditation, and confideration, which is the nourishment and life of the spirit, cuins vivere est cogisare: Whose life is cogitation. Now for the benefit of nature, there is not any business which we do more often, continue longer; that is more easie, more natural, and more our own, than to meditate, and to entertain our thoughts. But this meditation is not in all after one manner, but very divers, according to the divertity of spirits. In some, it is weak, in others ftrong, in some it is languishing idleness, a vacancy, and want of other business. But the greater spirits make it their principal vacation, and most ferious study, whereby they are never more busied, or lesse alone, (as it is said of Scipio) than when they are alone, and quitting themselves of affairs, in imitation of God himfelf, who liveth and feedeth himfelf with his eternal thoughts and meditations. It is the business of the Gods (faith Ariffotle) from whence doth fpring both their and our bleffedness.

To know and calture himfelf.

Now this solitary imployment, and this chearful entertainment of a mans self, must not be, in vanity, much lesse, in any thing that is vicious; but in study and profound knowledge, and afterwards in the diligent culture of himself. This is the price agreed, the principal, first and plainest travel of every man. He must alwaies watch, taste, sound himself; never abandon, but be alwayes neer, and keep himself to himself: and sinding that many things go not well, whether by reason of vice and desect of nature, or the contagion of another, or other casual accidents that trouble him, he must quietly and sweetly correct them, and provide for them. He must reason with himself, correct and recal himself couragiously, and not suffer himself to be carried away, either with distain or carelesness.

He must likewise, in avoiding all idleness, which doth but rust and to keep himself marre both the soul and body, keep himself alwayes in breath, in ofin exercise. fice and exercise, but yet not over-bent, violent and painful; but above all, honest, virtuous and serious, And that he may the ber-

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ter do it, he must quit himself of other business, and propose unto himself such designments as may delight him, conferring with honest men, and good books, dispensing his time well, and well ordering his hours, and not live turnultuously, and by chance and hazzard.

Again, he must well husband, and make profit of all things that are presented unto him, done, said, and make them an instruction unto him, apply them unto himself, without any shew or semblance

thereof.

And to particularize a little more, we know that the duty of man towards himself, confisteth in three points, according to his three to make use of parts, to rule and govern his spirit, his body, his goods. Touching all things, his spirit, (the first and principal, whereunto especially do belong these general advisements which we are to deliver) we know, that To govern his these general advisements which we are to deliver) we know, that the state is all the motions thereof, are reduced to two, to think, and to defire; bis judgement, the understanding and the will; whereunto do answer science and virtue, the two ornaments of the spirit. Touching the former, which is the understanding, he must preserve it from two things, in some fort, contrary and extreme, that is, fottilhness and folly, that is to fay, from vanities and childish follies, on the one side; this is to bastardize and to lose it, it was not made to play the novice or baboun, non ad jocum & lusum genitus, sed ad severitatem potius; Not born to foort and play, but rather for gravity: and from phantaftical, abfurd, and extravagant opinions on the other fide; this is to pollute and debase it. It must be fed and entertained with things profitable and ferious, and furnished and indued with found, sweet, and natural opinions: and fo much care must not be taken, to elevate and mount it, to extend it beyond the reach, as to rule, and order it. For order and continency, is the effect of wisedome, and which giveth price to the foul; and above all, to be free from prefumption, and obfinacy in opinion, vices very familiar, with those that have any extraordinary force and vigour of spirit; and rather, to continue in doubt and fuspence, especially in things that are doubtful, and capable of oppositions and reasons on both parts, not easily digetted and determined. It is an excellent thing, and the securest way, well to know. how to doubt, and to be ignorant, and the most noble Philosophers, have not been ashamed to make profession thereof; yea, it is the principal fruit and effect of science.

Touching the will, it must in all things be governed, and submit it felf to the rule of reason, which is the office of vertue, and

" of the justice and duty of man towards himself.

not unto fleeting inconstant opinion, which is commonly false, and much lesse unto passion. These are the three that move and govern onr fouls. But yet this is the difference, that a wife man ruleth and rangeth himself according to nature and reason, regardeth his duty, holdeth for apperyphal, and suspects whatsoever dependeth upon opinion, or passion; and therefore he liveth in peace, passeth away his life chearfully and pleasingly, is not subject to repentance, recantations, changes; because whatsoever falleth out, he could neither do nor chuse better, and therefore he is neither kindled nor stirred; for reason is alwayes peaceable. The fool that suffereth himself to be led by these two, doth nothing but wonder and war with himself and never refleth. He is alwaies re-advising, changing, mending, repenting, and is never contented; which to fay the truth, belongeth to a wife man, who hath reason and virtue to make himself such a one. Nulla placidior quies nifi quam ratio composuit. No rest more pleasing, than that which reason bath setted. An honest man must govern and respect himself, and fear his reason and his Conscience, which is his bonus genius, his good spirit, in such fort, that he cannot without fhame, flumble in their presence : rarum eft, ut fatis fe quifque vereatur: It is a rare thing, that any man should sufficiently be afraid of himfelf.

As touching the body, we owe thereunto affiftance, and conduct or direction. It is folly to go about to separate and funder these two principal parts, the one from the other; but contrarily it is fit and necessary they be united and joyned together. Nature hath given us a body, as a necessary instrument to life : and it is fit that the spirit as the principal, should take upon it the guardianship and protection of the body. So far should it be from serving the body, which is the most base, unjust, shameful, and burthensome servitude, that is, that it should affift, counsel it, and be as a husband unto it. So that it oweth thereunto care, not service: It must handle it as a Lord, not as a Tyrant; nourish it, not pamper it, giving it to understand, that it liveth not for it, but that it cannot live here below, without it. This is an inftruction to the work-man, to know how to use, and make use of his instruments. And it is likewise no small advantage to a man, to know how to use his body, and to make it a the instrument for the exercise of virtue. Finally, the body is preferved in good estate by moderate nourishment, and orderly exercife. How the spirit must have a part, and bear it company in those pleasures that belong unto it, hath been said before, and shall here-

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after, he fee down in the virtue of Temperance.

Touching goods and the duty of every man in this case, there are many and divers Offices; for to gather riches, to keep them, to hufband them, to employ them, to yield unto them all that is fit, are different sciences. One is wise in the one of them, that in the other understandeth nothing, neither is it fit he should. The acquisition of riches, hath more parts than the rest. The employment is more glorious and ambitious. The preservation and custody, which is proper to the women, is the arbour to cover them.

These are the two extremities alike vicious, to love and affect riches; to hate and reject them. By riches, I understand that which is more than enough, and more than is needful. A wise man will do neither of both, according to that wish and prayer of Solomin: Give me neither riches nor poverty: but he will hold them in their place, efteeming them as they are, a thing of it self indifferent, matter of good

and evil, and to many things commodious.

The evils and miseries that follow the affecting and hating of them, have been spoken of before. Now in five words we set down a rule touching the mediocrity therein. 1. To defire them, but not to love them. Sapiens non amat divitias, fed mavult: A mise man dotb not love riches, but would willingly have them. As a little man, and weak of body, would willingly be higher and stronger, but this his defire is without care or pain unto himfelf, feeking that without passion, which nature defireth: and fortune knoweth not how to take from him. 2. And much leffe, to feek them at the cost and dammage of another, or by art, and bad and base means, to the end, ro man should complain, or envy his gains, 3. When they come upon him, entring at an honest gate, not to reject them, but chearfully to accept them, and to recieve them into his house, not his heart; into his possession, not his love, as being unworthy thereof. 4. When he possesseth them, to employ them honeitly and difcreetly, to the good of other men; that their departure may, at the least, be as honest as their entrance. 5. It they happen to depart without leave, be lost or stollen from him, that he be not forrowful but that he fuffer them to depart with themselves, without any thing of his. Si divilia effluxerint nift non auferant semetipsam : If riches paffe away, let them carry nothing with them but themselves. To conclude, he deserveth not to be accepted of God, and is unworthy his love, and the profession of virtue, that makes account of the riches of this world.

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Ande

Aude hospes consemnere opes, & te quoque dignum Finge Deo:

Be bold so set at naught base trash and pelf,

And worthy of a God frame thou thy self.

Of the justice and duty of man towards man.

An Advertisement.

This duty is great, and hath many parts; we will reduce them to two great ones. In the first we will place the general, simple, and common duties required in all and every one, towards all and every one, whether in heart, word, or deed; which are amity, faith, verity and free admonition, good deeds, humanity, liberality, acknowledgement or thankfulness. In the second, shall be the special duties required for some special and express reason and obligation between certain persons, as between a Man and his Wise, Parents and Children, Matters and Servants, Princes and Subjects, Magistrates, the great and powerful, and the lesse.

The first part, which is of the general and common duties of all towards all, and first,

CHAP. VII.

Of love or friendship.

I The Description. A Mity is a facred flame, kindled in our breafts, first by nature, and hath expressed its first heat between the Husband and Wite, Parents and Children, Brothers and Sisters; and afterwards growing cold, hath recovered heat by Art, and the invention of alliances, Companies, Fraternities, Colledges, and Communities. But for as much as in all things, being divided into many parts, it was weakned and mingled with other pleasant and profitable considerations; to the end, it might re-strengthen it self, and unite its own forces into a narrow room, betwixt two true friends. And this is persect amity, which is so much more fervent and spiritual than other, by how much the heart is hotter than the liver, and the blood than the veins.

Amity is the foul and life of the world, more necessary (say the wise)

wife) than fire and water : Amienia, necessitudo, amici necessarii; Friendship, familiarity, are necessary friends. It is the sun, the staff, the falt of our life; for without it, all is darkness, and there is no joy, no stay, no taste of life: Amicitia justitie confors, nature vinculum, civitatis presidium, seneciutis solatium, vita humana portus: ea omnia constant, discordia cadunt: Friendship is the companion of Justice, the bond of nature, the defence of a City, the comfort of old age, and the quiet barbour of mans life : By it all things confift, and by discord de-

cay.

And we must not think that friendship is profitable and delightful to private men only, for it is more commodious to the weal-pub- How meeffary lick : it is the true nurling Mother of humane fociety, the preferver to the west. of States and policies. Neither is it suspected, nor displeaseth any but publick. Tyrants and Monsters, not because they honour it not in their hearts, but because they cannot be of that number, for only friendship sufficeth to preserve the world. And if it were every where in force there would be no need of a Law, which hath not been ordained, but as a help, and as a fecond remedy for want of friendship, to the end, it might inforce and constrain by the authority thereof, that which for love and friendship, should be free and voluntary; but howfoever the Law taketh place far below friendship. For triendthip ruleth the heart, the tongue, the hand, the will, and the effects; the Law can but provide for that which is without. This is the reafon why Aristotle said, that good Law-makers, have ever had more care of friendship, than of justice: And because the Law and Juthice do many times lose their credit, the third remedy, and least of all, hath been in Arms and force, altegether contrary to the former, which is friendship. Thus we see by degrees, the three means of publick Government. But love or friendship is worth more than the rest, for second and subsidiary helps are no way comparable to the first and principal.

The divertity and distinction of friendship is great: That of the ancients into four kinds, Natural, Sociable, Holpital, Venerous, is The first dinot sufficient. We may note three; The first is drawn from the finition of the causes which ingender it, which are four; nature, virtue, profit, plea- causes. fure: which sometimes go together in Troops; sometimes two or three, and very often one alone: But virtue is the more noble and the stronger, for that is spiritual, and in the heart, as friendship is: Nature in the bloud, profit in the purfe, pleasure in some part, or fense of the body. So likewise virtue is more liberal, more free, and

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pure,

pure, and without it the other causes are poor, and idle, and frail. He that loveth for virtue, is never weary with loving, and; if friendship be broken, complaineth not. He that loveth for profit, if it fail, complaineth, and it turneth to his reproach, that when he hath done all he can, he hath lost all: He that loveth for pleasure, if his pleasure cease, his love ceaseth with it, and without complaint, estrangeth himself.

2. Of persons.

The fecond diffinction which is in regard of the persons, is in three kinds: The one is in a straight line, between superiours and inferiours; and it is either natural, as between Parents and Children. Uncles and Nephews ; or lawful, as between the Prince and the fubjects, the Lord and his vaffals, the Mafter and his servants, the Doctor and the Disciple, the Prelate or Governour, and the People. Now this kind to speak properly, is not friendship, both because of the great disparity that is betwixt them, which hindereth that inwardness and familiarity and entire comunication, which is the principal fruit and effect of friendship, aslikewise because of the obligation that is therein, which is the cause why there is leffe liberty. and leffe choice and affection therein. And this is the reason, why men give it other names than of friendship : for inferiours, there is required of them honour, respect, obedience; in superiours, care and vigilancy, over their inferiours. The fecond kind of friendship, in regard of the persons, is in a collateral line between equals, or fuch as are near equals. And this is likewife twofold; for either it is natural, as between brothers, fifters, cousins, and this comes nearer to friendship, than the former, because there is lesse differity. But yet there is a bond of nature, which as on the one fide, it knieteth and fastneth, so on the other it loofneth: for by reason of goods and divisions, and affairs, it is not possible, but brothers and kinf-folks' must forntimes differ: belides, that many times the correspondency, and relation of humours and wills, which is the effence of friendthip, is not found amongst them; He is my brother, or my kinfman, but yet he is a wicked man, a fool: Or it is free and voluntary as between companions and friends, who touch not in bloud, and hold of nothing but only friendship and love: and this is properly and truly friendfhip.

3. The third kind of friendship, in regard of the persons, is mixt, and as it were compounded of the other two, whereby it is, or it should be more fixing, this is matrimonial of married couples, which

which holders of love or friendship in a straight line because of the superiority of the husband, and the inferiority of the wife; and of collateral friend ship being both of them companions joyned together by equal bands. And therefore the wife was not taken out of the head, nor foot, but the fide of man. Again, fuch as are married, in all things and by turns exercise and shew both these friendthips; that which is in a straight line in publick, for a wife woman honoureth and respecteth her husband; that which is collateral in private, by private familiarity. The matrimonial friendship likewife after another fashion double and compounded; for it is spiritual and corporal, which is not in other friendship, save onely in that which is reproved by all good laws, and by nature it felf. Matrimonial friendship then is great, strong, and puissant. There are neverthelesse, two or three things that stay and hinder it, that it cannot attain to the perfection of friendship; the one, that there is no part of marriage free but the entrance, for the progreffe and the continuance thereof is altogether conftrained, enforced, I mean in Christian marriages; for every where else it is lesse enforced, by reason of those divorcements which are permitted: the other is the weakness and insufficiency of the wife, which can no way correspond to that perfect conference and communication of thoughts and judgments: her foul is not strong and constant enough to endure the straightness of a knot so fatt, so throng, so durable ; it is as if a man should sow a strong and coorse piece of cloth to a soft and delicate. This filleth not the place, but vanisheth and is easily torn from the other. Again, this inconvenience followeth the friendthip of married couples, that it is mingled with fo many other tirange matters, children, parents of the one fide and the other, and fo many other distaff-businesses that do many times trouble and interrupt a lively affection.

The third distinction of friendship respecteth the force and intention, or the weakness and diminution of friendship. According 3, of degrees to this reason, there is a twofold friendship, the common and imper. fect, which we may call good will, familiarity, private acquaintance : and it hath infinite degrees, one more firich, intimate and ftrong than another: and the perfect, which is invincible, and is a Phenix

in the world, yea hardly conceived by imagination.

We shall know them both by confronting them together, and by knowing their differences, The common may be attained in a The difference short time. Of the perfect it is said, that we must take long time common and

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to deliberate, and they must eat much falt together before it be per-

2. The common is attained, built, and ordered by divers profitable and delightful occasions and occurrants: and therefore a wife man hath set down two means to attain unto it, to speak things pleasant, and to do things profitable; the perfect is acquired by an

only true and lively virtue reciprocally known

3. The common may be with and between divers: the perfect is with one only, who is another felf, and between two only, who are but one. It would intangle and hinder it felf amongst many, for if two at one time should desire to be succoured, if they should request of me contrary offices; if the one should commit to my secrecy a thing that is expedient for another to know, what course, what order may be kept herein? Doubtless, division is an enemy to perfection, and union her cousin-germane.

4. The common is capable of more and leffe, of exceptions, refiraints, and modifications; it is kindled and cooled, subject to accession and recession, like a fevour, according to the presence or absence, merits, good deeds, and so forth. The petfect not so, alwaies the same, marching with an equal pace, firm, haughty, and con-

fant.

5. The common receiveth and hath need of many rules and cautions given by the wife; whereof one is, to love without respect of piety, verity, virtue, Amieus as faue ad aras. Another, so to love as that a man may hate; so to hate, as that he may likewise love, that is to hold alwaies the bridle in his hand, and not to abandon himfelifo profusely, that he may have cause to repent, if the knot of friend-ship happen to unite.

Again, to aid and fuecour at a need without intreaty: for a friend is bashful, and it costs him dear to request that that he thinks to be his due. Again, not to be important to his friends, as they that are alwayes complaining after the manner of women. Now all these lessons are very wholsome in ordinary friendship, but have no place in this sovereign and per-

fect.

The descripison of so fell friendship, We shall know this better by the portrait and description of perfect friendship, which is a very free, plain, and universal confusion of two souls. See here three words. 1. A consustion, not one-ly a Conjunction, and joyning together, as of solid things, which howsoever they be fastened, mingled, and knit together, may be separated

rated and known apart. For the fouls of men in this perfect amity are in such fort plunged and drowned the one within the other. that they can no more be divided, neither would they, than thing; liquid that are mingled together. 2. Very free, and built upon the pure choice and liberty of the will, without any other obligation, occasion, or frange cause. There is nothing more free and voluntary than affection. 3. Universal, without any exception of all things, goods, honours, judgments, thoughts, wills, life. From this universal and full confusion it proceedeth, that the one cannot lend or give to the other, and there is no speech betweet them of good turns, obligations, acknowledgements, thankfulness, and other the like duties, which are the nourishers of common friendships, but yet testimonies of division and difference, as I know not how to thank my felf for the service I do unto my self, neither doth that love which I bear unto my felf increase by those succours and helps I give unto my felf. And in marriage it felf, to give fome refemblance of this divine knot, though it come far thort thereof, donations are forbid between the husband and the wife: and if there were place for three, one to give unto the other, he is the giver that gives cause to his friend to expresse and imploy his love; and he receiveth the good turn, that by giving binds his companion: for the one and the other feeking above all things even with a greedy defire to do good to one another, he that giveth the occasion and yieldeth the matter he that is liberal, giving that contentment to his friend, to effect that which he most defireth.

Of this perfect friendship and communion, antiquity yieldeth some examples. Blofins taken for a good friend of Tiberius Grac- Ecamples. chas then condemned to die, and being asked what he would do for his fake, and he answering that he would refuse no hing, it was demanded what he would do if Gracebus should intreat him to fire the Temples? to whom he answered, that Gracehus would never intreat such a matter at his hands, but ifhe should he would obey him; a very bold and dangerous answer. He might boldly have faid, that Gracebus would never have required such a matter, and that should have been his answer; for according to this our description, a perfect friend doth not only fully know the will of his friend, which might have sufficed for an answer, but he holdeth in his flieve, and wholly poffesfeth it. And in that he added, that if Grac. chus would have required it, he would have done it it is as if he had faid nothing, it neither alters nor hurteth his fift answer concerning

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that

that affurance that he had of the will of Gracebus. This of Wills and Judgements. 3. Touching goods, There were three friends (this word three is some impeachment to our rule, and may make us think that this was no perfect amity) two rich and one poor charged with an old mother, and a daughter to marry : this man dying made his will, wherein he bequeathed to one of his friends his mother to be fed and maintained by him, to the other his daughter to be married by him, enjoyning him withall to bestow upon her the best dowry that his ability would afford, and if it should happen that the one of them should die, he should substitute the other. ple made themselves merry with his Will or Testament, the legataries accepted of it with great contentment, and each of them received unto them their legacy; but he that hath taken the mother, departing this life within five dayes after, the other furviving and semaining the fole univerfall inheritour, did carefully intertain the mother, and within a few dayes after he married in one day his own & onely daughter, and her that was bequeathed unto him dividing betwixt them by equall portions all his goods. The wife, according to this description, have judged that the first dying, expressed greatest love, and was the more liberall, making his friends his heires, and giving them that contentment, as to employ them for the supply of his wants. 4. Touching life; that history is sufficiently known of those two friends, whereof the one being condemned by the tyrant to dye at a certain day and hour, he requested, that giving baile, he might in the mean time go and dispose of his domesticall affairs, which the tyrant agreeing unto upon this condition, that if he did not returne by that time, his baile should suffer the punishment. The prisoner delivered his friend, who entred into prison upon that condition : and the time being come, and the friend who was the baile resolving to dye, his condemned friend failed not to offer himfelf, and to quit his friend of that danger. Whereat the tyrant being more than aftonished, and delivering them both from death, defired them to receive, and to adopt him in their friendship as their friend.

CHAP. VIII. Of fairly, treat, treathery, fecreey.

A LI men, yea the most treacherous know and confesse that faith station.

A is the band of humane society, the soundation of all justice and

and that above all things it ought to bee religiously observed & Nibil augustius fide, qua justinia fundamentum est, nec ulla res vebementius rempublicam continet & vitam : Santiffmum bumani pelloris bonum : Noibing is more excllent than faith, which is the found stion of justice, neither doib any thing more mightily bridle and rule the common-wealth and the life of man. It is the most facred good in the brests of men.

Ante Ionem generata, deeus divumg, bominumg. Qua fine non tellus pacem non aquora norunt, Inftitie confors, tacitumqi in pectore numen. Borne before Jupiter, of gods and men the grace, Wib w which neither land, nor feas for peace baveplace, Confort to Iuftice, in mans breaft, A God-bead not to be exprest.

Neverthelesse the world is full of treacheries. There are but few that doe well and truly keep their faith. They break it Fidelity rate. divers wayes, and they perceive it not. So they finde some pretext and colour thereof, they think they are fafe enough. Others feek corners, evalions, subtilties ; Quarunt latebras perjurio. Now to The division of remove all the difficulties that are in this matter, and truly to know this matter, how a man should carry himself, there are four considerations, whereto all the rest may be referred: The persons, as well he that giveth faith, as he that receiveth it; the subject whereof the question is made, and the manner according to which the faith is given.

power to doe it: If he be subject to another, he cannot give it, and Hethar givent As touching him that giveth faith, it is necessary that he have having given it without the leave and approbation of his mafter, faith. it is of none effect, as it did well appeare in the Tribune, Saturnine & his complices who comming forth of the Capitol (which they had taken by rebellion upon the faith given by the Confuls, subjects, and officers of the Common weale were justly flain. But every free man must keep his faith, how great and honourable soever he be; yea the greater he is, the more he is bound to keep it, because he is the more free to give it. And it was well faid, That the simple word of a Prince should be of as great force, as the oath of a private man.

As touching him to whom faith is given, who oever he be, it must earefully be kept, and there are but two exceptions, which are Hethat receive elear enough, the one if he received it not, and were not contented withit with it, but demanded other caution and affurance. For faith is afficred

things, mult fimply be received; otherwife it is no more faith, nor truft, when hollages are demanded, furcties are given ; to take gages or caution with faith, is a thing ridiculous. He that is held under the guard of men, or walls, it he escape and save himself, is not faultie. The reason of that Romane, is good; Vult fibi quifa, credi, & babita fides ipfam fibi obligat fidem: fides requirit fiduciam, & relativa funt ; Every one would bave bimfelf to be credited, and faith given, bindeth fanb unto bim: faith require truft, and they bare relation the one to the other. The other, if having accepted it, he first brake it ; Frangenti fides frangatur eidem : quando tu me non babes pro Senatore, nec ego te pro Confule : With bim that breaketh faith, let faith alfo be broken : When thou boldeft not me for a Senator, I will not hold thee for a Conful. A treacherous man deferveth not by the law of nature that faith should be kept unto him, except it be after an agreement, which covereth the treachery, and make th revenge unlawfull. Now these two cases excepted, a man must keep his faith to whomfoever, to his subjects as shall be faid. 2. To an enemy, witnesse the act of Attiline Regular ; the proclamation of the Senate of Rome against all those that had been licensed by Pyrrbus upon their faith given to depart; and Camillus, who would not fo much as make use of the treachery of another, but refent the children of the Faliffians with their matter. 3. To a thief and publick offender, witness the fact of Pompey, to the pirats and robbers; and of Augustus to Crocotas. 4. To the enemies of religion, according to the example of Jofus against the Gibeonites. But faith ought not to be given to these two latter, thieves and hereticks, or apoflate's, nor taken of them: for we ought not to capitulate, nor to treat wittingly of peace and alliance with fuch kind of people, except it be in extreme necessity, or for the winning of them to the truth or for the publick good, but being given, it ought to be kept.

Chap.14.

The fubjelt of faith-

Livie.

As touching the thing subject, if it be unjust or impossible, a man is quit: and being unjust, it is well done to slie from it, and a double fault to keep it. All other excuses besides these two, are of no account, as losse, dammage, displeasure, discommodity, dissionly; as the Romanes have many time practised, who have rejected many great advantages, to avoid the breach of faith, Quibus tamá attitute sides antiquior fait: With whom faith was better accounted then so mach prosit.

The matter of

Touching the manner of giving faith, there is some doubtsfor ma-

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ny think, that if it have been extorted either by force and fear, or by fraud and fudden furprife, a man is not bound unto itsbecause in both cases, he that promiseth hath not a will, whereby all things are to be judged. Others are of a contrary opinion; and to fay the truth, 7fas kept his faith and promise to the Gibenites, though it were extorted from him by a great furprife, and falle intelligence, and it was afterwards declared, that he did therein what he ought to do. And therefore it seemeth that a man may fay, That where there is onely a simple word and promise pait, a man is not bound, but if faith or promise given be confirmed and authorised by an act, as the fact of I fus, he is bound to perform it in regard of the name of God : but yet that he is afterwards in judgement to feek means to right himfelf . of that either deceit or violence. Faith given with an outh, and the interpolition of the name of God, bindeth more than a simple promile; and the breach thereof which includeth perjurie with treachery, is far worfe. But to think to give affurance of faith by new and ffrange oaths, as many do, is superfluous amongst honest men, and unprofitable, if a man will be difloyall. The best way is to swear by the eternall God, the revenger of those that vainly use his name, and break the faith.

Treachery and perjury is in a certain fenfe, more bafe and execra- Treachery inin blethan Atheisme. The Atheitt that believeth there is no God, is riom to God. not fo injurious against him in thinking there is no God, as he that knoweth him, believeth in him, and in mockery and contempt doth perjuriously abuse his name. He that sweareth to deceive, mocketh God, and feareth man. It is a leffe fin to contemn God, than to mock him. The horror of treachery and perjury cannot be better. deciphered, than it was by him that faid, It was to give a teftimony of the contempt of God, and the fear of men. And what thing is more monstrous than to be a coward with men, and resolute and, valourous with God? Treachery is, secondly, the traytor and capital enemy of humane society. For it breaketh and destroyeth the band . thereof, and all commerce which dependeth upon the word and promifes of men, which if it fail we have nothing elfe to flick unto.

To the keeping of faith belongeth the faithfull guard of the ferrets to keep ferrets of another, which is a charge full of inconvenience, especially of great personages, which though it may wisely be performed, yet it is good to flie the knowledge of them, as sometimes that Poet did the fecrets of Lysimachus. He that takes into his custody the secrets of another, draws a greater trouble upon him, than he dreams of:

for befides the care that he takes into himfelf, to keep them well, he binds himfelf to fain, and to denie his own thoughts a thing very irrhfome to a noble and generous heart. Nevertheleffe he that takes that charge upon him, must keep it religiously: and to the end he may do it well, and play the good secretary, he must be such a one by nature not by art and obligation.

CHAP. IX.

Veritie and free admonition.

An excellent thing. Ree and hearty admonition is a very wholfome and excellent medicine, and the best office of amity. For to wound and oftend a little, to profit much, is to love foundly. It is one of the principall and most profitable Evangelical commandments: Si peccaveri in the frager must, corripe illum, &c. If the brother sin against thee, retrious him. &c.

To whom pro-

All have formetimes need of this remedy, but especially all those that are in prosperity, for it is a very hard thing to be happy and wise together. And Princes who lead a life to publick and are to furnish themselves with so many things, and have so many things hid from them, cannot see nor understand, but by the eyes and eares of another. And therefore they have great need of advertisements: otherwise they may chance to run strange and hard fortunes, if they be not very wise.

Rave, difficult, dangerom.

This office is undertaken by very few; There are required thereunto (as the wife affirme) three things, judgement or discretion, couragious liberty, amity and fidelity. These are tempered and mingled together, but few there are that doe it, for fear of offinding, or want of true amity, and of those that doe it, few there are that know how to do it well. Now if it be ill done, like a medicine ill applied, it woundeth without profit, and produceth almost the same effect with griefe, that flattery doth with pleasure. To be commended and to be reprehended unfittingly and to small purpose, is the self-same wound, and a matter a like faulty in him that doth it. Verity how noble soever it be, yet it hath not this priviledge, to be imployed at all hours and in all fashions. A wholsome holy reprehension may be vitiously applied:

The counsels and cautions for a man well to govern himself here-The rules of true in (it is to be understood where there is no great inwardnesse, famiadmonition. liaritie, confidence, or authority and power, for in these cases

there

here is no place for the careful, observation of these rules following) are thefe. 1. To observe place and time; that it be neither in times nor places of feathing, and great joy; for that were (as they fay) to trouble the feaft : nor of forrow and adversity : for that were a point of hostility, and the way to make an end of all; that is rather a fit time to faccour and comfort a man. Crudelis in re adversa objurzatio, damnare eft objurgare, cum auxilio eft opus : Chiding is cruel in adverfit v. to chide is to condemn, when belp is needful. King Perfeus, feeing himself thus handled by two of his familiar friends, killed them both. 2. Not to reprehend all things indifferently; not finall and light offences; this were to be envious, and an importunate, ambitious reprehender; not great and dangerous, which a man of himfelf doth lufficiently feel, and fear a worle punishment to come; this were to make a man think he lies in wait to catch him. 3. Secretly and not before witness; to the end he make him not ashamed, as t happed to a young man, who was fo much abashed, that he was reprehended by Pythagoras, that he hanged himself. And Platarch is of opinion, that it was for this cause that Alexander killed his friend Clitur, because he reprehended him in company: but especially, that it be not before those, whose good opinion, he that is reprehended defireth to retain, and with whom he defires to continue his credit, as before his Wife, his Children, his Disciples. 4. Out of a simple careless nature, and freedom of heart, without any particular interest, or passion of the mind, be it never so little. 5. To comprehend himself in the same fault, and to use general termes, as, We forget our selves, what do we think of? To begin with commendations, and to end with proffers of service and help; this tempereth the tartness of correction, and gives a better entertainment. Such and fuch a thing, becor syou well, but not fo well fuch and fuch a thing. 7. To express the fault with better words than the nature of the of fence doth require, as, You have not been altogether well advised in stead of, You have done wickedly; receive not this woman into your company, for the will undo you; in Head of Allure her not, perswade her not to yield to your desires, for thereby you will undo . your felf: Enter not into dispute with such a man; in thead of Ouarrel not, envy not fuch a man. 8. The admonition being ended, be not presently gone; but thay and fall into some other common and pleasant discourse, and the motors we shad shall we all of the

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CHAP. X.

Of flattery, lying, and dissembling.

Flattery a permicious and vila lanous thing.

Lattery is a very dangerous poylon, to every particular person, & almost the only cause of the ruine of a Prince and the State: it is worse than false witness, which corrupteth not the Judge, but deceiveth him only, causing him to give a wicked sentence against his will and judgement: but flattery corrupteth the judgement, enchanteth the spirit, and makes him unapt to be further instructed in the truth. And if a Prince be once corrupted by flattery, it necessarily followeth, that all that are about him, if they will live in grace and favour, must be flatterers. It is therefore athing as pernicious, as truth is excellent, for it is the corruption of truth. It is also a villanous vice, of a base beggerly mind, as foul and ill beseeming a man, as impudency a woman. Ut matrona metretrici dispar erit atque Discolor, insido scurre distabit amicus: Look how different and unlike a modest matron is to an impudent barlot; so far distant is a friend from a faitbles jester. Flatterers are likewise compared to harlots, forcerers, oyl-fellers, to wolves; and another faith, that a man were better fall among crows than flatterers.

2 Effectally to two forts of people. There are two forts of People subject to be flattered, that is to say, Such as never want People to surnish them with this kind of Merchandize, and easily suffer themselves to be taken by it; that is to say, Princes, with whom wicked men get credit thereby; and women, for there is nothing so proper and ordinary, to corrupt the chastity of women, as to feed and entertain them with their own commendations.

Hardly avoid-

Flattery is hardly avoided, and it is a matter of difficulty, to be preserved from it, not only to women, by reason of their weakness and their natures sull of vanity, and desirous of praise; and to Princes, because they are their kinsfolks, friends, and principal officers, whom they cannot avoid, that professe this mystery: (Alexander, that great king and Philosopher, could not desend himself from it, and there is not any private man, that would not yield much more unto it, than Kings, if he were daily assaulted and corrupted, by such base rascal sort of people as they are) But generally unto all, yea, to the wisest, both by reason of the sweetness thereof, in such fort that though a man withstand it, yet it pleaseth; and though he oppose himself against it, yet he never shutteth it quite out of doors:

doors : Unde fape exclufe noviffime accipitur : Though often rejetied, yet at last received: and because of the hypocritic thereof, whereby it is hardly discovered : for it is so well counterfeited and covered with the vilage of amity, that it is no easie matter to discern it.

It usurpeth the Offices, it hath the voic; it carrieth the name and It imitateth and counterfeit thereof fo artificially, that you will fay, that it is the refemblish afame. It studieth to content and please, it honoureth and commend- the player eth: It busieth it self much, and takes much pains to do service, it the reof. accommodateth it felf to the wills and humou s of men. What more? It takes upon it, even the highest and most proper point of amity, which is, to chide, and freely to reprehend. To be brief, A Flatterer will feem to exceed in love, him that he flattereth; whereas contrariwife, there is nothing more opposite unto love, not detraction, not injury, not professed enmity. It is the plague and poyfon of true amity; they are altogether incompatible; Non pites me simul amico & adulatore uti : Thou canst not use me together, both for a friend, and a flatterer. Better are the sharp admonitions of a friend, than the kisses of a flatterer. Meliora vulnera diligentu, quam ofcula blandientis.

Wherefore, not to mistake it, let us by the true Picture thereof, The description finde out the means to know it, and to discern it from true amity. of flattery and 1. Flattery respecteth for the most part its own particular benefit, amity. and thereby it is known; but true friendship seeketh not the good of it self. 2. The flatterer is changeable, and divers in his judgement, like wax, or a Looking-glasse, that receiveth all forms. He is a Chameleon, a Polypus, fain to praise and dispraise, and he will do the like, accommodating himself to the mind of him he flattereth. A friend is firm and constant. 3. He carrieth himself too violently and ambitiously in all that he doth, in the view and knowledge of him he flattereth, ever praising and offering his service. Nm imitatur amicitiam, fed præterit : He doth not imttate friendfhip, but paffe by it. He hath no moderation in his outward actions, and contrariwife, inwardly he hath no affection which are conditions quite contrary to a true friend. 4. He yieldeth, and alwayes giveth the victory to him he flattereth, alwayes applauding him, having no other end than to please, in such fort, that he commendethall, and more than all; yea, sometimes to his own cost, blaming and humbling himfelf like a wreftler that stoopeth, the better too verthrow his companion. A friend goes roundly to work, cares not whether he have

m or the ocount place, and respected not to miles how he may pleafe, as how he may profit, whether it be by fair means, or by toul, as a good Phylician uleth to do to cure his patient. 5. A flatterer somtimes usurpeth the liberty of a friend to apprehend; but it is with the left hand and untowardly. For he stayes himself at finall and light matters, that are not worthy reprehension, faining want of knowledge of any greater, but yet he will be rude and rough enough in the censuring of the kindred and servants of him he flattereth, as failing much in that duty they should do unto him, Or he faineth to have understood some light accusations against him, and that he could not be quiet until he knew the truth thereof; and if it fall out, that he that is flattered deny them, or excuse himself, he taketh occasion to commend him the more: I was much assonished at it (faith he) and I could not believe it, for I fee the contrary. For how should I think, that you will take from another man, when you give all that is your own, and take more care to give than to take? Or at least wife, he will make his reprehension to serve his turn, that he may flatter the better; telling him, that he takes not care enough of himself, he is not sparing enough of his person and presence, so necessary to the Common-weal, as once a Senator did to Tiberius in a full Senate, but with an ill scent, and as bad success. 6. Finally, to conclude in a word, a friend alwayes respecteth, procureth, and attempteth that which is reason, and honesty, and duty; the flatterer that which belongs to passion and pleasure, and that which is already a malady in the minde of him that is flattered. And therefore he is a proper instrument, for all things that belong to pleasure and licentious liberty, and not for that which is honest or painful, and dangerous. He is like an Ape, who being unfit for any other service, as other beasts are, serves for a play-game, and to make sport.

Oflying, the foulness and hust thereof.

A near Neighbour and alliance to flattery is lying, a base vice; and therefore said an ancient Philosopher, That it was the part of slaves to lie, of free-men to speak the truth. For what greater wickedness is there, than for a man to belie his own knowledg? The first step to the corruption of good manners, is the banishment of truth; as contrarily, saith Pindarus, To be true, is the beginging of vertue. It is likewise pernicious to humane society. We are not men, neither can we knit and joyn together in humane society, as hath bin said, if this be wanting. Doubtless, silence is more sociable, than untrue speech. It a lie had but one visage as truth hath, there were some

remedy for it; for we would take the contrary to that which alvar speaketh to be the certain truth. But the contrary to truth hath a hundred thousand figures, and an indefinite and unlimited field. That which is good, that it to fay, virtue & verity, is too finite & certain, because there is but one way to the mark: That which is evil, that is to fay, vice and errour, and lying, is infinite and uncertain, because there are a thousand ways to miss the mark. Doubtlesse if men knew the horror of lying, they would purfue it with fword and fire. And therefore such as have the charge of youth are with all instance and diligence, to hinder it, and to withstand the first birth and progress of this vice, as likewise of opinative obstinacy, and that in time, for they never leave growing.

There is likewise a covered and disguised lye, which is hypocrisic of hypocrisic. and diffimulation (a notable quality of Courtiers, and in as great credit amongst them as virtue) the vice of licentious and base minds: for a man to disguise and hide himself under a mask, as not daring to shew himself to be that which he is, is a cowardly and servile hu-

mour.

Now he that makes profession of this goodly mystery, lives in The difficulty great pain, for it is a great unquietness for a man to endeavour to thereof. feem other than that he is, and to have an eye unto himfelf, for fear left he should be discovered. It is a torment for a man to hide his own nature : to be discovered, a confusion. There is no such pleasure as to live according to his nature, and it is better to be leffe effeemed and to live openly, than to take fo much pains to counterfeit and live under a canopy; so excellent and so noble a thing is freedom.

But the mystery of these kind of men is but poor; for distimu- The discomme. lation continues not long undiscovered, according to that faying: dities. Things fained and violent dure not long: and the reward of fuch people is, that no man will trust them, nor give them credit when they speak the truth; for what soever comes from them is held for

apocryphal and mockery.

Now here is need of indifferency and wisdom. For if nature be The counsel deformed, evicious and offensive to another; it must be constrained, bereapon, and, to speak better, corrected. There is a difference between living freely and carelefly. Again, a man must not always speak all he knows, that is a folly; but that which he speaketh, let it be that which he thinketh.

There are two forts of people in whom diffimulation is excusa- Diffimulation

ble, min.

ble, yea sometimes requisite; but yet for divers reasons, that is to say, in the Prince for the publick benefit, and the good and peace of himself, or the state, as before hath been said; and in women for the conveniency thereof, because an overfree and bold liberty becomes them not, but rather inclines to impudence. Those small disguisements, sained carriages, hypocrisies, which well besit their shamefastness and modesty, deceive none but sools; beseem them well and defend their honours. But yet it is a thing which they are not to take any great pains to learn, because hypocrisie is natural in them. They are wholly made for it, and they all make use of it, and too much: their visage, their vestments, their words, countenance, laughter, weeping; and they practise it not onely towards their husbands living, but after their death too. They sain great forrow, and many times inwardly laugh. Jastantim magent, que minus dorlent: They mourn in shew, that grieve but little.

CHAP. XI.

Of benefits, obligation, and thank fullness.

The science and matter of benefits or good turns, and the thankful acknowledgment of the obligation, active and passive is great, of great use, and very subtile. It is that where inwe fail most. We neither know how to do good, nor to be thankful for it. It should seem that the grace as well of the merit, as of the acknowledgment is decayed, and revenge and ingratitude is wholly in request, so much more ready and ardent are we thereunto. Gratis oneriest, ultio in questu babetur: altins injurie quam merita descendum: Thank fulness is a burthen, revenge is accounted for gain: Injuries sink deeper than deserts. First then we will speak of merit and good deeds, where we will comprehend humanity, liberality, almes-deeds and their contraries, inhumanity, cruelty, and afterwards of obligation, acknowledgment, and forgetfulness, or ingratitude and revenge.

Tacit.

An exhortation to good works by divers reasons.

God, nature, and reason, do invite us to do good, and to deserve well of another; God by his example, and his nature, which is wholly good; neither do we know any better means how to imitate God; Nulls re propins ad Dei naturam accedimus, quam betweeneit. Dei est mortalem succurrere mortali. In nothing we come reasse to the nature of God, than in doing good. It is of God that one mor-

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tal man succoureth another. Nature witnesseth this one thing, that every one delighteth to fee him, to whom he hath done good: it best agreeth with nature; Nibil tam fecundam naturam, quam jupare consortium nature: Nothing is more agreeable to nature, than to belp him that partaketh of the Same nature. It is the work of an honest and generous man to do good, and to deserve well of another, yea to feek occasions thereunto. Liberalis eriam dandi caufis Ambrof. querit: It is a part of a liberal mm even to feek occasious of giving. And it is faid, that good blood cannot lye, nor fail at a need. It is greatness to give, baseness to take; Beatins eft dare quam accipere. is better to give than to receive. He that giveth, honoureth himfelf, makes himself master over the receiver; he takes, sells himself. He (faith one) that first invented benefits or good turns, made flocks and manacles to tye and captivate another man. And therefore divers have refused to take, lest they should wound their liber. ty, especially from those whom they would not love, and be beholding unto, according to the counsel of the wife, which adviseth a man not to receive any thing from a wicked man, left he be thereby bound unto him. Cafar was wont to fay, that there came no found more pleasing unto his ears than prayers and petitions. It is the mot of greatness, Ask me; Invoca me in die tribulationis, ernam te & bonorificabis me: Call upon me in the day of tribulation, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorifie me. It is likewise the most noble. and honourable use of our means or substance, which so long as we hold and possess them privately, they carry with them base and abject names; horles, lands, mony : but being brought into light, and employed to the good and comfort of another, they are ennobled with new and glorious titles, benefits, liberalities, magnificencies. It is the best and most commodious imployment that may be; Ars questuoffima, optima nogetiatio, whereby the principal is affured, and the profit is very great. And to fay the truth, a man hath nothing that is truly his own, but that which he gives; for that which he retains, and keeps to himself, benefits neither himself, nor another : and if he imploy them otherewise, they consume and diminish, pass thorow many dangerous accidents, and at last death it felf. But that which is given, it can never perith, never wax old. And therefore Mark Antom being beaten down by fortune, and nothing remaining to him, but his power to die, cryed out that he had nothing, but that which he had given : Hoe habes quedeunque dedi. And therefore this fweet, debonair, and ready will to do good unto all, is a Ff2 right

Of benefits, obligation, and thankfulnefs.

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right excellent and honourable thing in all respects: as contrarily, there is not a more base and detestable vice, more against nature than cruelty, for which cause it is called inhumanity; which proceedeth from a contrary cause, to that of bounty and benefits, that is to say, dastardly cowardlines, as bath been said.

The diffinition of benefits.

There is a two-fold manner of doing good unto another, by profiting and by pleafing him: for the first a man is admired and effected; for the second, beloved. The first is far the better, it regardeth the necessary and want of a man, it is to play the part of a sather and a true friend. Again, there are two sorts of bounties or good turns; the one are duties, that proceed out of a natural or lawful obligation: the other are merits and free, which proceed out of pure affection. These seem the more noble: nevertheless if the other be done with attention and affection, though they be duties, yet they are excellent.

Inv and and outward bene-

fits.

The benefit and the merit is not properly that, that is given, is. feen, is touched; this is but the groffe matter, the mark, the flew thereof, but it is the good will. That which is outward is many times but small, that which is in ward very great; for this hath commonly with it a kind of hunger and affection, and is alwaies feeking occasions to do good; it giveth so much as it can, and what is needful, forgetting its own benefit. In beneficio boc sufficiendum quod alieri dedit, ablaturus fibi, utilitatis fue oblitus : In a benefit this is to be considered that which be giveth to another he taketh away. from himself, being forgesful of his con profit. Contrarily, where the gift is great, the grace may be small ; for it is commonly given with an ill will; with an expectation of much intreaty, and, leafure enough to consider whether he may give it or no. This is to make too great preparation thereunto, and too great use thereof, to give it rather to himself; and his ambition, than to the good and neceflity of the receiver. Again that which is outward may incontinently vanish, that which is inward remains firm : The liberty, health, honour, which is to be given, may all at an inflant, by some accident or other, be taken away; the benefit nevertheleffe remaining entire.

And s of bemfire. L. To whom.

The advicements whereby a man should direct himself, in his bounties and benefits he bestoweth, according to the rules and instruction of the wife, are these: First, to whom must he give? to all? It seemeth that to do good unto the wicked and unworthy, is at one instant to commit many faults, for it brings an ill name upon the giver, entertaineth and kindleth malice, gives that which

which belongs to vertue and merit, to vice also. Doubtlesse free and favourable graces are not due, but to the good and worthy; but in a time of necessity, and in a generality all, is common. In thele two cases the wicked and ungratefull have a part, if they be in necessity; or if they be in such a fort mingled with the good, that the one can hardly receive without the other. For it is better to do good to those that are unworthy for their sakes that are good, than to deprive the good for their fakes that are evil. So doth God, good unto all; he suffereth the sun to shine, and the rain to fall indifferently upon all: But yet his special gifts he giveth not but to these whom he hath chosen for his; Non oft bonum fumere panem filiorum, & projecere canibue : multum refert utrum aliquem non excludas an eligas : It is not good to take the Childrens bresd, and caft it unto d'gs. There is a great difference between not excluding and chuling. At a need therefore, in a time of affliction and necessity we must do good unto all ; Naminibus prodesse natura jubet, ubicunque homini beneficio locus: Nature commandeth to do good unto men, whenfoever opportunity is offered to benefit them. Nature and humanity teach us, to regard and to offer our selvesunto them, that thretch out their arms unto us, and not unto those that turn their backs towards us; rather unto those to whom we may do good, than to those that are able to do good unto us. It is the part of a generous mind, to take part with the weaker fide, to succour the afflicted, and to help to abite the pride and violence of the conqueror; as Chelonis once did, the Daughter and Wife of a King, whose father and husband being at variance and wars one against another, whensoever the husband had got the better against her father, like a good daughter she followed and served her father in all things in his afflictions; but the chance turning, and her father getting the mastery, like a good wife, she turned to her husband, and accompanied him in his hardest fortune.

Secondly, he must do good willingly and cheerfully ; Non ex 2, Willingly triftitia aut necessitate; bilarem datorem diligit Dem : Bit eft gratum, qued opus eft, si ultro offeras : Not with discontent, or out of necesfity: God loveth a chearfull giver : that is twice acceptable, that is needfull, and fered of thine own accord: not fuffering himself to be over-intreated, and importuned; otherwise it will never be pleating: Nemo libenter debet quod non accipit, fed expreffit: No man receivesh with that thank fullneffe, when it is not willingly given, but wrung out by importunity. That which is yielded by force, and en-Ff3 treaty

treaty and prayers, as dearly fold; Non sulit gratis, out secipit regans : imo nibil charius emitur quam quod precibus : He bath it not freely, which receiveth by entreaty: yea nothing is dearer bought, then that which is had by earnest first. He that praieth and intreateth, humbleth himself, confesseth himself an inferiour, covereth his face with shame, honoureth him whom he intreateth; whereupon Celar was wont to fay after he had overcome Pompey, That he lent not his ears more willingly, nor took fo much content in any thing, as to be intreated whereby he gave a kind of hope unto all, even his enemies, that they should obtain whatsoever they should request. Graces are filken vestments, transparent, free, and not constrained.

3. Speedity.

Thirdly, speedily and readily. This seems to depend upon the former; for benefits are effected according to the will wherewith they are bestowed; now he that staves long before he succour and give, feems to have been a long time unwilling to do it; qui tarde fecit, din noluit. As contrarily, a readyness herein doubleth the benefit; Bis dat qui celeriter: He giveth twice that giveth quickly. That indifferency and careless regard whether it be done, or not done, that is used herein, is not approved by any, but impudent, persons. Diligence must be used in all points. Herein then there is a five-fold manner of proceeding, whereof three are reproved; to refuse to do a good turn, and that flowly too, is a double injury: to refule speedily, and to give flowly, are almost one: and some there are that are leffe offended with a quick denial; Minus decipitur cui negatur celeriter: be is leffe deceived that is foon denied. The best way then is, to give speedily: but that which is most excellent, is, to anticipate the demand; to prevent the necessity and the defire.

of reffitntion.

Fourthly, without hope of restitution: this is that wherein the Without hope force and virtue of a benefit doth principally consist. If it be a virtue, it is not mercenary : Tune eft virtus, dare beneficia non reditura : Then it is virtue to bestom benefits, when they exfect no requital. A benefit is leffe richly bestowed, where there is a retrogradation and reflection; but when there is no place for requital; yea, not known from whence the good turn cometh, there it is in its true lufire and glory. If a man look after the like, he will give flowly and to few. Now it is far better to renounce all fuch hopes of two returns, than to cease to merit, and to do good; for whilest a man teeketh after that strange and accidental payment he depriveth himfelf of the true and natural, which is that inward joy and comfort. he receiveth in doing good. Again, he must not be twice entreated

for one thing. To do wrong, is in it felf a base and abominable thing, and there needs no other thing to diffwade a man from it: fo to deferve well of another: is an excellent and honourable thing, and there needs no other thing to enflame a man to it. And in a word. It is not to do good, to look after the like return vit is to make merchandize and profit thereof Non eft beneficium and in on eftum mittitur : That is not a benefit ibat is given for gain. And a man should not confound and mingle together actions to divers demus lenecia, non faneremu : Let we give benefits, but not for ufury. It is pitie but fuch men should be deceived that hope after such requitals : Dirnu elt decipi, qui de recipiendo cogitaret, cum daren: He is worthy to be deceived, who looketh for a recompence of that he gave. She is no honest woman who either forfear, or the better to enflame, or to draw a man on, refuseth : Que quia non lieuit non dedit, ipfa dedit : She who bath not given ber confent becouse the could not fish do it. bath notwishflanding emfented. So he deferves nothing that doth good to receive good again. Graces are pure virgins, without hope of return, faith Hefiod.

Fifthly, to do good in a proportion answerable to the defire of a man, and as it may be acceptable to him that receiveth it, to the end 5. According he may know and find, that it is truly intended and done unto him. to the defire of Concerning which point you are to know that there are two forts of benefits, the one are honourable to the person that receiveth, and therefore they should be done publickly; The other are commodious, such as succour the want; weakness, shame, or other necessivie of the receiver. Thefe are to be done fecretly, yea, if need be that he onely may take notice that receiveth them; and if it be fit, the receiver should not know from whence they come (because it may be he is balhfull, and the knowledge thereof may discourage him from taking, though his needs be great) it is good and expedient to conceal it from him, and to fuffer the benefit to drop lato his hand. as it were unawares. At is enough the benefactor know its and his own conscience serve him for a witness which is better than if he had a thousand lookers on a boo of the transmitted in the and to vite

Sixthly, without the hurt and offence of another, and the prejudice of julice : to do good not doing evil : To give to one at the 6. Without the charge of another; is to facrifice the fon in the prefence of the father, offener of wafaith a wife man. a the crace be r the credit a mem and we there . .

Seventhly, wife A man may be formetimes hindered from answering demands and petitions, from refusing or yielding unto , wifely,

them. This difficulty proceedeth from the evil nature of man. especially of the petitioner, who vexeth himself too much in the induring of a repulse, be it never so just and reasonable. And this is the reason why some promise and agree to all (a testimony of weakness) yea, when they have neither power, nor will to perform and referring the avoiding of the difficulty to the very point of the execution, they hope that many things may happen that may hinder and trouble the performance of their promise, and so think to quit themselves of their obligation : or if it fall out there be question made thereof, they find excuses and avoidances; and so for that time content the petitioner. But none of all this is to be allowed; for a man ought not to agree to any thing, but to that which he can, will, and ought to perform. And finding himfelf between thefe two Araits and dangers; either of a bad promife, because it is either unjust, or ill befitting; or an absolute denial, which may flir up some Suspition, or mis-conceit ; the counsel is, that he salve this matter either by delaying the answer, in such fort composing the promise, in fuch generall and doubtfull terms, that they bind not a man precifely to the performance thereof. But here is craft and fubilety, far different from true freedom; but this iniquity of the petitioner is the cause there, and he deserveth it, and land some maryona your of

9. From a bear-17 offeltion. Eighthly it must proceed from a manly heart, and thearty a section, Homo sum, bumani me nibil alienum puro: I am a man, and I think nothing belonging unto wan strange unto me; especially towards those that are assisted in want; and this is that which we call mercy, They that have not this assection, assisted in manes, are inhumane, and carry the marks of dishonest men. But yet this must proceed from a strong, constant, and generous; not a soft, esseminate, and troubled mind: for that is a vicious passion, and which may fall into a wicked mind, whereof in this place we have already spoken: for there is a good and evil mercy. And a man must succour the afflicted, not assisted himself and applying the evil unto himself, detract nothing from equity, and homour; for Good saith that we must not have pity of the poor in judgment; and so Good and his Saints are said to be mercifall and pitifull.

9. Without boofing.

Ninthly, it must be without boasting and shew, or publick proclamation thereof, for this is a kind of sepreach. These kind of vaunts do not onely take away the grace, but the credit, and make a benefit adjous, be oft in adjumben ficial pardwere. And in this sense it is faid, that a benefactor must forget his good deeds.

He

He must continue them, and by new benefits confirm, and renew. the old, (this inviteth the whole world to love him, and to feek his 10. Continue love) and never repent himfelf of the old, how foever it may feem the m without that he hath cast his feed upon a barren and unthankful ground, beneficii tui etiam infelicitas placeat, nufquam bec vox, Vellem non feciffe. let even the ill success of thy good deeds please thee: never have this in thy mouth, I would I had not done it. An unthankful man wrongs none but himself, and a good turn is not lost by his ingratitude; it is a holy confecrated thing that cannot be violated, nor extinguished by the vice of another. And it is no reason because another is wicked, that therefore a man should cease to be good, or discontinue his office; and that which is more, the work of a noble and generous heart is to continue to do well, to break and to vanquish the malice and ingratitude of another man, and to mend his manners Optimi viri & ingentis animi eft tam din ferre ingratum donec feceris gratum: vincit malos pertinax bonitas. The best men and generous minds will bare folong with an ungrateful perfon, until with their goodnessether hall make him grateful, persevering goodnesse overcometh the e-

Lastly, not to trouble, or importune the receiver in the fruition thereof, as they who having given an honour, or an office to a man, Not to remove will afterwards execute it themselves; or at leastwise, procure them or tro ble a one good, that they may reap another themselves. He that, is the good turn receiver ought not to endure this, and therefore is not unthankful; and the benefactor defaceth the benefit, and cancelleth the obligation. One of the Popes denying a Cardinal an unjust boon which he demandedialledging unto him that he was the cause why he was made Pope, answered him, Why then give me leave to be Pope, and take not that from me that thou half given me.

After these rules and advisements concruing good deeds; we must know that there are some benefits more acceptable and wel- pissing on of come than others, and which are more or leffe binding. They are beaufis. best welcome, that proceed from a friendly hand from those whom a man is enclined to love without this occasion; and contrarily it is a griefto be obliged unto him, whom a man likes not, and to whom he would not willingly be indebted. Such benefits also are welcome that come from the hand of him that is any way bound to the receiver: for here is a kind of Justice, and they bind leffe. Those good deeds that are done in necessities, and great extremities, carry with

The first oble-

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them a greater force, they make a man forget all injuries, and offences past, if there were any, and blind more throngly; as contrarily the denial, in such a case is very injurious and makes aman forget allbenefits paff, fuch benefits likewife, as may be required with the like. are more gladly received, than their contraries, which ingender a kind of hate; for he that findeth himself wholly bound, without any power or poffibility of repayment, as often as he feeth his benefactor, he thinks he fees a testimony of his inability or ingratitude, and it is irksome to his heart. There are some benefits, the more honest and gracious they are, the more burthenfome are they to the receiver, if he be a man of credit, as they that tye the confcience and the will; for they lock fafter, keep a man in his right memory, and fome fear of forgetfulness, and failing his promife. A man is a fafer prisoner under his word, than under lock and key. It is better to be tied by civil and publick bands, than by the law of honelly, and confci nee: two notaries are better than one. I truff your word, and vour faith, and confeience : here is more honour done to the receiver; but yet conftraint fasteneth, soliciteth, and presseth much more, and here is more fafety to the lender, and a man carrieth himfelf more carelefly, because he doubteth not but that the law, and those outward ties will awaken him when the time shall ferve. Where there is conffraint, the will is more loofe: where there is leffe conftraint, the will hath les liberty : Quod'me jur cogit, wix'd voluntate impetrem : I can bardly request of my will, that which the law coustrainets me unto.

From a benefit proceeds an obligation; and from it a benefit; and so it is both the child and the father, the effect and the cause, and there is a two-fold obligation, active and passive, Parents, Princes and superiours, by the duty of their charge are bound to do good unto those that are committed and commended anto them, either by law by nature; and generally all men that have means are bound to releive those that are in want, or any affliction whatsoever, by the command of nature. Behold here the sirst obligations afterwards from benefits or good turns, whether they be due or springing from this sirst obligation, or free and pure merits, ariseth the second obligation and discharge, whereby the receivers are bound to an acknowledgment and thankfull requital. All this is signified by Hesiodar, who bath made the Graces three in number, holding each other by the hands.

The first obligation is discharged by the good offices of every one that is in any charge, which shall presently be discoursed of in the second part, which concerneth particular duties: but yet this obligation

Obligation the mother and daughter of a denefit or good

The first obligation and mother.

gation is strengthened, and weakned and leffened accidentally, by the conditions and actions of those that are the receivers. For their offences, ingratitudes, and unworthiness do in a manner discharge those, that are bound to have care of them; and a man may amost say as much of their natural defects too. A man may lustly, with leffe affection love that child, that kinfman, that fubica, that is not only wicked and unworthy, but foul, mif-shapen, crooked, unfortunate, ill born; God himself hath abated him much, from their natural price and estimation : but yet a man must in this abatement of affection, keep a justice, and a moderation; for this concerneth not the helps and fuccours of necessity, and those offices that are due by publick reason, but only that intension, and affection, which is in the

inward obligation.

The fecond obligation, which arifeth from benefits, is that which we are to handle, and concerning which, we must at this time fet The second ob down some rules: First, the law of dutiful acknowledgment and ligation which thankfulness is natural, witness bealts themselves, not only private is thankfulness. and demestical, but cruel and savage, among whom there are many excellent examples of this acknowledgment, as of the Lion towards the Roman flave. Officia etiam fere fentinnt: Even wild beafts bave a feeling of good offices done unto them. Secondly, it is a certain act of virtue, and a teltimony of a good mind, and therefore it is more to be esteemed than bounty or benefit, which many times proceed from abundance, from power, love of a mans proper interest, and very seldom from pure virtue, whereas thankfulness springeth alwaies from a good heart, and therefore howfoever the benefit may be more to be defired, yet kind acknowledgment is far more commendable. Thirdly, it is an easy thing, yea a pleasant, and that is in the power of every man. There is nothing more easie, than to do according to nature nothing more pleafing than to be free from bands, and to be at liberty.

By that which hath been spoken, it is easie to see how base and villanous a vice forgetfulness and ingratitude is, how unpleasing and of ingratitude, odious unto all men; Dixeris maledilla cunda chm ingratum bominem dixeris: Thou fpeakeft all the evil that may be faid, when then namest an ungrateful man. It is against nature; and therefore Plate fpeaking of his disciple Aristotle, calleth him an ungrateful mule. It is likewise without all excuse, and cannot come but from a wicked Bature ; Grave vitium , intolerabile , quod diffociat bomines : A grievens vice and intolerable, which breaketh the Seciety of Sone

men. ..

men Revenge which followeth an injury, as ingratitude a good turn, is much more strong and pressing (for an injury enforceth more; than a benefit): Astins injuria quam merita descendant: Injuries sink deeper into the mind, than deserts. It is a very violent passion, but yet nothing so base, so desormed a vice as ingratitude. It is like those evils that a man hath, that are not dangerous; but yet are more grievous and painful, than they that are mortal. In revenge, there is some shew of justice, and a man hides not himself to work his will therein; but in ingratitude there is nothing but base dishonesty and shame.

Rules of sbankfuluess. Senec.

Idem.

Plin.

Thankfulness or acknowledgment that it may be such as it should be, must have these conditions. First he must graciously receive a benefit, with an amiable and cheerful vifage and speech : Qui grate beneficium accepit, primam ens pensionem filvit : He which receivesh a benefit shank fully dischargesh the first payment thereof. Secondly, he must never torget it. Ingratissimus omnium qui oblitus, nuf uam enim gratus ftert poteft, cui totum beneficium elatlum eft: be that forgetteth a benefit is of all other most ingrateful, for in no refrect can be be made thank ful, that hath utterly forgotten a good turn. The third office, is to publish it : ingenui pudoris eft fateri per quos profecerimus; & bec quafi merces authoru: It is the part of an boneft mind, to confesse by whom we have received profit; and this is as it were a reward to the aubre. As a man hath the heart, and the hand of another, open to do good; so must be have his mouth open to preach and publish it: and to the end the memory thereof may be more firm and folemn, he must name the benefit, and that by the name of the benefactor. The fourth office is to make restitution, wherein he must observe these four conditions; That it be not too speedy nor too curiously, for this carries an ill scent with it, and it bewrays too great an unwillingnesse to be in debt, and too much hast to be quit of that band. And it likewise giveth an occasion to the friend or benefactor, to think that his courtefie was not kindly accepted of; for to be too careful and defirous to repay, is to incurre the suspition of ingratitude. It must therefore follow fometime after; and it must not be too long neither left the benefit grow too ancient, for the Graces are painted young) and it must be upon some apt and good occasion, which either offereth it felf, or is taken, and that without noise and rumour. That it be with forme usury, and surpass the benefit, like fruitful ground : Ingratus eft qui beneficium reddit fine wura. He

is unthankful, who reftoreth a benefit without profit; or at least conal it with all the shew and acknowledgment that may be, of great reason, of a farther requital, and that this is not to satisfie the obligation, but to give some testimony that he forgetteth not how much he is indebted. That it be willingly and with a good heart: Ingratus eft, qui meiu gratus eft ! He is ungrateful wbo is grateful for fear. For if it were fogiven; Eedem animo beneficium debetur cuo datur; errat fi quis beneficium libentiàs accipit, quam readit : A benefit ought to be reftored with the fame mind wherewilb it was given: be is to be blamed whofoever be be, that receivesh a benefit more willingly than he restoresh it. Laftly if his inability be fuch, at that he cannot make prefent reflicution, yet let his will be forward enough which is the first and principal part, and as it were the foul, both of the benefit and acknowledgment; though there be no other witness hereof than it self; and he must acknowledge not only the good he hath received, but that likewife that hath been offered and might have been received, that is to fay, the good will of the benefactor, which is, as hath been faid, the principal.

The fecond Part.

Which concerneth the special duties of certain men, by certain and special obligations.

THE PREFACE.

Being to speak of special and particular duties, differing according to the diversity of the persons and their states, whether they be unequal as superiours, and inferiours, or equal: we will begin with married solks, who are mixt, and hold with both equality and inequality. And so much the rather, because we are first to speak of private and domestical justice and duties, before publick, because they are before them; as samilies and houses are before common-weals, and therefore that private justice which is observed in a samily, is the image, and sowrce, and model of a Common-weal. Now these private and domestical duties are three; that is to say between the husband and the wise, parents and children, masters and servants, and these are the parts of a houshould or family, which taketh the soundation from the husband and the wise, who are the masters and authors thereof. And therefore first of married solk.

The duty of marriedfolk. CHAP. XII.

The duty of married folk.

I Common daties,

A Ccording to those two divers considerations that are in marriage, as hath been said, that is to say, equality and inequality; there are likewise two sorts of duties and offices of married solk, the one common to both, equally reciprocal, of like obligation, though according to the custom of the world, the pain, the reproach, the inconvenience, be not equal: that is to say an entire loyalty, fidelity, community, and communication of all things, and a care and authority over their family and all the goods of their house. Hereof we have spoken more at large in the first book.

Particular duties of the bufThe other are particular and different, according to that inequality that is betwire them: for those of the husband are; 1. To infruct his wife with mildness in all things that belong unto her duty, her honour, and good, whereof she is capable. 2. To cloth her whether she brought dowry with her or no. 3. To nourish her. 4. To lie with her. 5. To love and defend her. The two extremities are base and vicious, to hold her under like a servant, to make her mistress by subjecting himself unto her: And these are the principal duties. These follow after, to comfort her being sick, to deliver her being captive, to bury her being dead, to nourish her living, and to provide for his children he hath had by her, by his will and Testament.

of the wife

The duties of the wife, 1. Are to give honour, reverence, and respect to her husband, as to her matter and lord; for so have the wifest women that ever were, termed their husbands, and the Hebrew word Baal fignifieth them both, husband and lord. She that difchargeth her felf of this duty, honoureth her felf more than her husband; and doing otherwise, wrongs none but her self. 2. To give obedience in all things just and lawful, applying and accommodating her felf to the manners and humours of her husband, like a true looking glaffe, which faithfully representeth the face; having no other particular designment, love, thought, but as the dimensions and accidents, which have no other proper action or motion, and never move but with the body, the applyes her felf in all things to her husband, 3. Service, as to provide either by her felf or some other his viands, to wash his feet. 4. To keep the house, and therefore the is compared to the Tortois, and is painted having her feet naked, and especially in the absence of her husband. For her husband being being far from her the must be as it were invincible, and contrary to the Moon (which appeareth in her greatness when she is farthest from the Sun) not appear, but when the comes neer her Sun. 5 To befilent, and not to fpeak but with her husband, or by hen husband : and forafmuch as a filent woman is a rare thing, and hardly found the is faid to be a precious gift of God. 6. To employ her time is Eoclus, 26. the practice and study of housewifery, which is the most commodious and honograble science and occupation of a woman; this is her special miltris-quality, and which a man of mean fortune; should especially seek in his marriage. It is the only dowry, that serveth either to ruinate, or preferve families; but it is very rare. There are divers that are covetous, few that are good housewifes. We are to speak of them both, of houshold husbandry presently by it felf.

In the private acquaintance and use of marriage, there must be An advisoment a moderation, that is, a religious and devout band, for that pleasure quaintance of that is therein must be mingled with some severity; it must be a married folk wife and conscionable delight. A man must touch his wife discreetly and for honefty, as it is faid, and for fear, as Aristosle-faith, lest provoking her defires too wantonly, the pleasures thereof make her to exceed the bounds of reason, and the care of health: for too hot and too frequent a pleasure altereth the seed, and hindreth genera . tion. On the other fide, to the end she be not over-languishing, barren, and labjed to other difeales, he must offer himself unto her, Plutarch, in though feldome. Solon faith, thrice in a moneth; but there can no solon. certain law or rule be given herecf.

The doctrine of houshold husbandry doth willingly follow, and is. annexed unto marriage.

CHAP. XIII.

Housbold busbandry.

I. T T Outhhold husbandry is an excellent, just, and profitable occupation. It is a happy thing, faith Plato, for a man to go through his private affairs without injustice. There is nothing more beautiful than a houshhold well and peaceably governed.

2. It is a profession which is not difficult, for he that is not capable of any thing elfe, is capable of this; but yet it is careful and painful, and troublesome, by reason of the multitude of affairs, which though they be small and of no great importance, yet foraf-

much as they are common and frequent, and never at an end, they do much annoy and weary a man. Domestical thorns prick, because they are ordinary; but if they come from the principal perfons of the family, they gaul and exulcerate, and grow remedilesse.

3. It is a great happinesse, and a sit mean to live at ease, to have one whom a man may trust, and upon whom he may repose himself; which that be may the better do, he must choose one that is true and loyal, and afterwards bind him to do well by that trust and considence he putteth in him. Habita sides ipsam obligat sidem; multisallere docuerunt, dum timent salis; & aliis jus peccandi, sissionand dederunt: Faith being given, binds faith again; many bave taught to deceive, whilst they fear to be deceived, and have given occasion unto others of

offending by suspecting them.

4. The principal precepts and counfels that belong to frugality, or good husbandry, are thefe: 1. To buy and fell all things at the best times and scasons, that is, when they are best and best cheap. 2. To take good heed left the goods in the house be spoyled or miscarry, be either loft or carried away. This doth especially belong to the woman, to whom Arifotle gives this authority and care. 3. To provide first and principally for these three; necessity, cleanliness, order: and again, if there be means, some advice to provide for thefe three too : but the wifer fort with no great pains to be taken therein: non ampliter, fed munditer convivium; plus falis quam Sumpins : A feaft must not be coftly, but cleanly, more mirth than coft. Abundance, pomp, and preparation, exquifite and rich fashion. The contrary is many times practifed in good houses, where you shall have beds garnished with filk, embroydered with gold, and but one simple coverlid in winter, which were a commodity far more necessarv. And so of the reit.

4. To rule and moderate his charge, which is done by taking away superfluities, yet providing for meessities, and that which is fit and beseeming. A ducket in a mans purse will do a man more honour honestly, than ten prodigally spent, faith one. Again (but this requires industry and good sufficiency) to make a great shew with a little charge; and above all, not to suffer the expence to arow above

the receit and the income.

5. To have a care and an eye over all: The vigilancy and prefence of the Master, faith the Proverb, fatteth the borse and the land. And in any case the master and mistress must take a case to

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to conceal their ignorance and infufficiency in the affairs of the house, and much more their carelesnesse, making a shew as if they attended and thought nothing else. For if officers and servants have an opinion, that their masters look not unto them, they may chance to make his hair grow through his hood.

CHAP. XIV.

The duty of Parents and Children.

He duty of Parents and Children is reciprocall, and reciprocally naturall: if that of children be more firait, that of Parents is: more ancient, parents being the first authours and cause, and more important to a Common-weal: for to people a State, and to furnish it with honest men and good citizens, the culture and good nourishment of youth is necessary, which is the feed of a Common-wealth. And there comes not so much evils to a Weal-publick, by the ingratitude of Children towards their Parents, as by the carelefness of Parents in the instruction of their Children: and therefore with great reason in Laredemon, and other good and politick States, there was a punishment and a penalty laid upon the Parents, when the Children were ill conditioned. And Plate was wont to fay, that he knew not in what a man should be more careful and diligent, than to make a good fon. And Crates cryed out in choler, To what end do men take so much care in heaping up goods, and so little care of those to whom they shall leave them? It is as much as if a man should take care of his shoo, and not of his foot. What should he do with riches that is not wife, and knows not how to use them? It is like a rich and beautifull faddle upon a Jades back. Parents then are doubly obliged to this duty, both because they are their Children, and because they are the tender plants and hope of the Common-weal: This is to till his own land, together with that of the Weal-publick.

Now this office or duty hath four fuccessive parts, according to the division of those four goods or benefits that a child ought to receive successive—the office of ly from his parents, Life, Nourishment, Instruction, Communica—parents.

tion. The hest regardest the time when the infant is in the womb, until his coming into the world inclusively; the second, the time of his infancy in his Cradle, until he know how to go and to speak; the third, all his youth; this part must be handled more at large, and more seriously; the fourth concerneth their affection, com-

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muni-

munication and carriage towards their children now come to mans

effate, touching their good thoughts, delignments,

The first, which regardeth the generation and fruit in the womb. is not accounted of and observed with such diligence as i tought, al-The first part of though it have as much part in the good or evil of a child (as well she office of of their bodies as their fouls) as their education and instruction af-Parents. ter they are born, and come to some growth. That is that, that giveth the sublistance, the temper and temperature, the nature, the other artificiall and acquired : and if there be a fault committed in this first part, the second and third can hardly repair it, no more than a fault in the first concoction of the stomach, can be mended in the fecond or third. We men go unadvifedly and headlong to this copulation, onely provoked thereunto by pleasure, and a defire to disburthen our selves of that which tickleth and presseth us thereunto: if a conception happen thereby, it is by chance; for no man goethto it warily, and with such deliberation and disposition of body as he ought, and nature doth require. Since then men are made at adventure, and by chance, it is no marvell if they feldome fall out to be beautifull, good, found, wife, and well composed. Behold then briefly, according to Philosophy the particular advisements touch. ing this first point, that is to fay, the begetting of male-children, found, wife, and judicious: for that which serveth for the one of these qualities, serves for the other. J. A man must not couple himfelf with a woman that is of a vile, base, and dissolute condition, or of a naughty and vitious composition of body. 2. He must abstain from this action and copulation seven or eight dayes. 2. During which time he is to nourish himself with wholsome victuals, more hot and dry than otherwise, and such as may concoct well in the stomach. 4. He mustuse a more than moderate exercise. All this tenderh to this end and purpole, that the feed may be well concocted and scasoned, bot and dry, fit and proper for a masculine, found and wife temperature, Vagabonds, sidle and lazie people, great drinkers, who have commonly anill concoction, ever beget effeminate, idle, and diffolute children (as Hippocrates recounteth of the Scythians.) Again, a maw must apply himself to this encoun-

ter after one manner, a longitume after his repail, that is to fay, his belly being empty, and he fafting (for a full panch performes nothing good either for the mind or for the body) and therefore Dingenes repreached a licentious young man, for that his father had be-

gotten him being drunk. And the law of the Carthaginians is com-

mended by Plato, which enjoyned a man to abitain from wine that Lib,2.de leg. day that he lay with his wife. 6. And not near the monethly terms of a woman, but fix or feven dayes before, or as much after them. 7. And upon the point of conception and retention of the feed, the woman turning and gathering her felf together upon the right fide: let her fo rest for a time, 8. This direction touching the viands and exercise must be continued during the time of her burthen.

To come to the second point of this office after the birth of the infant, thefe four points are to be observed. 1. The iniant must the fecond part be walhed in warm-water, fornewhat brimith, to make the members of the office of Supple and firm to cleanle and dry the Helh and the brain, to Brength Parents. ed the linews, a very good custome in the Eastern parts, and among the lews. 2. The nurse, if the be to be chosen, let her be young of a temperature or complexion the least cold and moist that may be. brought up in labour, hard lodging, ilender diet, hardened against cold and heat. I say, if the be to be chosen, because according to reafon, and the opinion of the wifest, it should be the mother, and therefore they cry out against her, when the refugeth this charge, being invited and as it were bound thereunto by nature, who to that end hath given her milk and dugs by the example of beafts, and that love and jealoutie that the ought to have of her little ones, who receive a very great hurt by the change of their aliment, now accustomed in a ftranger, and perhaps a bad one too, of a conflictution quite contrary to the former, whereby they are not to be accounted mothers, but by halfs. Quod eft boc contra naturam, imperfedium, ac dinidiatum Aul Gell. matris genus ? peperiffe fatim ab fe abjeciffe ; aluiffe in utero fangui- 1.12.c. ne fuo nefcio quid quod non videret : non atere antem nune fuo lacte, quod videat jam, viventem, jam bominem, jam matris officia implorantem : It is a thing against nature, imperfed and by balfs, for a mother to bring forth a child, and prefently to cast it from ber; to neurish in her womb wish ber own blood. I know not what, which the law not; and not nurse with her milk that which the feeth already living, a man, and imploring the duties of am ther. 3. The nourithment befides the dug should be goats milk, or rather cream, the most subtil and aery part of milk, fod with honey and a little falt. Thefe are things very fit for the body and minde, by the advice of all the wife and great Phylitians, Greeksand Hebrew. Butyrum & met comedet, ut feigt Galen, multis reprobare malien ; & elligere boumn : Ler bim eat butter and bo- locis. ney, until he be able to refuse the evil, and choose the good. The lliad, quality of milk of cream is very temperate, and full of good gray 7.

nourithment; the dryness of the honey and falt confumeth the too great humidity of the brain, and disposethit unto wisedome. 4. The infant must by little and little be accustomed and hardened to the air, to heat, and cold : and we are not to be fearful thereof; for in the Northern parts of the world, they wash their children so soon as they come out of the womb of their mothers, in cold water, and are never the worfe.

The two first parts of the office of parents we have soon dispatched; whereby it appeareth, that they are not true fathers that have not that care, affection, and diligence in these matters that is fits for they are the cause and occasion, either by carelesnesse, or otherwife, of the death and untimely birth of their Children; and when they are born they care not for them, but expose them to their own fortunes; for which cause they are deprived by law of that fatherly power over them that is due unto them; and the Children to the shame of their parents, are made slaves by those that have nourished them, and brought them up, who are far from taking care to preserve them from fire and water, and all other crosses and afflictions that may light upon them.

The third part of the office of parents. An infruction

The third part which concerneth the instruction of Children, we are to handle more seriously. So soon as this Infant is able to go, and to speak, and shall begin to employ his mind and his body, and that the faculties thereof shall be awakened and shew themselves, very important, the memory, imagination, reason, which begin at the fourth or fifth year there must be a great care and diligence used, in the well forming thereof: for this first tincture and liquor wherewith the mind must be seasoned, hath very great power. It cannot be expressed how much this first impression and formation of youth prevaileth, even to the conquering of Nature it felf. Nurture, faith one, excelleth Nature. Lycurgus made it plain to all the world, by two little dogs of one litter, but diverfly brought up, to whom presenting before them in an open place, a pot of pottage and a hare, that which was brought up tenderly in the house fell to the pottage; the other that had been ever trained up in hunting, forfook the pottage, and ran after the hare. The force of this instruction proceeds from this, that it entreth eafily, and departeth with difficulty: for being the first that entreth, it taketh such place, and winneth such credit as a man will there being no other precedent matter to contest with it, or to make head against it. This mind then wholly new and neat, foft and tender, doth eafily receive that impreffion that a man will give unto it, and afterwards doth not eafily lofe it. Now

Quint.

Now this is not a thing of small importance, but a man may rather fav, it is the most difficult and important that may be. For who feeth not that in a State, all depends upon this? Nevertheleste (and it is the greatest, most dangerous and lamentable fault that is in our policies, noted by Ariffetle and Plutarch) we fee that the conduct and discipline of youth is wholly left unto the charge and mercy to their parents, what kind of men foever they be, many times carelels, foolish, wicked, and the publick flate regardeth it not, cares not for it, whereby all goes to ruine. Almost the onely States that have given to the laws the discipline of children, were that of Lacedemon and Grete: But the most excellent discipline of the world for youth, was the partan; and therefore Agefilans perswaded Xenophon to send his Children thicher, for there (faith he) they may learn the most excellent science of the world, and that is to command and to obey well, and there are formed good Lawyers, Emperours at arms, Magiffrates, Citizens. Their youth and their instruction they esteemed above all things; and therefore Antipater demanding of them fifty Children for hostages, they answered him, that they had rather give him twice as many men at their ripest years.

Now before we enter into this matter, I will here give an advertisement of some weight. There are some that take great pains to discover the inclinations of Children, and for what employment they shall be most fit; but this is a thing so obscure, and so uncertain, that when a man hath bestowed what cost, and taken what pains he can, he is commonly deceived. And therefore not to tie our felves to these weak and light divinations and prognostications drawn from the motions of their infancy, let us endeavour to give them an instruction, universally good and profitable whereby they are made capable, ready, and disposed to whatsoever. This is to go upon a sure ground, and to do that which must alwayes be done. This shall be a good tincture, apt to receive all others.

To make an entrance into this matter, we may refer it unto three points, the forming of the spirit, the ordering of the body, the ru- The division of ling of the manners. But before we give any particular counfell this matter, touching these three, there are generall advisements that belong to the manner of proceeding in this bufineffe, that thew us how to carry our felves worthily and happily therein, which must be first known

as a preamble to the reft.

The first is carefully to guard his foul, and to keep it neat and free Gg3 from

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The first genevall advice souching infruttion, To guard the ears.

from the contagion and corruption of the world, that it receive not any blot nor wicked attainture. And the better to do this, he must diligently keep the gates, which are the ears especially, and then the eyes; that is to fay, give order, that not any, no not his own father, come pear unto him, to buz into his ears any thing that is evil. There needs no more but a word, the least discourse that may be, to make an evil almost past reparation : Guard thine ears above all, and then thine eyes. And for this cause, Plate was of opinion that it was not fit that servants and base persons should entertain Children with discourse, because their talk can be no better than fables, vain speeches, and fooleries, if not worfe. This were to train up and to feed those tender years with follies and fooleries.

The fecond gemeral advice touching the choice of in . ferences, books.

The second advice concerneth not onely the persons that must have charge of this Child, but the discourse and conference wherewith he must be entertained, and the books he must read. Touching the persons, they must be houest men, well-born, of a sweet and pleafruttors, con- fing convertation, having their head well framed, fuller of wildom than of science, and that they agree in opinion together; lest that by contrary counsels, or a different way in proceeding, the one by rigour the other by flattery, they hinder one another, and trouble their charge and delignments. Their books and communication must not be of small, base, sortish, frivolous matters, but great and serious, noble and generous; fuch as may rule and enrich the understanding, opinions, manners, as they that inftruct a man in the knowledge of our humane condition, the motions and mysteries of our minds, to the end he may know himself and others: such, I say, as may teach him what to fear, to love, to defire; what passion is, what virtue, how he may judge betwixt ambition and avarice, servitude and subjection, liberty and licentiousness. He is deceived that thinketh that there is a greater proportion of spirit required to the understanding of those excellent examples of Valerius Maximus, and all the Greek and Romane Histories (which is the most beautifull science and knowledg of the world) than to understand Amadis of Goul, and other like vain and frivolous discourses. That Child that can know how many hens his mother hath, and who are his uncles and his cofens, will as eafily carry away how many Kings there have been, and how many Cefars in Rome. A man must not distrust the capacity and fufficiency of his mind, but know how to conduct and manage it.

The third is, to carry himfelf towards him, and to proceed not after

after an auftere, rude, and fevere manner, but [weetly, mildly, and the third gochearfully. And therefore we do here altogether condemn that cu- merall advice from which is common in all places, to beat, and to box, and with mild and free frange words and out-cryes to hazen Children, and to keep them in fear and subjection, as the manner is in free-schools and colledges. For it is a custome too unjust, and as soul a fault, as when a Judge or Physician shall be moved with choler against an offender and patient : prejudiciall and quite contrary to that purpose that a man hath, which is to stir up a defire in them, and to bring them in love with virtue, wildome, science, honesty. Now this imperious and rude earriage, breeds in children a hatred, horror, and deteffation of that they should love; it provoketh them, makes them headfrong, abateth and taketh away their courage, in such fort that their minds become fervile, bafe, and flavish, like their utage ; Parentes ne Colost 3. provocet is ad tracundiam filios reftros, ne despondeant animum; Parents proveke not your Children to anger, left they be discouraged. For feeing themselves thus handled, they never perform any thing of worth but curse their master and their apprentiship. If they do that which is required at their hands, it is because the eye of the master is always upon them, it is for fear, and not cheerfully and nobly, and therefore not honeftly. If they fail and perform not their task, to fave themselves from the rigour of the punishment, they have recourse to base unlawfull remedies, lies, false excuses, tears of despight, flights, truantings, all worse than the fault they have committcd. Terent.

Dum id rescitum iri credit, tantisper cavet; Sisperat fore clam, rursum ad ingenium redit. The, quem beneficio adjungas, ex animo facit; Siudet par referre prafens absenfrue idem erit. The shame keeps knowledge, knowledge keeps the fin In am, which did in fecrefie begin: Whom good turns with love have got To be thy friend, reposethy lot,

Beeft thou there or beeft thou not. My will is that they be handled freely and liberally, using therein reason, and sweet and mild perswasions, which ingender in their hearts the affections of honour and of shame. The first will serve them as a fourre to what is good, the second as a bridle to check. and with-draw them from evill. There is fomething, I know not what, that is servile and base in rigour and constraint, the enemy

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to honour and true liberty. We must clean contrary fat their hearts with ingenuity, liberty, love, virtue and honour.

Pudore & liberalitate liberos retinere
Satius esse credo, quàm metu.
Hoc patrium est potitis consuesacro silium
Sua spome rette saccre, quam alieno metu.
Hoc Pater ac Dominus interest: hoc qui nequit,
Fateatur se nescire imperare liberu.
I hold it better, children up to rear
With modesty and bounty; than by sear,
T'enure a child; 'tis rather sathers law
To do well of himself, than others aw.
A Father and a Master differ so;

So wha can not, to rule fons doth not know.

Blows are for beafts that understand not reason: injuries and brawls are for flaves. He that is once accustomed thereunto is mar'd for ever. But reason, the beauty of action, the desire of honesty and honour, the approbation of all men, cheerfulneffe and comfort of heart, and the detellation of their contraries, as brutishness, baseness, dishonour, reproach, and the improbation of all men, these are the arms, the ipurs, and the bridles of Children well-born, and fuch as a man would make honest men. This is that which a man should alwayes sound in their ears; and if these means cannot prevail, all other rigour and roughnesse shall never do good: which cannot be done with reason, wisdome, en deavour, shall never be done by force; and if haply it be done, yet it is to small purpose. But these other means cannot be unprofitable, if they be employed in time, before the goodnesse of nature be spent and spilt. But yet for all this, let no man think that I approve that loofe and flattering indulgence, and fottish fear to give children cause of discontent and forrow, which is another extremity as bad as the former. This were like the Ivie, to kill and make barren the tree which it embraceth; or the Ape, that killeth her young with culling them; or like those that fear to hold him up by the hair of the head that is in danger of drowning, for fear of hurting him, and so suffer him to perifh. Against this vice the wise Hebrew spake much. Youth must be held in obedience and discipline, not bodily like beasts and madmen, but spiritual, humane, liberall, according to reason.

Peclus. 30.

We come now to the particular and more expresse advisements of this instruction. The first head of them is, as we have said, to

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exercife, sharpen and form the mind. Whereupon there are divers Panticular adprecepts, but the first principal and fundamental of all others, vifements. which respecteth the end of instruction, and which I most defire to touching the inculcate, because it is least embraced and followed, and every man runneth after the contrary, which is a common and ordinary errour, is, to have much more, and the chiefand principal care to exercife, to husband and manure, to use the proper good, and much leffe to get and endeavour the attainment of that which is strange; to strive and fludy more for Wisedome, than for Science and art; rather well to form the judgment, and by confequence the will, and the conscience, than to fill the memory, and to enflame the imagination. These are the three mistris parts of a reasonable foul: But the first is the judgment, as before hath been discoursed, to which place I refend the Reader. Now the custom of the world is quite contrary, Lib. 1, cap. 7. which runneth wholly after Art, Science, and what is acquired. Parents to the end they may make their Children wife, are at great charge, and their children take great pains. Ut omnium rerum fic licerarum intemperantia laboramus : We are troubled with an immoderate Tacit. defire of learning, as of all things elfe. And many times all is loft. But to make them wife, honeft, apr and dexterous, which is a marter of small charge or labour, they take no care at all. What greater folly can there be in the world, more to admire science, that which is acquired, than memory, than wisdome, than nature? Now all commit not this fault with one and the fame mind; fome fimply carried by custome, think that wisdome and science are not things different, or at lestwise, that they match alwaies together, and that it is necessary a man have the one to attain the other: these kind of men deserve to be taught: others go out of malice: and think they know well enough what they do, and at what price foever it be they will have Art and Science: For this is a mean in thefe daies in the occidental parts of Europe to get fame, reputation, riches, These kind of people make of Science, an Art and merchandise, science mercenary, pedantical, base and mechanical. They buy Science to fell it again. Let us leave these merchants as uncurable. Contrariwife, I cannot here but blame the opinion and fashion of fome of our Gentlemen of France, (for in other nations this fault is not fo apparent) who having knowledg or Art in fuch diffain and contempt, that they do lefte effect of an honest man only forthis, because he hath studied: they dischard it as a thing that seemeth in Some fort to impeach their Nobility. Wherein they shew them-

felves what they are, ill born, worse advised, and truly ignorant of virtue and honour, which they likewise bewray in their carriage, their idlenesses, their impertinencies, their insufficiencies, in their insolencies, vanities, and barbarities.

14 A comparison of science and wisedom. To teach others, and to discover the fault of all this, we must make good two things; The one, that Science and Wildom are things very different; and the Wisdome is more worth than all the Science or Art of the world; as Heaven exceeds the price of the Earth, gold of iron: The other, that they are not only different; but that they seldom or never go together, that they commonly hinder one another, he that hath much knowledg or Art is seldom wise, and he that is wise hath not much knowledg. Some exceptions there are herein, but they are very rare, and of great, rich, and happy spirits. Some there have been in times past, but in these dayes there are no more to be found.

IS The definition of science and wildom.

The better to perform this, we must first know what science and wisdome is. Science is a great heap, or accumulation and provision of the good of another; that is, a collection of all that a man hath feen heard and read in books, that is to fay of the excellent fayings and doings of great personages that have been of all nations; now the garner or storehouse where this great provision remaineth and is kept, the treasury of science and all acquired good, is the Memory. He that hath a good memory, the fault is his own if he want knowledg, because he hath the mean. Wisdom is a sweet and regular managing of the foul. He is wife that governeth himself in his desires, thoughts, opinions, speeches, actions, with measure and proportion. To be brief, and in a word, wisdome is the rule of the soul; and that which manageth this rule is the judgment, which feeth, judgeth, efteemeth all things, rangeth them as they ought, giving to every thing that which belongs unto it. Let us now fee their differences, and how much wisdom excels the other.

Science is a finall and barrengood in respect of wisdom, for it is not only not necessary (for of three parts of the world, two and more have made little use thereof) but it brings with it small profit, and serves to little purpose. 1. It is no way serviceable to the life of a man: How many people rich and poor, great and small, live pleasantly and happily, that have never heard any speech of science? There are many other things more commodious and serviceable to the life of man, and the maintenance of humane society, as honour, glory, nobility, dignity, which neverthelesse are not necessary;

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2. Neither is it serviceable to things natural, which an ignorant fot may as well perform, as he that hath best knowledge: nature is a sufficient mistrifs for that. 2. Nor to honesty, and to make us better: paucis est opus literis ad bonam mentem. Little learning is requifite for a good mind: nay, it rather hindreth it. He that will mark it well, shall find not only more honest people, but also more excellent in all kind of virtue amongst those that know little, than those that know most; witness Rome, which was more honell being young and ignorant, than when it was old, crafty and cunning, Simplex illa & operta virtus in obscuram & soleriem scientiam verfa eft: That simple and open virtue is turne l into obfin e and crafty knowledge. Science serveth not for any thing, but to invent crafts and fubtilities, artificial cunning devices, and whatfoever is an enemy to innocency, which willingly lodgeth with simplicity and ignorance. Atheisme, errours, seets, and all the troubles of the world have rifen from the order of these men of Art and knowledg. The first temptation of the devil, saith the Scripture, and the beginning of all evil, and the ruine of mankind, was the opinion and the defire of knowledg: Eritis ficut d.i fcientes bonum & malum: Te shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. The Sirens, to deceive and intrap Uliffer within their snares, offered to him the gift of Science; and S. Paul adviseth you all to take heed, ne quis vos feducat per p'ilssophism: let no min feduce you throw b their Philosophy. One of the sufficientest men of knowledg that ever was, spake of science, as of a thing not only vain, but hurtful, painful, and tedious. To be brief, science may make us more humane and courteous, but not more honest. 4. Again, it serveth no Solomon in thing to the sweetning of our life, or the quitting us of those evils his Ecclesiast, that oppress us in the world : but contrarily it increaseth and sharpneth them, witness Children and fools, simple and ignorant persons who measuring every thing by the present taste, run thorow them with the leffe grief, bear them with better content, than men of greatest learning and knowledg. Science anticipateth shose evils that come upon us, in such fort that they are sooner in the soul of man by knowledg, than in nature : The wife man faid, That he that Ecclef. 18: increaseth knowledg, increaseth forrow: Ignorance is a more fit remedy against all evils, Iners malorum remedium ignorantia eft : ignorance is theidle remedy of evils. From whence proceed those counfels of our friends; Think not of it, put it out of your head and memory. Is not this to cast us into the arms of ignorance, as into the best

and fafeft Sanctuary that may be? But this is but a mockery, for to remember and to forget is not in our power. But they would do as Chirurgions use to do, who not knowing how to heal a wound yet set a good shew upon it by allaying the pain and bringing it assee. They that counsel men to kill themselves in their extreme remediless evils, do they not send a man to ignorance, supidity, insensibility? Wisdom is a necessary good, and universally commodious for all things: it governeth and ruleth all: there is not any thing that can hide, or quitit self of the jurisdiction or knowledge thereof: It beareth sway every where, in peace, in war, in publick, in private; it ruleth and moderateth even the insolent behaviours of men, their sports, their dances, their banquets, and is as a bridle unto them. To couclude, there is nothing that ought not to be done discreetly and wisely; and contrarily, without witdom all things fall into trouble and consusion.

Secondly, Science is servile, base and mechanical, in respect of wisdom, and a thing borrowed with pain. A learned man is like a Crow deckt with the seathers that he hath stolen from other birds. He maketh a great shew in the world, but at the charge of another: and he had need to veil his bonnet often, as a testimony of that honour he gives to those from whom he hath borrowed his Art. A wise man is like him that lives upon his own revenewes; for wisdome is properly a mans own; it is a natural good well tilled and laboured.

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Thirdly, the conditions are divers, the one more beautiful and more noble than the other. Learning or Science is herce, prefumpteous, arrogant, opinative, indifcreet, querulous, Scientis inflat: Knowledg puffeth up. 2. Science is talkative, defirous to shew it self, which neverthelesse knows not how to do any thing, is not active, but only sit to speak and to discourse: wisdome acteth and governeth all.

Learning then, and wisdom are things very different, and wisdom of the two the more excellent, more to be esteemed than science. For it is necessary, profitable to all, universal, active, noble, honest, gracious, cheerful. Science is particular, unnecessary, seldom profitable, not active, servile, mechanical, melancholick, opinative, presumptuous.

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Learning and wisdom meet not together. We come now to the other point, and that is, that they are not alwaies together, but contrarily almost alwaies separated. The natural reason (as hath been said) is, that their temperatures are con-

trary.

trary. For that of science and memory is moift; and that of wifdom and judgment, dry. This also is fignified unto us, in that which happened to our first parents, who as soon as they cast their eves upon knowledg, they prefently defired it, and fo were robbed of that wisdom, wherewithall they were indued from the beginning; whereof we every day fee the like in common experience. The most beautiful and flourishing States, Common-weals, Empires, antient and modern, have been, and are governed very wife- wife- withly, both in peace and war, without Science. Rome the first-five out Science. hundred years, wherein it flourished in virtue and valour, was without knowledg; and fo foon as it began to be learned, it began to corrupt, trouble, and ruinate it felf by civil wars. The most beautiful Politie that ever was, the Lacedemonian, built by Licurour from whence have fprung the greatest personages of the world made no profession of learning, and yet it was the school of virtue and wisdom, and was ever victorious over Athens, the most learned City of the world, the school of all science, the habitation of the Muses, the store-house of Philosophers. All those great and flourishing Realms of the east and west! Indies, have stood for many ages together without learning, without the knowledg of books or writings. In these days they learn many things, by the good leave and affiftance of their new masters, at the expence of their own liberties, yea their vices and their subtilties too, whereof in former times they never heard speech. That great, and it might be the greateft and most flourishing State and Empire which is at this day in the world, is that of that great Lord, which like the Lion of the whole earth, makes himself to be feared of all the Princes and Monarchs of the world; and even in this State, there is not any profession of Science, nor school, nor permission or allowance to read, or teach publickly, no not in matters of religion. What guideth and governeth and maketh the State to prosper thus? It is wisdom, it is prudence. But come we to those States wherein Learning and Sciences are in seedit. Who do govern them? Doubtleffe, not the learned. Let us take for example this our Realm, wherein learning and knowledg have greater honour than in all the world besides, and which feemeth to have succeeded Greece it self; The principal officers of This Crown, the Constable, Martial, Admiral, the Secretaries of the State who dispatch all affairs, are commonly men altogether illiterate. And doubtleffe many great Lawgivers, Founders, and Princes have banished Science as the poylon and pestilence of a Common-

Science without wildom.

Act, 26.

Common Wealth, Lieinius, Valentinian , Mabomet , Lycur en: And this we fee what wisdom is without science. Let us now fee what science is without wildom, which is not hard to do. Let us look a little into those that make profession of learning, that come from Schools and Universities, and have their heads full of Arifotle, Cicero, Bariolus, are there any people in the world more untoward, more fortish, more unfit for all things? From hence cometh that Proverb. that when a man would describe a fool, or an untowardly person he calleth him Clerk, Pedant: and to expresse a thing ill done, it is the manner to fay, It is Clerkly done. It should feem that learning doth intoxicate, and as it were hammer a mans brains, and makes him to turn fot and fool, as King Agrippa faid to S. Paul; Multe te litera ad infaniam adigunt: much learning maketh thee mad. There are divers men, that had they been never trained up in schools and colledges, they had been far more wife : and their brethren that have never applied themselves to learning, have proved the wifer men ; Ut melius fuiffet non didiciffe : nam poftquam docit prodierunt, boni defunt : So that it had been better they had never been learned : for after they became learned, they left off from being good. Come to the practice: chuse me one of these learned scholars, bring him to the common councel of a city, or any publick affembly, wherein the affairs of State are confulted of, or matter of policy, or houshold hufbandry, you never faw a man more aftonished, he waxeth pale, blusheth, cougheth, and at last knows not what to say. And if he chance to speak, he entreth into a long discourse of definitions, and divisions of Aristotle: ergo pot-lead. Mark in the felf same counsel, a Merchant, a Burgesse, that never heard speak of Aristotle, he will yield a better reason, give a sounder judgment, and more to purpose than these scholastical Doctors.

The reason of

Now it is not enough to have faid, that wildom and learning feldom concur and meet together, unless we feek the reason and cause this seperation, thereof; not doubting thereby but sufficiently to content and to satisfie those, that mislike what I have said, or think me perhaps an enemy to erudition and learning. The queftion therefore is, From whence it cometh that learning and wisdom do seldom encounter and meet together in one and the same man; And there is great reason, why we should move this question : for it is a strange thing, and against reason, that a man, the more learned he is, should not be the more wife ? learning and knowledg being a proper means.

and

and inftrument unto wifdom. Behold therefore two men, the one a fludent, the other none; he that hath findied, is, in some fort. bound to be far the wifer of the two, because he hath all that the other hath, that is, nature, reason, judgment, spirit; and besides these the counsels, discourses, judgements of all the greatest men of the world by reading their books. Is there not then great reason, he should be much more wife, more dexterous, more honest than the other, fince that with these proper and natural means, he attaineth fo many extraordinary on every fide? For as one faith well, the natural good cohering and concurring with the accidental, frameth an excellent composition; and yet neverthelesse, we see the contrary, as hath been faid.

Now the true reason and answer to all this, is the evil and sinister manner of fludy and ill instruction. They learn out of books and schools excellent knowledg, but with ill means, and as bad success. An answer to Whereby it comes to passe, that all their study profiteth them nothing at all, but they remain indigent and poor, in the midft of their plenty and riches, and like Tantilus, die for hunger in the midst of their dainties: the reason is, because whilst they pore upon their books, they respect nothing so much as to stuffe and surpish their memories with that which they read and understand, and presently they think themselves wife; like him that put his bread in his pocket and not into his belly, when his pocket was full, died for hunger. And so with a memory fully stuffed, they continue fools; Student non fibi & vita, fed alis & febola: They fludy mit for themselves, and for the benefit of their life, but for others, and for the schooles. They prepare themselves to be reporters; Cicero hath said it, Arifoile, Plato hath left in writing, &c. but they for their parts know nothing. These men commit a double fault; the one is that they apply not that which they learn, to themselves, that so they may form themselves unto virtue, wisdom, resolution, by which: means their knowledg is unprofitable unto them; the other is that during all that time, which with great pains and charge they employ, to the heaping together and pocketing up for another without any profit to themselves, whatsoever they can robfrom other men, they fuffer their own proper good to fall to the ground, and never put in practice. They on the other fide that study not, having no recourse unto another, take a care to husband their natural gifts, and fo prove many times.

the better, the more wife, and refolute, though leffe learned, leffe gainers, leffe glorious. One there is that hath faid as much, though otherwife and more briefly; That learning marreth weak wits and

spirits, perhateth the strong and natural.

Good discipline.

Now hearken to that counsel that I give hereupon; A man must not give himself to the gathering and keeping the opinions & know. ledges of another, to the end he may afterwards make report of them, or use them for shew or oftentation, or some base and mercenary profit; but he must use them so, as that he may make them his own. He must not only lodg them in his mind, bur incorporate and transubstantiate them into himself. He must not only water his mind with the dew of knowledg, but he must make it effentially better, wife, strong, good, couragious; otherwife to what end ferveth fludy? Non paranda nobis folum, fed fruenda fapientia ett: Wisdome is not only to be getten by us, but to be enjoyed. He must not do as it is the manner of those that make garlands, who pick here and there whole flowers, and so carry them away to make note-gayes, and afterwards prefents; heap together out of that book, and out of this book, many good things, to make a fare and a goodly shew to others; but he must do as Bees use to do, who carry not away the flowers, but settle themselves upon them (like a hen that covereth) her chickens) and draweth from them their spirit, force, virtue, quintessence, and nourishing themselves, turn them into their own substance, and afterwards make good and sweet honey, which is all their own; and it is no more either Thyme or fweet Margorum. So must a man gather from books the marrow and spirit (never enthralling himself so much as to retain the words by heart, as many use to do much leffe the place, the book, the chapter; that is a fottish and vain superstition and vanity, and makes him lose the principal) and having sucked and drawn the good, feed his mind therewith, inform his judgment, instruct and direct his conscience and his opinion, rectifie his will; and in a word, frame unto himself a work wholly his own, that is to fay, an honest man, wise, advised, resolute; Non ad pompam, nec ad speciem, nec ut nomine mignifice sequi ocium velis, led quo firmior adversus fortuits rempublicam capeffas. Not for pomp or oftentation, nor to the end thou wouldest follow eife with a glorious name, but that thereby thou mayest more firmly, take up in thee the government of the Common-wealth against all accidents.

Tacit.

And hereunto the choice of sciences is necessary. Those that I commend

commend above all others, and that best ferve to that end, which I 2. The fepurpole, and whereof I am to speak; are natural and moral, which cond action teach us to live, and to live well, nature and virtue; that which we choice of feiare and that which we should be; under the moral are comprehended, the Politicks, Oeconomicks, Histories. Alt the reft are vain and frothy, and we are not to dwell upon them, but to take them as

paffing by.

This end of the instruction of youth and comparison of learning and wisdome, hath held me too long, by reason of the contestation. 2. The means Let us now proceed to the other parts and advisements of this in- to learn. struction. The means of instructions are divers, especially of two By word of forts: the one by word, that is to fay, by precepts, instructions and mouth. lectures; or elfe by conference with honest and able men, hiling and refining our wits against theirs, as iron is cleanled and beautified by the file, This means and manner is very pleasing and agreeable to Nature.

The other by action, that is, example, which is gotten, not onely from good men by imitation, and fimilitude, but also wicked, By example. by difagreement in opinions; for some there are that learn better by the opposition and horrour of all evil they see in another. It is a speciall use of Justice, to condemn one that he may serve for an example unto others. And old Cate was wont to fay, That wife men may learn more of fools, than fools of wife men. The Lacedemonians the better to diffwade their children from drunkennesse, made their servants drunken before their faces, to the end that feeing how horrible a spectacle a drunken man was, they should the rather detest it.

Now this second means or manner by example, teacheth us with A comparison more ease and more delight. To learn by precepts is a long way, of these two. because it is a painfull thing to understand well, and understanding to retain well, and retaining to use and practise well. And hardly can we promife our felves to reap that fruit which they promife unto us. But example and imitation teacheth us above the work or action it felf, invite us with much more ardour, and promife unto us that glory which we learn to imitate.

The feed that is cast into the earth, draweth unto it felf in the end, the quality of that earth whereunto it is transported, and becomes like unto that which doth there naturally grow : So the spirits and manners of men conform themselves to those with whom they commonly converse.

H h

Now

The duty of Parents and Children.

26' From the li-

Now these two manners of profitting by Speech and by Example are like wise twofold: for they are drawn from excellent Personages, either living by their sensible and outward frequentation and

conference; or dead, by the reading of their books.

The first, that is the commerce with the living, is more lively and more naturall, it is a fruitful exercise of life, which was much in use amongst the ancients, yea the Greeks themselves; but it is casual depending on another, and rare: It is a difficult matter to meet with such people, and more difficult to make use of them. And this is practised either by keeping home, or by travelling and visiting strange countries, not to be sed with vanities, as the most do, but to carry with them the knowledge and consideration especially of the humors and customs of those nations.

This is a profitable exercife, the body is neither idle, nor tyred with labour, for this moderate agitation keeps a man in breath, the minde is in continual exercife, by marking things known and

new.

There is not a better school to form the life of man, then to fee the diversity of so many others lives, and to taste a perpetuall varie-

ty of the forms of our nature.

From the dead, by books.

The other commerce with the dead by the benefit of their books, is more fure, and more near unto us, more constant and leffe chargeable. He that knows how to make use of them, receiveth thereby great pleasure, great comfort. It dischargeth us of the burthen of a tedious idlenesse, it withdraweth us from fond imaginations, and other outward things, that vex and trouble us: It counselleth us and comforteth us in our griefs and afflictions: but yet it is only good for the mind, whereby the body remaineth without action, altereth and languisheth.

28
To make the febolar to fpeak and to realou.

We must now speak of that order of proceeding and formality which a teacher of youth must keep, that he may happily arrive to his proposed end. It hath many parts; we will touch some of them, First he must often examine his scholar, aske his judgment and opinion of whatsoever shall present it self unto him. This is quite contrary to the ordinary style, which is, that the master do alwaies speak and teach his child with authority, and work into his head as into a vessel, whatsoever he will, insomuch that children are only Auditors and Receivers, which manner of teaching I cannot commend; Obest plerumque is qui discere volunt, autoritas corum qui docent: The authority of them which teach, burteth for the most

pars

part those which would learn. Their spirits must be awakened and inflamed by demands, make them first to ask others, to enquire, and to open the way at their own will. If without queftioning with them a man speak wholly unto them, it is a labour in a manner loft, the child is not profited thereby, because he thinks it belongs not unto him, fo long as he yields not an account thereof; he lends only his ears and those coldly too; he sets not forward with so good a pale, as when he is a party in the bufiness. Neither is it enough to make them give their judgment, but that they maintain it, and to be able to give a reason of their saying, to the end that they speak not by roat; but that they be attentive, and careful of that they speak: And to give them the better incouragement thereunto, a man must not seem to neglect that they say, but commend at the least their good essay and endeavour. This form of teaching by questions and demands, is excellently observed both by Socrates (the principal in this buliness) as we see every where in Plato, where by a long annexion and enfolding of demands wittily and dexteroufly made, he sweetly leadeth a man to the closet of verity; and also by the Doctour of verity, in his Go pel. Now Marth. 16.12. thefe questions must not be only of things touching science and Luk.10. 24 memory, as hath been faid, but matter of judgment. For to this exercise all things may serve, even the least that are, as the follies of a Laquey, the malice of a Page, a discourse at Table: for the work of judgment is not to handle and to understand great and high matters, but justly to weigh them, and consider of them whatfoever they be.

Questions therefore must be moved touching the judgment of men and their actions, and by reason determined, to the end that thereby men may frame their judgment and their conscience. The tutor or instructor of Cyrus in Xenophon for a lecture proposed this Question; A great youth having a little coat or cassock, gave it to one of his companions of a lesse stature, and took from him his cassock, which was the greater: upon which sact he demanded his judgment. Cirus answered, that it was well, because both of them were thereby the better sitted. But his master reprehended him sharply for it, because he considered only the fitnesse and conveniency thereof, and not the justice, which should first and especially have been thought of, which was that no man may be ensorted in that which was his own. And this no doubt is an excellent manner of instruction. And though a man may recite authorities out of

books, the faying of Cicero, or Aristorle, yet it is not only to recite them, but to judge of them, and so to frame and fashion them to all uses and to apply them to divers subjects. It is not enough to report as a hillory, that Caro killed himself at Urica, that he might not fall into the hands of Cefar; and that Bruing and Cassius were the authors of the death of Cefar; for this is the least : but I will that he proceed and judge, whether they did well herein, or no; whether they deserve well of the common-weal; whether they carried themselves therein according to wisdom, justice, valour; and wherein they did ill, wherein well. Finally, and generally, in all these discourses, demands, answers, the conveniency, order, verity, must be inquired into; a work of judgment and conscience. These things a man by any means must not dissemble, but ever presse them, and hold him subject unto them,

a. An adviseboneffy

Secondly, he must accustom and frame him to an honest curiofity to know all things, whereby he must first have his eyes upon ment touching every thing the better to confider all that may be faid, done or attempted concerning himself, and nothing must passe his hands, before it passe and tepasse his judgment; and then he must make an enquiry into other matters, as well of right as of action. He that enquireth after nothing; knows nothing, faith one: He that bufieth not his mind, and fuffereth it to rult, becomes a fool; and therefore he must make profit of all, apply every thing to himself, take advice and counsel as well of what is past, the better to see the errour he hath committed; as of that which is to come, the better to rule and direct himself. Children must not be suffered to be idle to bring themselves asleep, to entertain themselves with their own prattle: for wanting sufficiency to furnish themselves with good and worthy matter, they will feed upon vanities; they must therefore be alwayes busied in some employment, and kept in breath: and this curiofity must be ingendred in them, the better to awaken them, and to four them forward, which being fuch as is faid, shall be neither vain in it felf, nor tedious to another.

Advice .

He must likewise fashion and mould his spirit to the general pattern and model of the world and of nature, make it univerfal, that is to fay, represent unto him in all things, the universal face of nature; that the whole world may be his book : that of what fubject soever a man talk, he cast his eye and his thought upon the large immensity of the world; upon so many different fashions.

ons and opinions, which have been, and are in the world touching that subject. The most excellent and noble minds, are the more univerfal and more free; and by this means the mind is contented, learneth not to be aftonished at any thing, is formed to a resolution and stedfast constancy. To be brief, such a man doth no more admire any thing, which is the highest and last point of wisdom. For whatfoever doth happen, or a man may report unto him, he eafily finds that there is nothing in the world either new or frange; that the condition of man is capable of all things; that they have come to others, and that elsewhere divers things passe more strange, more great. And in this sense it was that wife Socrates called himfelf. A citizen of the world. And contrarily, there is not any thing that doth more deprave and enthral the mind of man, than to make him tast and understand but one certain opinion, belief, and manner of life. What greater folly or weakness can there be, than to think that all the world walketh, believeth, speaketh, doth, liveth and dieth, according to the manner of this country? like those hard block-heads, who when they hear one recite the manners and opinions of forrein countries very different and contrary to theirs. they tremble for fear, and believe them not, or elfe do abfurdly condemn them as barbarous; so much are they enthralled and tyed to their cradle, a kind of people brought up (as they fay) in a bottle, that never faw any thing but thorow a hole. Now this univerfal spirit must be attained by the diligence of the master or teacher, afterwards by travel, and communication with strangers, and the reading of books and the histories of all Nations.

Finally, he must teach him to take nothing upon credit and by authority; this is to make himself a beast, and to suffer himself to be led by the nose like an oxe: but to examine all things with reason, to propose all things, and then to give him leave to chuse. And if he know not how to chuse, but doubt which perhaps is the better, founder and furer course; to teach him likewise to resolve of nothing of himself, but rather to distrust his own judg-

ment.

After the mind comes the body, whereof there must likewise be a care taken, at one and the same instant with the spirit, not ma. An advisement king two works thereof. Both of them make an entire man. body. Now a mafter must endeavour to keep his child free from delicacy and pride in apparel, in fleeping, eating, drinking; he must bring him up hardly to labour and pains, accustom him to heat and cold,

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wind

wind and weather, yea and unto hazzards too; harden his muscles and his finews, as well as his minde, to labour and than to pain and grief too; For the first disposeth to the second : Labor callum obducit dolori: Labour bardnesh a man against grief. To be brief, he must endeavour to make him lusty and vigorous, indifferent to all kind of viands. All this ferveth not only for his health, but for publick affairs and fervices.

3. An advifement touching manners.

We come now to the third head, which concerneth manners: wherein both body and foul hath a part, This is two-fold; To hinder the evil, to ingraft and nourish the good. The first is the more necessary, and therefore the greater care and heed must be taken. It must therefore be done in time, for there is no time too speedy, to hinder the birth and growth of all ill manners and conditions; especially these following, which are to be feared in youth.

Evil manuers.

To lie, a base vice of servants and slaves, of a licentious and searful minde, the cause whereof ariseth many times from bad and rude instruction.

A fottish shame and weaknesse, whereby they seek to hide themselves hold down their heads, blush at every question that is proposed, cannot endure a correction, or a sharp word without a frange alteration of countenance. Nature doth many times bear

a great fway herein, but it must be corrected by study.

All affection and figularity in habit, earriage, gate, speech geffure. and all other things; this is a testimony of vanity and vain-glory, and marreth all the reft, even that which is good; Licet fapere fine pompa, fine invidia : A man may be mife without pomp, without envie.

But above all, choler, sullennesse, obstinacy; and therefore it is very necessary that a childe never have his will by such froward means, and that he learn and find that these qualities are altogether unprofitable and bootleffe, yea base and villanous; and for this cause he must never be flattered, for that marreth and corrupteth him, teacheth him to be fullen and froward; if he have not his will, and in the end maketh him insolent, that a man shall never work any good upon him; Nibil magis reddit iracundos, quam educatio mollis & blanda : Nothing more maketh one prone to anger than foft and cockering education.

By the felf-fame means a man must ingraft into him good and Good manners, honest manners: And first to instruct him to fear and reverence

God

God, to tremble under that infinite and invisible majelly, to speak feldom and foberly of God, of his power, eternity, wisdom, will, and of his works; not indifferently and upon all occasions, but fearfully, with shame and reverence. Not to be over scrupulous in the mysteries and point of Religion, but to conform himself to the Government and Discipline of the Church.

Secondly, to replenish and cherish his heart with ingenuity. freedom, candor, integrity, and to teach him to be an honest man, out of an honourable and honest minde, not servilely and mechanically, for fear, or hope of any honour or profit, or other confideration, than virtue it felf. These two are especially for him-

felf.

For another and the company with whom he converfeth, he must work in a sweet kinde of affability to accommodate himself to all kinde of people, to all fashions; Omnis Arijtippum decuit color. & flatus, & res : Every countenance, condition and gefture became Arifippus. Herein Alcibiades was excellent. That he learn how to be able, and to know how to do all things, yea excesse and licentious behaviours, if need be; but that he love to do only that which is good. That he refrain to do evil, not for want of courage, nor thrength, nor knowledge, but will. Multum interest utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nescit : There is great difference, in not being willing to fin, and not being able.

Modesty, whereby he contenteth not, nor tyeth himself, either to all, as to the greatest and most respective persons, or such as are his inferiors, either in condition or fufficiency; nor defendeth any thing See lib. 2, Cap obstinately, with affirmative, resolute, commanding words, but 9. fweet, submiffe and moderate speeches. Hereof hath been spoken elsewhere. And thus the three heads of the duties of parents are

dispatched:

The fourth, concerneth their affection and communication with them, when they are great and capace of that whereunto they were The fourth instructed. We know that affection is reciprocall and naturall be-part touching twixt parents and their Children, but that of parents towards their rents. children is far more firong and more naturall; because it is given by nature to love those things that are coming on to the maintenance and continuance of the world, especially those in whom a man doth parents greater live when he is dead. That of children towards their parents is re- than the love trograde, and therefore it goeth not fo strongly, not fo naturally ; of children. and it feemeth rather to be the payment of a debt, and a thankful Hh 4

acknowledgment of a benefit received, than a pure, free, fimple, and natural love. Moreover, he that giveth and doth good, loveth more than he that receiveth and is indebted: And therefore a father and every agent that doth good to another, leveth more than he is beloved. The reasons of this proposition are many. All love to Be (which Being is exercifed and demonstrated in motion and action). Now he that giveth and doth good to another, is after a fort in him that receiveth. He that giveth and doth good to another, doth that which is honest and honourable; he that receiveth doth none of this: honesty is for the first, profit for the second. Now honesty is far more worthy, firm, stable, amiable than profit, which in a moment vanisheth. Again, those things are most beloved that cost us most; that is dearest unto us, which we come more dearly by. Now to beget, to nourish, to bring up is a matter of greater charge, than to receive all thefe.

wents, twofold.

This love of Parents is twofold, though alwayes natural, yet The love of pa- after a divers manner: the one is simply and universally natural, and is a simple instinct which is common with beasts, according to which Parents love and cherish their children, though deformed, stammering, halting, milk-sops, and use them like moppets or little apes. This love is not truly humane. Man indued with reason, must not servilely subject himself unto nature as beasts do, but follow it more nobly with discourse of reason. The other then is more humane and reasonable, whereby a man loveth his children more or leffe, according to that measure wherein he feeth the feeds and sparks of virtue, goodness, and towardlinesse to arise and spring up in them. Some there are who being befotted, and carried with the former kind of affections, have but little of this, and never complaining of the charge so long as their children are but small, complain thereof when they come to their growth, and begin to profit. It seemeth that they are in a fort offended and vexed to fee them to grow and fet forward in honest courses, that they may become honest men: these parents are brutish and inhumane.

Now according to this fecond, true, and fatherly love, in the well governing thereof, parents should receive their children, if they be of the true fa- capable, into their fociety and partnership to their goods, admit therly love in them to their counsel, intelligence, the knowledg and course of communicating their domestical affairs, as also to the communication of their dedren being come figurments, opinions, and thoughts, yea confent and contribute to to years of dif- their honest recreations and pastimes, as the case shall require, Cretion. alwayes

alwaies referving their rank and authority. For we condemn the austere, lord-like, and imperious countenance and carriage of those that never look upon their children, nor speak unto them but with authority, will not be called fathers but lords, Though God himfelf refuse not this name of Father, never caring for the hearty love of their children, so they may be feared, reverenced, and adored. And for this cause, they give unto them sparingly, keep them in want that they may the better keep them in aw, and obedience, ever threatning them some small pittance by their last Will, when they depart out of this life. Now this is a fortish, vain, and ridiculous foolery; It is to diffrust their own proper, true, and natural authority, to get an artificial; and it is the way to deceive themselves, and to grow in contempt, which is clean contrary to that they pretend. It causeth their children to earry themselves cunningly with them, and to conspire and find means how to deceive them. For parents should in good time frame their minds to duty, by reason, and not have recourse to these means more tyrannous than fatherly.

> Errat longe mea quidem sententia, Qui imperium credit effe gravius aut stabilius Vi qued fit quam illud quod amicitià adjungitur. In my opinion be is much amis, Who thinks more firm or grave that rule of bis. That's wrought by force, than what of friendship is.

In the last disposition of our goods, the best and surest way is to follow the laws and customes of the Country. The laws have The infage of better provided for it than we, and it is a fafer course to suffer them in their them to fail in something, than to adventure upon our own de-cording to the fects, in our own proper choice. It is to abuse that liberty we have lows. therein, to serve our foolish fantalies and private passions, like those that suffer themselves to be carried by the unwonted officious actions and flatteries of those that are present, who make use of their last Wills and testaments, either by gratifying or chastiling the actions. of those that pretend interest therein. A man must conform himself to reason and common custom herein which is wifer than we are, & the furer way.

We come now to the duty of children towards their Parents, so natural and so religious, and which ought to be done unto them, of the duty of not as unto pure and simple men, but demi-Gods, earthly, mortal, children tovisible gods. And this is the reason why Philo the Jew said, wards their pa-

that remis.

that the Commandment touching the duty of children was written the one half in the first Table, which contained the Commandments that concern our duty towards God; and the other half in the second Table, wherein are the Commandments that concern our neighbour, as being half divine, and half humane. This duty likewise is so certain, so due and requisite, that it may not be dispensed withall by any other duty or love whatsoever, be it never so great.

For, if it shall happen that a man see his father and his sonne so indangered at one and the same instant, as that he cannot rescue and succour them both, he must forsake his sonne, and go to his sather though his love towards his sonne be greater, as before hath been said. And the reason is, because the duty of a sonne towards his sather is more ancient, and hath the greater priviledg, and cannot be abrogated by any later du-

ty.

4T This duty confifteth in five points. Now this duty confifteth in five points, comprehended in this word; Honour thy father and thy mother. The first is reverence, not only in outward gesture and countenance, but also inward; which is that high and holy opinion and esteem, that a child ought to have of his parents, as the authors and original causes of his being, and of his good: a quality that makes them resemble God him-felf.

yer. 35.

The second is obedience, even to the roughest and hardest commands of a father, according to the example of the Rechabites, who to obey the command of their father, never drank wine in all their lives.

Nay more than that, Ifage refused not to yield his neck to the sword of his father.

3

The Third is to succour their parents in all their needs and necessities, to nourish them in their old age, their impotency, and want; to give them their affishance in all their affairs.

We have an example and pattern hereof even in beafts.

In Examer.

In the Stork, whose little ones (as Saint Basil affirmeth) feed and nourish their old dams, cover them with their seathers, when they fall from them, and couple themselves together to carry them upon their backs. Love surnisheth them with this art.

This

This example is so lively and so fignificant, that the duty of children towards their parents hath been signified by the quality of this creature, derintagent, recionists. And the Hebrews call this bird for this cause, Chasida, that is to say, the debonair, the charitable Levit. bird.

We have likewise notable examples hereof amongst men.

Cymon the sonne of the great Militades, whose father dying in prison as some say for debt, and not having wherewithal to bury his body, much lesse to redeem it being arrested for the debt whilst it was carried to the burial, according to the laws of the Country; Cymon sold himself and his liberty for money to provide for his suneral. He with his plenty and goods relieved not his father, but with his libertie; which is dearer than all goods, yea and life too. He helped not his sather living and in necessity, but dead, and being no more a father nor a man. What had he done to succour his sather living, wanting and requiring his kelp? This is an excellent precedent.

We have two the like examples, even in the weak and feeble fex of women, of two daughters which have nourished and given suck the one to the father, the other to her mother, being prisoners and condemned to die by famine, the ordinary punishments of the Ancients. It feemeth in some fort a thing against nature, that the mother should be nourished with the daughters milk, but this is truly according to nature, yea, those first laws, that the daughter should nourish her mo-

ther.

The fourth is not to do, to a tempt, or enterprise any thing of weight or importance, without the advice, consent, and approbation

of Parents, and especially in marriage,

The fifth is, mildly and gently to endure the vices, imperfections, and testy and impatient humans of Parents, their severity and rigour. Manlius had made good proof hereof; for the Tribune Pomponius having accused the father of this Manlius in the presence of the people of many crimes; and amongst others, that he over-cruelly handled his sonne, enforcing him to till the earth: the sonne goeth to the Tribune and finding him in his bed putting the point of his dagger to his throat, inforced him to swear, that he should desist from his pursuit he made against his father, de

fuing

firing rather to endure his fathers rigour, than to fee him troubled for

A child shall find no difficulty in these five duties, if he consider how chargeable he hath been to his parents, and with what care and affection he hath been brought up. But he shall never know it well, until he have children of his own, as he that was found to ride upon a hobby-horse playing with his children, entreated him that so took him to hold his peace until he were himself a father, reputing him till then no industreent Judge in this action.

CHAP. XV.

The duty of Mafters and Servants.

TEre cometh the third and last part of private and domesti-I call justice, which is the duties of Matters and Servants. Touching which, it is necessary to know the distinction of servants: for they principally are of three forts: That is to fay, of flaves, whereof all the world hath been full in former time, and is at prefent, except a part of Europe, and no place more free than here about France; they have no power neither in their bodies nor goods, but are wholly their mafters, who may give, lend, fell, refel, exchange, and use them as beafts of service. Of these hath been spoken of at large. There are inferiour fervants, and fervants, free people, mafters of their persons and goods, yea they cannot bargain, or otherwife do anything to the prejudice of their own liberty; but they owe honour, obedience, and service until such times, and upon such conditions, as they have promifed, and their mafters have power to command, correct, and chaftise them with moderation and discretion. There are also mercenaries, which are lesse subject, they owe no service nor obedience, but only work and labour for money; and they have no authority in commanding or correcting them.

The duties of masters towards their servants, as well of slaves as inferiour servants, are, not to handle them cruelly, remembring they are men, and of the same nature with us, but only fortune hath put a difference which is very variable, and sporteth it self in making great men little, and little great. And therefore the difference is not so great, so much to contemn them. Sunt homines contulernales, humiles amici, conservi, aquè fortuna subjecti: They

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are men, dwellers with thee, bumble friends, fellow fervants, equally the subjects of forme. To handle servants gently, seeking rather to be beloved than feared, is the testimony of a good nature : to use them roughly and too feverely, proceedeth from a crabbed and cruel mind, and that he beareth the same disposition towards all other men, but want of power hindereth the execution thereof. They ought to infiruct them with godly and religious counsel, and those

things that are requifite for their health and fafety.

The duties of servants are to honour, and fear their makers whatsoever they be, and to yield them obedience and fidelity, ferving them not for gain, or only outwardly, and for countenance, but heartily, seriously, for conscience sake, and without dissimulation. We read of most worthy, noble, and generous services performed in former times by fome towards their mafters, even to engaging and hazzard of their lives, for their mafters safegard and honour.

CHAP. XVI.

The duty of Sovereigns, and Subject.

F Princes and Sovereigns, their descriptions, notes, humours, marks, and discommodities hath been discoursed in the first book, Chapter 49. Their duty to govern the Common wealth hath been spoken of at large in this present book, chapter 2. and 3. which is of politick prudence: yet we will touch a little here the

heads and general points of their duty.

The Sovereign as the mean betwixt God and the people, and debtor to these two, ought alwaies to remember that he is the lively the day of image, the Officer and Lieutenant general of the great God his Sourrigue, Sovereign, and to the people a perfect mirrour, a bright beam, a clear looking glasse, and elevated theater for every one to behold, a fountain where all refresh themselves, a spur to virtue, and who doth not any good, that is not famous, and put in the Register of perpetual memory. He ought then first of all to fear and honour to be religious, God, to be devout, religious, to observe piety not only for himself and for conscience lake, as every other man, but for his State, and as he is a Sovereign. The piety which we here require in a Prince, is The care he ought to have, and to shew for the conservation of Religion and the ancient laws and ceremonies of the Country, providing by laws, penalties, and punishments that the Religion be neither

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neither changed, troubled, nor innovated. This is a thing that highly redoundeth to his honour and security (for all do reverence, and more willingly obey, and more slowly attempt or enterprise any thing against him whom they see sear God, and believe to be in his protection and safegard: Una custodia pietas: pium vieum nec malus genius nec satum devincis. Deus enimeripis eum ab omni malo. The only safegard is piety: neither the evil genius nor sate can overcome a godly man: for God delivereth him out of all evil.) And also to the good of the State, for as all the wisest have said, Religion is the band and carment of humane society.

The Prince ought also to be subject, and inviolably to observe and cause to be observed the laws of God, and Nature, which are not to be dispensed with: and he that infringeth them, is not only counted a

tyrant but a monster.

Concerning the people, he ought first to keep his covenants, and promises, be it with subjects or others with whom he is interessed or hath to do. This equity is both natural and universal. God himself keepeth his promise. Moreover, the Prince is the pledge and form or warrant of the law, and those natural bargains of his subjects. He ought then above all to keep his faith, there being nothing more odious in a Prince than breach of promise and perjury; and therefore it was well said, that a man ought to put it among those casual cases, if the Prince do abjure or revoke his promise, and that the contrary is not to be presumed. Yea, he ought to observe those promises and bargains of his predecessors, especially, if he he their heir, or if they be for the benefit and welfare of the Commonwealth. Also he may receive himself of his unreasonable contracts and promises unadvisedly made, even as for the self same causes private men are relieved by the benefit of the Prince.

He ought also to remember, that although he be above the law (I mean the civil and human) as the Creatour is above the creature (for the law is the work of the Prince, and that which he may change and abrogate at his pleasure, it is the proper right of the Sovereignty) neverthelesse if it be in force and authority, he ought to keep it, to live, to converse and judge according unto it; and it would be a dishonour and a very evil example to contradict it, and as it were falsse it. Great Augustus having done something against the law, by his own proper act, would needs die for grief: Lycurgus, Agest aus Zelencus; have left three notable examples in this point, and to their

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Thirdly,

Thirdly, the Prince oweth justice to all his subjects; and he ought to measure his pussiance and power by the rule of justice. This is to do justice, the proper virtue of a Prince truly royal and Prince-like; wherefore it was rightly said by an old man to King Philip that delayed him justice, saying he had no leisure, That he should then desist and leave off to be King. But Demetrius sped not so well, who was dispossed of his Realm by his subjects; for cassing from a bridg into the River many of their Petitions, without answer, or doing them justice.

Finally, the Prince ought to love, cherish, to be vigilant and 20 take care and careful of his State, as the husband of the wife, the father of his affect the comchildren, the shepherd of his flock, having alwaies before his eyes mongood. the profit and quiet of his subjects. The prosperity and welfare of the state is the end and contentment of a good Prince, ut Ref. Senec. pub. opibus firma, copiis locuples g'oria ampla, virtute bonesta sit : That the Common-wealth be strong in power, rich in plenty, abound in glory, honest in viriue. The Prince that tieth himself to himself. abuseth himself: for he is not his own man, neither is the State his, but he is the State's. He is a Lord not to domineer, but to defend. Cui non civium servitus tradita, sed tutela: To whom is committed not the servitude of citizens, but their Sifegard, to attend, to watch, to the end his vigilancy may fecure his fleeping subjects, his travel may give them reft, his providence may maintain their prosperity. his industry may continue their delights, his business their leifure. their vacation, and that all his subjects may understand and know that he is as much for them, as he is above them.

To be such, and to discharge his duty well he ought to demean and carry himself as hath been said at large in the second and third Chapters of this book, that is to say, to surnish himself of good counsel, of treasure, and sufficient strength with his state to fortite himself with alliance and forreign friends, to be ready and to command both in peace and war; by this means he may be both loved and seared.

And to contain all in a few words, he must love God above all things, be advited in his enterprises, valiant in attempts, faithful and firm in his word, wise in counsel, careful of his subjects, helpful to his friends, terrible to his enemies, pitiful to the afflicted, gentle and courteous to the good people, severe to the wicked, and just and upright towards all.

The duty of subjects consisteth in three points, to yield due ho- fabilities

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Exod. 12.

The duty of Sovereigns, and Subjects.

nour, to their princes, as to those that carry the Image of God, ordained and established by him; therefore they are most wicked, who detract or flander; fuch were the feed of Cham and Changan 2. To be obedient, under which is contained many duties, as to go to the wars, to pay tributes and imposts, imposed upon them by their authority. 3. To wish them all prosperity and happiness, and to pray for them.

IO Whether it be lawful to lax violent bands uponthe perfor of a tyrant. A double tyrant.

The outrance.

But the question is, whether a man ought to yield these three duties generally to all Princes, it they be wicked, or tyrants. This controverlie cannot be decided in a word, and therefore we must diffinguith. The prince it a tyrant and wicked, either in the entrance, or execution of his government. If in the entrance, that is to fay, that he treacheroutly invadeth, and by his own force and powerful authority gains the foverainty without any right, be he otherwise good or evil (for this cause he ought to be accounted a Tyrant) without all doubt we ought to relift him either by way of justice, if there be opportunity and place, or by furprise : and the Grecians, faith Cieero, ordained in former times rewards and honours for those that delivered the Commonwealth from servitude and oppression. Neither can it be said to be a resisting of the prince, either by justice or surprise, since he is neither received nor acknowledged to be a Prince.

on three waies.

Hereof fee above Chap. 4. in chap. of tyvanny and rebellion.

If in the execution, that is to fay, that his entrance be rightful and In the executi- just, but that he carrieth himself imperiously, cruelly, and wickedly, and according to the common faying, Tyrannically; it is then allo to be diffinguished: for it may be so three waies, and every one requireth particular confideration. The one is in violating the laws of God, and nature, that is to fay, against the Religion of the country, the commandment of God, enforcing and constraining their consciences. In this case he ought not to yield any duty or obedience, following those divine axiomes, That we ought rather to obey God thin men, and fear him more that commandeth the intire man, than those that have a power but over the least part. Yet he ought not to oppose himself against him by violence of sinifter means, which is another extremity, but to observe the middle way, which is either to fly or fuffer fugere aut pati; these two remedies are named by the doctrine of verity in the like extremities. 2. The other leffe evil, which concerneth not the consciences, but only the bodies and the goods, is an abuse to subjects, denying them justice, imprisoning their persons, and depriving them of their goods

good. In the which case he ought, with patience and acknowledgment of the wrath of God, yield these 3 duties following, honour obedience, vows and prayers: and to be mindful of a. things, that all power and authority is from God, and whosoever resisteth the Tacit, power, refiketh the ordinance of God : Principi summum rerum judicium dii dederunt : Subditis obsequii gloria relicta est bonos principes voto expetere, qualefounque tolerare. God hath given the fovereign judgment of affairs to the Prince: The glory of dutiful service is left to the subjects : to defire by prayer good Princes, and tolerate them whatfoever they be. And he ought not to obey a superiour, because he is worthy and worthily commandeth, but because he is a superiour, not for that he is good, but because he is true and lawful. There is great difference between true and good, every one ought to obey the law, not because it is good and just, but simply, because it is the law. That God causeth an hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people, though he referve him for a day of his fury; that the wicked Prince is the instrument of his Justice, the which we ought to endure as other evils, which the heavens do fend us; quomodo fe- Tacit. rilitatem aut nimios imbres & catera nature mala, fic luxum & avaritiam dominantium tolerare : As when we Suffer Sterility or unseasonable weather, and other evils of nature, so must me endure the riot and covetousnesse of our rulers. 3. The examples of Saul, Nebuchadonolor, of many Emperours before Constantine, and others fince him as cruel tyrants as might be : towards whom nevertheleffe thefe three duties have been observed by good men, and enjoyned them by the Prophets and learned men of those days, according to the oracle of the great Doctor of truth, which inferreth an obedience to them which fit in the feat of Government, notwithstanding they oppresse us with insupportable burthens, and their Government be evil.

The third concerneth the whole State, when he would change or ruinate, seeking to make it elective, of hereditary; or of an Aristocracy, or Democracy, a Monarchy; or otherwife: And in this case he ought to withstand and hinder their proceedings, either by way of juttice, or otherwise: for he is not master of the state, but onely a guardian and a furety. But these affairs belong not at all, but to the tutors and maintainers of the State, or those that are interessed therein, as electors of elective States; or Princes apparent in heredi- 1. Cogitationis tary States; or States general, that have fundamental laws. And this f. de pan. L. is the onely case wherein it is lawful to resist a tyrant. And all this cam. c. de fa-

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is faid of fubjects, who are never permitted to attempt any thing against a sovereign Prince for what cause soever; and the laws say that he deserveth death, who attempteth, or giveth counsel, and which intendeth, or onely thinketh it. But it is honourable for a stranger, yea it is most noble and heroicall in a Prince by warlike means to defend a people unjuftly oppreffed, and to free them from tyranny ; as Hercules did, and after Dion, Timoleon, and Tamberlain, Prince of the Tartars, who overcame Bajageth the Turkish Emperor, and befieged Constantinople.

Examinations of Sovereigns . after their. death.

These are the duties of subjects towards their living Sovereigns: But it is a point of justice to examine their life after they are dead. This is a custom just and very profitable, which benefiteth much those nations where it is observed, and that which all good Princes do defire, who have cause to complain, that a man handleth the memory of the wicked as well as theirs. Sovereigns are companions if not masters of the laws; for seeing justice cannot touch their lives, there is reason, it taketh hold of their reputation, to the good of their successours.' We owe reverence and duty equally to all kings, in respect of their dignity and office, but inward estimation and affection to their vertue. We patiently endure them, though unworthy as they are: We conceal their vices; for their authority and publick order where we live, hath need of our common help; but after they are gone, there is no reason to reject justice, and the liberty of expressing our true thoughts, yea it is a very excellent and profitable example, that we manifest to the posterity faithfully to obey a Master or Lord, whose impersections are well known. They who for some private duty commit a wicked Prince to memory, do private justice to the publick hurt. An excellent lesson for a successour, if it were observed.

CHAP. XVII.

The duty of Mazistrates.

For what caufe Mogiffrates

Ood people in a common-wealth would love better to enjoy Jease of contentment, which good and excellent spirits know how to give themselves in consideration of the goods of nature, are abound of. and the effects of God, than to undertake publick charges, were it not that they fear to be ill governed, and by the wicked; and therefore they consent to be magistrates: but to hunt and follow publick charges, especially the judgment-seat, is base and vile, and condemned:

condemned by all good laws, yea even of the Heathen; witnesse the law Julia de ambitu, unworthy a person of honour : and a man cannot better expresse his insufficiency, than by seeking for it. But it is most base and vile by bribery or money to purchase them; and there is no merchandize more hateful and contemptible than it: for it necessarily followeth, that he which buyeth in groffe, selleth by retail : Whereupon the Emperour Severus speaking against the like in- Lampetil. convenience, faith that a man cannot justly condemn him which schleth that he bought.

Every man apparelleth himself, and putteth on his best habit before he departeth his house to appear in publick: so before a man frate ought o undertake publick charges, he ought privately to examine himself, prepare himself to learn to rule his passions, and well to fettle and establish his mind. before be take A man bringeth not to the Turney a raw unmannaged horse; neither the charge doth a man enter into affairs of importance, if he hath not been instructed and prepared for it before : so, before a man undertakes these affairs, and enters upon the stage and theater of this world. he ought to correct that imperfect and favage part in him, to bridle and reftrain the liberty of affections, to learn the laws, the parts, and measures thereof, wherewith it ought to be handled in all occasions. But contrarily it is a very lamentable and absurd thing as Socrates faith, that although no man undertaketh the profession of any mystery or mechannical Art, which formerly he hath no learned; yet in publick charges, in the skill to command and obey well, to govern the world, the deepest and difficultest mystery of all, they are accepted, and undertake it, that know nothing at all.

Magistrates are intermixed persons, placed between the Sovereign and private men, and therefore it behoveth them to know how to feription of command, and to obey, how to obey their fovereign, yield to the Magiffrates. power of Superiour Magistrates, honour their equals, command their inferiours, defend the weak make head against the great, and be just to all: and therefore it was well faid, That magistracy describeth a man, being to play in publick fo many parts.

In regard of his Sovereign, the Magistrate according to the diverlity of the commands, ought diverily to govern, or readily, or Magistrates as not at all to obey, or furcease his obedience. First, in those com-touching the mands which yield unto him acknowledgment and allowance, as Sovereign. are all the warrants of justice, and of all other, where this clause, or any equivalent unto it (if it appear unto you) or which are with-

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out attribution of allowance, just and indifferent of themselves he ought to obey, and he may easily discharge himself without any scruple

and danger.

In those commands which attribute unto him no acknowledgment, but only the execution, as are warrants of command, if they be against right and civil justice, and that have in them clauses derogatory, he ought simply to obey: for the Sovereign may derogate from the ordinary law, and this is properly that wherein Sovereignty consistent,

3. To those which are contrary to right, and contain no derogatory clause but are wholly prejudicial to the good and utility of the Common-wealth, what clause soever it hath, and though the Magistrate knoweth it to be false, and ensoreth against right and by violence, he ought not to yield readily in these three cases, but to hold them in suspence, and to make resistance once or twice, and at the second or third command to yield.

4. Touching those which are repugnant to the law of God and nature; he ought to dismisse and acquit himself of his office, yea to endure any thing, rather than obey or consent: and he need not say that the former commands may have some doubt in them: because natu-

ral Justice is more clear than the light of the Sun.

5. All this is good to be done in respect of the things themselves: But after they are once done by the Sovereign, how evil soever they be, it is better to dissemble them, and bury the memory of them, than to stir and lose all (as Papinian did) Frustra nisi, & nibil aliud nisi odium querere, extreme dementia est: It is extreme felly to labour to no purpose and to get nothing esse but batred.

In respect of private Subjects, Magistrates ought to remember that the authority which they have over them, they have but at a second hand, and hold it of the Sovereign, who alwaies remaineth absolute

Lord, and their authority is limited to a prefixed time.

The Magistrate ought to be of easie access, ready to hear and understand all complaints and suites, having his gate open to all, and himself alway at hand; considering he is not for himself, but for all, and servant of the Common-wealth. Magna servitus, magna fortuna: Great fortune is a great servitude. And for this cause the law of Moses provided that Judges and the Judgment seats were held at the gates of the Cities, to the end every man might have easie accesse thereto.

Astouching private men.

Deut. 16.

He ought also indifferently to receive and hear all, great and little, rich and poor, being open to all; Therefore a wife man compareth him to an altar, whereto a man repaireth, being oppressed and af-

flicted, to receive fuccour and comfort.

But he ought not to converse and be familiar with many; but with very sew, and those very wise and advised, and that secretly: for it debaseth anthority, it diminisheth and dissolveth the grace and reputation thereof. Cleon called to the Government of the Commonwealth, assembled all his friends, and there renounced and dissalined all intimation, or inward amity with them, as a thing incompatible with his charge; for Cieero saith, he deprive th himself of the person of a Friend, that undertaketh that of a Judg.

His office is especially in two things, to uphold and defend the Cic. lib. 1. honour, the dignity, and the right of his Sovereign, and of the weal-Officior. publick which he representeth: Gerere personam civitatis, ejus dig-

nitatem & decus suffinere; to represent the person of the City, to uphold the dignity and glory thereof, with authority and mild severity.

Then as a good and loyal Interpreter, and Officer of the Prince, he ought exactly to fee that his will be performed; that is to fay, the law, of which he is the Minister, and it is his charge to fee it diligently executed towards all, therefore he is called the living law, the

speaking law.

Although the Magistrate ought wisely to temper mildness with rigour, yet it is better for a Magistrate to be severe and cruel, then gentle, facil, and pittiful : And God forbiddeth to be pittiful in judgement. A severe Judg holdeth subjects in obedience of the laws: a milde and pitiful makes them to contemn the laws, the Magistrates, and the Prince, who made both. To be brief, to difcharge well his office, there is required two things, honesty and courage. The first hath need of the second. The first preserveth the Magistrate free from avarice, respect of persons, of bribes, which is the plague, and smoother of truth, (Acceptatio munerum pravaricatio eft veritatis : An accepting of gifts, is a prevarication of the tru:b.) From the corruption of juffice, which Plato calleth an hallowed virgin: Also from passions, of hatred, of love, and others, all enemies to right and equity. But to carry himself well against the threatnings of great men, the importunate intreaties of his friends, the lamentations and tears of the poor distressed, which are all violent and forcible things, and yet have some colour of reafon and justice, and which maketh sometimes the most resolute to relent; he had need of courage: firm and inflexible contancy is a principal quality and vertue in a Magistrate, to the end he may not fear the great and mighty, and be not moved and mollified with the misery of another, though it carry with it some shew of goodness. But yet it is forbid to have pity of the poor in judgement.

CHAP. XVIII.

The duty of great and Small

THe duty of the great confifteth in two things, in endeavouring by all means, to spend their bloud and ability, for the defence, and conservation of piety, justice, of the Prince, of the State, and. generally for the welfare and good of the Common-wealth; of which they ought to be pillars and supporters; and after in defending and protecting the poor afflicted and oppressed, resisting the violence of the wicked: and like good blood, to run to the wounded part, according to the Proverb; That good blood, that is to fay, noble and generous, cannot lie, that is to fay, deceive where is need. By this means, Mifes became the head of the Jewish Nation undertaking the defence of men injured, and unjuffly trod under-foot. Hercules was deified for delivering the oppressed from the hands of Tyrants. Those that have done the like, have been called Heroes, and demi-gods; and to the like, all honours have been anciently. ordained, that is, to such as deserved well of the Common-wealth, and were the deliverers of the oppressed. It is no greatness for a man to make himselfe to be feared, (except it be of his enemies) and to terrific the world, as some have done, which also have procured them Oderint quem metwant, They bate whom they fear. It is better to be beloved, than adored. This commeth of a natural pride, and inhumanity, to contemn and disdain other men, as the ordure and excrements of the world, and as if they were not men; and from thence they grow cruel, and abuse both the bodies and goods of the weak, a thing wholly contrary to true greatness and honour, who ought to undertake the defence thereof.

The duty of inferiours towards their superiours consisteth in two points in honouring and reverencing them, not only ceremoniously and in outward shew, which he must do as well to the good as the

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evil, but with love and affection, if they deserve it, and are lovers of the Common-wealth. These are two things, to honour and to esteem, which are due to the good and truly great : to others to bend the knee, to bow the body, not the heart, which is to esteem and love. Moreover, to please them by humbly and serviceable duties, and to infinuate into their favour.

Principibus placuife virus non ultima laus eft:

The praise is not the leaft, To please men of the best.

And to make himself capable of their protection; which if he cannot procure them to be his friends, yet at the least, not to make them his enemies, which must be done with measure and discretion. For over-greedily to avoid their indignation, or to seek their grace and favour, besides, that it is a testimony of weakness, it is silently to condemn them of injustice and cruelty: Non ex profess cavere ant sugere: nam quem quis sugit, damnat; Not of set purpose to beware and avoid: for he whom any man shunneth, he condemneth: or to stir up in them a desire to execute their sury, seeing so base and searful a submission.

Of Fortitude the third Vertue.

PREFACE.

The two former precedent virtues, rule and govern men in company, or with another: these two following rule him in himself: for himself respecting the two visages of fortune, the two heads and kindes of all accidents, Prosperity, and Adversity: for fortitude armeth a man against adversity, Temperance guideth him in prosperity: moderating the two brutish parts of our soul; fortitude ruleth the irascible, temperance the concupisable. These two virtues may wholly be comprised and understood by this word Constancy, which is a right and equal stayedness of the minde, in all accidents and outward things, whereby he is not pussed up in prosperity, not dejected in adversity. Nee adversit frangitur, nee prosperit estuat.

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CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Foritude or Valour in general.

of valour.

Senec.

The description T 7 Alour (for this vertue is more properly so called, than fortitude) is a right and strong resolution, an equal and uniform stayedness of the mind against all dangerous, dithoult, and dolorous accidents : in fuch fort, that difficulty and danger is the object and matter wherein it is exercised: to be brick, it is all that which humane weakness feared. Timendorum contemptrix, que terribilia, & sub jugum libertatem noftram mittentia, despicit, provocat, frangit : It contemnet things to be feared, despiseth, challengeth and destroyeth dreadful things, and bringeth our liberty into bondage.

Of all the vertues in greatest estimation and honour, this is most The praiseshere- renowned, which for the prerogative thereof, is simply called virtue. That is the more difficult, the more glorious, which produceth the greatest, famous, and most excellent effects, it containeth magnanimity, patience, conftancy, an invincible refolution, heroical virtues, whereupon many have fought the inconveniencies that belong thereunto, with greediness to attain so honourable imployment. This virtue is an impregnable Bulwark, a compleat armour. to encounter all accidents. Munimentum imbecillitatis bumane inexpugnabile : quod qui circumdedit fibi, fecurus in bac vi: e obfidione perdurat: An invincible fortress of humane weakness, that who foever armeth himself withall, continuerb secure in this siege of life.

Sene C-

Of imperfett or falle valours.

Military va: lour.

But because many do miltake and in place of the only true vertue, conceive the false and bastardly valours; I will in declaring more at large, the nature and definition thereof expel those popular errors that are here intruded. We will note then in this vertue, four conditions; the first is generally and indifferently against all forts of difficulties and dangers; wherefore they are deceived, that think there is no other valour than the military, which only they effect, because, it may be, it is most renowned and glorious, and carrieth greatest reputation and honour, which is the tongue and trumpet of immortality; for to fay truth, there is more fame and glory therein than pain and danger. Now this is but a small part, and a little ray or light of the true, entire, perfect, and universal, whereby a man is one and the same in company in bed with his griefs, as in the field, as little fearing death in his house, as in the Army. This mi-

military valour is pure and natural in beafts: with whom it is as well in females as in males; in men it is often artificial, gotten by fear, and the apprehension of captivity, of death, of grief, of poverty, of which things, Beafts have no fear. Humane valour is a wife cowardliness, a fear accompanied with fore-fight, to avoid one evil by another; choler is the temper and file thereof: Beafts have it fimply. In men also it is attained by use, institution, example, custom, and it is found in base and flavith minds: of a servant, or flave, or a factor, or fellow trained up in merchandife, is made a good and valiant fouldier, and often without any tincture or instruction of virtue and true philosophical valour.

The second condition, it presupposeth knowledg, as well of the difficulty, pain, and danger, which there is in the action that is pre- Temerity or fented; as of the bueaty, honesty, justice, and duty required in the fupidity, enterprise or support thereof. Wherefore they are deceived, that make valour an inconsiderate temerity, or a senseles brutish stupidity , Non eft inconsulta temeritas, nec periculorum amor, nec formidabtlium appetitio, diligentiffims in tutels fui fortitudo oft : & eadem Seme.

patientissima eo:um quibus falfa species malorum est : It is not an inconfiderate raffiness nor a love of danger, ur a d fire of dreadful things; but fortitude is most diligent in the safegard f.a mans self, and mist patient in thise things wherein there is a false kew of evils. Virtue cannot be without knowledg and apprehension, a man cannot truly contemn the danger which he knoweth not; if a man will also acknowledge this. virtue in Beafts. And indeed, they that ordinarily attempt without any forelight or knowledg, when they come to the point of executions the sense is their best intelligence.

The third condition; this is a resolution and stayedness of the mind, grounded upon the duty, and the honesty and justice, of the Bodily Hrengthi. enterprise; which resolution never flacketh, whatsoever hapneth; until he have valiantly ended the enterprise, or his life. Many of. fend against this condition, first, and more grossy, they that seek this virtue in the body, and in the power and strength of the limbs. Now valour is not a quality of the body, but of the mind; a fetled thrength, not of the arms and legs, but of the courage, The eftimation and valour of a man, confitteth in his heart and will : here lieth his true honour, and the only advantage and true; the victory. over his enemy, is to terrific him, and to arm himself against his constancy and virtue; all other helps are strange and borrowed: ftrength.

frength of arms and legs is the quality of a porter: to make an enemy to floop, to dazzel his eyes at the light of the sun, is an accident of fortune. He whose courage faileth not for any fear of death, quelleth not in his constancy and resolution: and though he fall, he is not vanquished of his adversary (who perhaps may in effect, be but a base fellow) but of fortune; and therefore he is to accuse his own unhappiness, and not his negligence. The most valuant, are oftentimes the moh unfortunate. Moreover, they are deceived, which disquiet themselves, and make account of those vain Thrasonical brags of such swaggering Braggadochios, who by their losty looks, and brave words, would win credit of those that are valiant and hardy, if a man would do them so much favour, as to believe them.

Art and Indistry.

Moreover, they that attribute valour to subtility and craft, or to Art or Industry, do much more profane it, and make it play a base and abject part. This is to difguife things, and to place a false stone for a true. The Lacedemonians permitted no Fencers nor mafterwrestlers in their Cities, to the end, their youth might attain their to by nature, and not by Art. We account it a bold and hardy thing to fight with a Lion, a Bear, a wild Bore, which incounter a man only according to nature; but not with Wasps, for they use subtility. Alexander would not contend in the Olympick games, faving, there was no equality; because a private man might overcome, and a King be vanquished. Moreover, it is not fitting for a man of honour, to try and adventure his valour in a thing, wherein a base fellow, instructed by rule, may gain the price. For such victory cometh not of virtue, nor of courage, but of certain artificial tricks and inventions: wherein the basest will do that, which a valuant man knoweth not, neither should he regard to do it. Fencing is a trick of Art, which may be attained by base persons, and men of no account. And although infamous and ruffin-like fellows are apt to fight, or do any thing in Cities or Towns, with the dexterity of the fword; if they fee an enemy, would they not run away? Even fo is it in that, which is attained by long habit and cuftom, as builders, tumblers, mariners, who undertake dangerous things, and more difficult than the most valiant, being trained and instructed therein from their youth.

Poffion.

Finally, they which confider not sufficiently, the motive and circumstance of actions, wrongly attribute to valour and virtue, that which appertaineth and belongeth to passion or particular intent.

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For asit is not properly virtue, nor justice to be loyal and officious towards some, which a man particularly loveth; nor temperance, to abitain from the carnal pleasure of his fifter, or of his daughter; nor liberality towards his wife and Children: so it is not true valour to adventure himself to any danger, for his own benefit and particular satisfaction. Wherefore if it be for gain, as spies, pioners, traitors, merchants on the Sea, mercenary fouldiers; if for ambition or reputation to be effeemed and accounted valiant, as the most part of our men of war, who fay, being naturally carried thereunto, that if they thought they should lose their life, would not go; if weary of his life through pain and grief, as the fouldier of Antigonus, who living in extreem torment, by the means of a filtula he had, was hardly to attempt all dangers, being healed avoided them; if to prevent thame, captivity, or any other evil; if through fury, and the heat of choler: to be brief, if by passion or particular consideration, as Ajax, Cataline, it is neither valour nor virtue; Sicus non martyrem pana, fic nec fortem pugna, fed caufa facit : As the torment maketh not a martyr, fo doth not the conflict make a valiant man, but the caufe.

The fourth condition. It ought to be, in the execution thereof wife and discreet, whereby many false opinions are rejected in this matter, which are, not to hide themselves from those evils, and in Indiscreintn. conveniences that threaten them; neither to fear lest they surprise us, nor to fly, yea not to feel the first blows, as the noise of thunder or thot, or the fall of some great building. Now this is to understand amisse: for so that the mind remain firm and entire in its own place and discourse, without alteration, he may outwardly disquiet and make a stir. He may lawfully, yea, it is honourable to overthrow, to undo, and to revenge himself of evils, by all means, and honest endeavours: and where there is no remedy, to carry himself with a settled resolution. Mens immota manet; lachryme volvantur inanes; Vain tears flow apace, but the mind remaineth immoveable. Socrates mocked those that condemned flight: What, faith he, is it cowardlyness to beat and vanquish them by giving them place? Himer commendeth in his Vliffes the skill to fly the Lacedemonians professors of valour, in the journey of the Plateans, retired the better to break and dissolve the Perfian Troop, which otherwise they could not do, and overcame them. This bath been practifed by the most warlike people. In other places the Stoicks themselves allowed to wax pale, to tremble at the first . fudden

fudden encounter so that it proceed no farther into mind and courage. And this is valour in groffe. There are things which are juffly to be feared and flied, as shipwracks, lightnings, and those where there is no remedy, neither place of virtue, prudence, valour.

Of Fortisude and Valour in particular.

The propeficion and division of this matter.

To divide the matter and discourse of that which is here to be said. this virtue is exercifed and employed against all that which the world accounterh evil, Now this evil is twofold, external and internal, the one proceedeth from without, it is called by divers names, adversity, affliction, injury, unhappincse, evil and finister accidents: The other is inward in the mind, but caused by that which is outward: These are hateful and hurtful passions, of fear, sadness, choler, and divers others. We must speak of them both; prescribe means and remedies to overcome, suppress and rule them. These are the auguments and counsels of our virtue, fortitude and valour. It consistes then here of two parts, the one of evils or ill accidents, the other of passions, which proceed thereof. The general advice against all good and evil fortune, hath been declared before: we will speak here more specially and particularly thereof.

CHAP. XX.

The first part of outward evils.

The distinction and comparison canfes.

X/E will confider these outward evils three wayes, in their caufes, which shall be declared in this Chapter; afterward in their of evils by their effects; lastly, in themselves distinctly, and particularly every kind of them: and we will give advice and means in them all, by virtue to be armed against them,

> The cause of evil and hateful accidents which happen to us all, are either common and general, which at the same instant they concern many, as pettilence, famine, war, tyranny ! And these evils are for the most part scourges sent of God, and from heaven, or at least, the proper and neerest cause thereof we cannot properly know: Or particulars, and those that are known, that is to say, by the means of another. And fo there are two forts of evil; publick and private. Now the common evils, that is to fay, proceeding of a publick cau'e, though they concern every one in particular,

> > are.

The first part of outward evils.

are in divers kinds, more or leffe grievous, weighty and dangerous. than the private, whose causes are known. More grievous, for they come by flocks and troops, they affail more violently, with greater fir of vehemency and fury : they have a greater concourse and train: they are more tempestuous, they bring fourth greater disorder and confusion. Lesse grievous : because generality and community feemeth to mitigate and lessen every mansevil. It is a kind of comfort, not to be alone in mifery: it is thought to be rather a common unhappinesse, where the course of the world and the cause is natural, than personal affliction. And indeed those wrongs which a man doth us, torment us more, wound us to the quick, and much more alter us. Both these two have their remedies and comforts.

Against publick evils, a man ought to consider from whom, and by whom they are fent, and to marke their cause. It is God, his pro- The advice avidence, from whence cometh and dependeth an absolute necessity, gainst publick which governeth and ruleth all, whereunto all things are subject. Providence. His providence, and deftiny, or necessity, are not, to fay the truth, Deftiny, two diftind laws in effence, Tebroia nal arayun, neither are they one. The diversity is only in the consideration and different reason. Now to murmur and to be grieved at the contrary, is, first of all. fuch impiety, as the like is not elsewhere found: for all things do quietly obey, man only torments himself. And again it is a folly, because it is vain and to no purpose. If a man will not follow this fovereign and absolute mistris willingly, it shall carry all by force; Ad hoc Sacramentum adacti sumus ferre mortalia, nec perturbariis, que vitare nostræ potestatis non est : in regno nati sumus, Deo parere libertas est; We are brought to this necessity, to suffer mortal things, and not to be troubled at those things which are not in our power to avoid: we are born in a kingdom, it is freedom to obey God.

> Define fata denm fleti fperare querendo: Surcease to think that destiny. Can by complaining be put by.

There is no better remedy, than to apply our wills to the wilf thereof; and according to the advice of wisdom to make a virtue of necessity, Non eft alind effugium necessitatis, quam velle quod ipfa cogat : There is no other avaiding of necessity, than to will that which it constraineth. In feeking to contend or dispute aginst it. we do but sharpen and stir the evil; Lago animo ferre quicquid acciderit.

cicleret, quafi tibi volueris accidere; debuiffes enim velle, fi feiffes ex decrete Dei fieri: To suffer with a cheerful minde, whatfoever shall batten, as if thou wouldest bave it bappen unto thee; for thou oughtest to be willing, if thou knowest it to be done by the decree of God. Befides we shall better profit our selves, we shall do that which we ought to do, which is to follow our general and fovereign who hath to ordained it: Opimum pati, quod emendare non poffis : & Deum, quo authore cuncta proveniunt, fine murmuratione comitari. Malus miles est qui imperatorem gemens sequitur : It is an excellent thing patiently to suffer what thou canst not remedy; And to yield unto God without murmuring, from whom, as authour, all things proceed. He is an evil Souldier that felloweth his Commander with grudg-And without contestation to allow for good whatsoever he will. It is magnanimity of courage to yield unto him. Magnus animus qui se Deo tradiit : It is magnanimity to yield himself unto God. It is efferminacy and dastardlyness to murmur or complain; pufillus & degener qui obluctatur, de ordine mundi male existimat, & emendare mavult Deum quam fe: Heis base and ignob'e, that ftruggleth againft bim, he judgeth ill of the order of the world, and bad rather amend God than bimfelf.

The distinction of private evils.

Against those private evils, which do proceed from the act of another, and which pierce us more, we ought first well to distinguish them, lest we mistake them. There is displeasure, there is offence. We often conceive ill of another, who notwithstanding hath not offended us neither in deed nor will, as when he hath either demanded, or refused any thing with reason, but yet was then hurtful unto us: for such causes it is too great simplicity to be offended, since that they are not offences. Now there are two sorts of offences, the one crosseth our affairs against equity; this is to wrong us: the others are applyed to the person, who is contemned by it, and handled otherwise than it ought, be it in deed or in word. These are more grievous and harder to be endured, than any other kind of affliction.

The advice against them in general. The first and general advice against all these sorts of evils, is to be firm and resolute, not to suffer himself to be led by common opinion but without passion to consider of what weight and importance things are, according to verity and reason. The world suffereth it self to be persuaded and led by impression. How many are there, that make less account to receive a great wound, than a little blow? more account of a word, than of death? To be brief, all is measured.

fured by opinion: and opinion offendeth more than the evil; and our

impatience hurts us more, than those of whom we complain.

The other more particular counsels and remedies are drawn first from our felves, (and this is that we must first look into.) These pre- Parties ar adtended offences may arise of our ow defects and weaknets. This vif men : might be a folly grounded upon some desca, in our own person, drawn from which any one in derition would counterfeit. It is folly to grieve and vex himself for that which proceedeth not from his own fault. The way to prevent others in their scoffs, is first to speak and to let them know, that you know as much as they can tell you: if it be that the injury hath taken his beginning by our default, and that we have given the occasion of this abuse, why should we be offended therewith? for it is not offence, but a correction, which he ought to receive, and make use of as a punishment; But for the most part it proceedeth of our own proper weakness, which makes us melancholy. Now he ought to quit himself of all those tender delicacies, which make him live unquietly; but with a manly courage, frong & floutly to contemn, and tread underfoot, the indifcretions and follies of another. It is no fign that a man is found, if he complain when one toucheth him. Never thalt thou be at rest if thou frame thy self to all that is presented.

They are also drawn from the person that offendeth. We reprefent in general the manners and humors of those persons with of these whe whom we are to live in the world. The most part of men take no offend. delight but to do evil, and measure their power by the disdain and the injury of another. So few there are which take pleasure to do well. We ought then to make account that whitherfoever we turn us, we shall find those that will harm, and offendus. Wherefo. ever we shall find men, we shall find injuries. This is so certain and necessary, that the Lawyers themselves, who rule the traffick and affaires of this world, have winked at, and permitted in distributive and communicative justice many escapes in Law. They have permitted deceit and hindrances even to the one half of the just prife. This necessity to hurt and offend cometh, hist of the contrariety. and incompatibility of humours and wills, whereof it cometh that a man is offended without will to offend. Then from the concurrence and opposition of affairs, which inferreth that the pleasure, profit, and good of one, is the displeasure, dammage. and ill of others; and it cannot be otherwise, following, this common and general picture of the world; if he who offendeth a

fendeth thee is infolent, a fool, and rash as he is, (for an honest man never wrongeth any) wherefore complaineft thou, fince he is no more his own man, than as a mad man? You can well endure a furious man without complaint, yea, you will pitty him; an innocent, an infant, a woman, you will laugh at them; a fool, a drunken man, a cholerick, an indifcreet man in like fort. Wherefore when these people affail us with words, we ought not to answer them: we must hold our peace, and quit our selves of them. It is an excellent and worthy revenge, and grievous to a fool, not to make any account of him; for it is to take away that pleasure which he thinketh to have in vexing us, fince our filence condemns his fimplicity, and his own temerity is smothered in his own mouth: if a man answer him, he makes him his equal, and, by esteeming him too much, he wrongs himself. Male loquuntur quia bene loqui nesciunt, faciunt quod folent & sciunt, male quia mali, & secundim fe : They freak evil because they know not how to speak well, they do what they are used to and what they knowsevilly because they are evil, and according to them felves.

The conclusion of these counsels with the rule of wisedom.

Behold then for conclusion the advice and counsel of wisdom: we must have respect unto our selves, and unto him that offendeth us. As touching our felves, we must take heed we do nothing unworthy and unbefitting our felves, that may give another advantage against us. An unwise man that distrusteth himself, growes into passion without cause, and thereby gives incouragment to another to contradict him. This is a weakness of the mind, not to know to contemn offence: an honest man is not subject to injury: he is inviolable: an inviolable thing is not only this, that a man cannot be beat, but being beaten, neither receiveth wound nor hurt. This resolution is a most strong bulwark against all accidents; that we can receive no evil, but of our selves. If our judgment be as it ought, we are invulnerable. And therefore we alwaies fay with wife Socrates; Anitus, and Melitus may well put me to death, but they shall never inforce me to do that I ought not. Moreover, an honeltman, as he never giveth occasion of injury to any man, so he cannot endure to receive an injury; Ledere enim le. dique conjunctum eft. For to burt and to be burt, are near neighbours. This is a wall of braffe, which a man is not able to pierce; scoffes and injuries trouble him not. Touching him that hath offended us, if you hold him vain and unwife, handle him accordingly, and so leave him: if he be otherwise, excuse him, Imagine that he bath had

had occasion, and that it is not for malice, but by misconceit and neglience; he is vexation enough to himself, and he wisheth he had never
done it. Moreover, I say, that like good Husbands, we must make profit
and commodity of the injuries that are offered us. Which we may do
at the least two wayes, which respect the offender, and the offended.
The one, that they give us occasion to know those that wrong us, to
the end, we may the better fly then at another time. Such a man hath
slandered thee, conclude presently, that he is malicious, and trust him
no more. The other, that they discover unto us our infirmity, and the
means whereby we are easily beaten; to the end, we should amend &
repair our defects, lest another take occasion to say as much or more.
What better revenge can a man take of his enemies, than to make profit of their injuries, & thereby better and more securely to manage our
affairs?

CHAP. XXI.

Of outward evils confidered in their effects and fruits.

A Free the causes of evil, we come to the effects and fruits thereof,
where are also found true preservatives and remedies. The effects are many, are great, are general and particular. The general re-per profitable,

spect the good, maintenance and culture of the universal.

First of all, the world would be extinguished, would perish, and be lott, if it were not changed, troubled, and renewed by these great accidents of pestilence, famine, war, mortality; which season, perfect and purihe it, to the end, to sweeten the rest, and give more liberty and ease to the whole. Without these, a man could neither turn himself nor be setled. Moreover, belides the variety and interchangeable course, which they bring both to the beauty and ornament of the universe, also all parts of the world are benefited thereby. The rude and barbarous are hereby polified and refined, Arts and sciences are dispersed and imparted unto all. This is as a great Nursery, wherein certain Trees are transplanted from other flocks, others pruned and pulled up by the root, all for the good and beauty of the Orchard. These good and general considerations, ought to remain and resolve every honest and reasonable mind, and to hinder the curious inquiry of men, into those great and turbulent accidents, so strange and wonderful, fince they are the works of God and Nature, and that they do so notable a service in the general course of the world. For we must think, that that which

of outward evils, confidered in their effects, &c.

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which is a loffe in one respect, is a gain in another; and to speak more plainly, nothing is loft; but fuch is the course of the world, so it changeth, and foit is accommodated. Vir fapiens nibil indignetur nifi accipere. sciatque illa ipsa quibus ladi videtur, ad confervationem universi pertinere, & ex bis effe, que curfum mundi officiumque confummant : Let a mife man disdain nothing that shall bappen unto bim, and let bim know, that those things that feem burtful anto him, pertain to the prefervation of the whole universe, and to be of the nature of those things that finish up the course and office of the world.

1. Lib. of the abree verities, #P.11.

The particular effects are divers, according to the divers spirits Particular of and flatesof those that receive them : For they exercise the good, refells are divers, lieve and amend the fallen, punish the wicked. Of every one a words for hereof we have spoken else-where. These outward evils are, in those that are good, a very profitable exercise, and an excellent school, wherein (as Wrestlers and Fencers, Marriners in a tempelt, Souldiers in dangers, Philosophers in their Academies, and in all other forts of people, in the ferious exercise of their profession) they are instructed, made and formed unto virtue, constancy, valour, the victory of the world and of fortune. They learn to know themselves, to make tryal of themselves, and they see the measure of their valour. the uttermost of their strength; how far they may promise or hope of themselves, and then they encourage and strengthen themselves to what is best, accustom and harden themselves to all, become reso. lute and invincible; whereas contrarily, the long calm of prosperity mollifieth them, and maketh them wanton and effeminate. And therefore Demenius was wont to fay, that there were no people more miferable, than they that had never felt any croffes or afflictions, that had never been miserable, calling their life a dead sea.

ebaftifement.

These outward evils, to such as are offenders, are a bridle to flag them, that they stumble not, or a gentle correction, and fatherly rod after the fall, to put them in remembrance of themselves, to the end. they make not a second revolt: They are a kind of letting bloud, and medicine, or preservative to divert faults and offences; or a purgation to void and purifie them.

To the wicked and forlorn they are a punishment, a fickle to cut them off, and to take them away, or to afflict them with a long and miserable languishment. And these are the wholsom and necessary effects, for which these outward evils are not only to be effected of and quietly taken with patience, and in good part, as the exploits of divine juffice, but are to be embraced as tokens and inftruments

of the care, of the love and providence of God, and men are to make a profitable use of them, following the purpose and intention of him, who sendeth and disposeth them as pleaseth him.

Of outward evils in themselves and particularly.

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

ALL these evils, which are many and divers, are privations of their contrary good, as likewise the name and nature of evil do lignifie. And therefore as many heads as there are of good, so many are there of evils, which may all be reduced and comprehended in the number of seven; sickness, grief, (I conclude these two in one) captivity, banishment, want, infamy, losse offriends, death; which are the privations of health, liberty, home dwelling, means or maintenance, honours, friends, life, whereof hath been spoken before at large. We will here inquire into the proper and particular remedies and In the first medicines, against these seven heads of evils, and that briefly without Booken discourse.

CHAP. XXII.

Of fickness and grief.

E have said before, that grief is the greatest, and to say the truth, the only essential evil, which is most selt, and hath least remedies. Neverthelesse, behold some sew that regard the reason, justice, utility, imitation and resemblance with the greatest and most excellent.

It is a common necessity, To endure; there is no reason that for our sakes, a miracle should be wrought; or that a man should be offended, if that happen unto him, that may happen unto every man.

It is also a natural thing, we are born thereunto; and to desire to be exempted from it is injustice, we must quietly endure the laws of our own condition. We are made to be old, to be weak, to grieve, to be sick, and therefore we must learn to suffer that which we cannot avoid.

If it be long, it is light and moderate, and therefore a shame to complain of it: if it be violent, it is short and speedy, ends either it self or the patient, which comes all to one end. Conside, Summus K k 2

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non babet tempus dolor. Si gravis, brevis; Si longus, levis. Be bold of this; Extreme pain bath no perpetuity: if it be grievous, it is soon gone, if long,

than light.

And again, it is the body that endureth: it is not our selves that are offended, for the offence diminisheth the excellency and perfection of the thing; and fickness or grief is so far from diminishing that contrarily it serveth for a subject and an occasion of a commendable patience much more than health doth: and where there is more occasion of commendation, there is not less occasion of good. If the body be the instrument of the spirit, who will com plain, when the instrument is imployed to the service of that whereunto it is destinated? The body is made to serve the soul : if the foul should afflict it self for any thing that hapneth to the body, the foul should serve the body. Were not that man over-delicate and cusious, that would cry out and afflict himfelf, because some or o. ther had spoiled his apparel, some thorn had taken hold of it, or fome man paffing by had torn it? Some base Broker perhaps would be agrieved therewith, that would willingly make a commodity thereof: but a man of ability and reputation, would rather laugh at it, and account it as nothing, in respect of that state and abundance, that God hath bestowed on him. Now this body, is but a borrowed garment, to make our spirits for a time, to appear upon this low and troublesom stage; of which only we should make account, and procure the honour and peace thereof. For from whence commeth it, that a man fuffereth grief with fuch impatiency? It is because he accustometh not himself to seek his content in his souls non affuerunt animo effe contenti; nimium illis cum corpore fuit : they bave not accustomed themselves to be content in mind; their contentment mas too much with the body. Men have too great a commerce with their bodies, and it feemeth, that grief groweth proud, feeing us to tremble under the power thereof.

It teacheth us to distaste that which we must needs leave, and to unwind our selves from the vanity and deceit of this world, an excellent

piece of service.

The joy and pleasure we receive by the recovery of our health, after that our grief or sickness hath taken his course, is a strange enlightning unto us; in such fort that it should seem that nature hath given sickness for the greater honour and service of our pleasure and delight.

Now then if the grief be indifferent, the patience shall be easie

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if it be great, the glory shall be as great : if it feem overhard, let as accuse our delicacy and nicenes; and if there be but few that can endure it, let us be of the number of those few. Let us not accuse nature for having made us fo weak, for that is nothing, but we are rather too delicate. It we fly it, it will follow us; if we cowardly yield unto it, and fuffer our felves to be vanquished, it will handle us the more roughly, and the reproach will light upon our felves. It would make us affraid, and therefore it frandeth us upon, to take heart, and that when it cometh, it find us more resolute than was imagined. Our yielding makes that more eager, and more fierce, Starefidenter: non quia difficilia non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia sunt. To ft and confidently : we do not fhrink at them, because they be difficult ; but they are diff cult to endure, because we fbrink at them.

But lest these remedies should seem but fair words, and meer i. maginations, and the practice of them altogether impossible, we Examples, have examples, both frequent and rich, not only of men, but of women and Children, who have not only a long time endured long and grievous ficknesses with such constancy, that their grief hath rather given them life than courage; but have attended and born even with joy, yea, have sought after the greatest and most exquisite torments. In Lacedemon, little Children whipped one another, yea, fometimes to the death, without any shew in their countenance, of any grief or smart that they felt, only to accustom themselves to suffer for their Countrey. Alexanders Page fuffered himself to be burnt with a cole, without cry or countenance of discontent; because he would not interrupt the sacrifice: and a Lad of Lacedemon, Suffered a Fox to gnaw his guts out of his belly, before he would discover his theft. Pompey being surprised by King Gentius, who would have constrained him to reveal the publick affairs of Rome, to make known, that no tormeut should make him to do it, did voluntarily put his finger into the fire, and fuffered it to burn, until Gentius himfelf took it out. The like before that, had Mucins done, before another King, Porfenna: and that good old Regulas of Carthage, endured more than all thefe: and yet more than Regulus, Anaxarchus, who being half pounded in a morter, by the tyrant Nicoercon, would never contess, that his mind was touched with any torment; Beat and pound the fack of Anaxarchus, till you be glutted, as for himfelf you shall never touch him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII. Of Captivity and Imprisonment.

His affliction is no more than nothing, and in respect of fickneffe and grief, it is an easie matter to vanquish it. For fick folk are not without captivity in their beds, in their houses, for the time they lie in ; yea, they ingroffe as it were affliction above captivivity; nevertheleffe, a word or two thereof. There is nothing but the body, to cover the prison of thy foul that is captive; the foul it felf remaineth alwayes free and at liberty, in despight of all; and therefore how should that man know or perceive that he is in prison. who as freely, yea, and more freely too, may walk and wander whither he will, than he that is abroad? The walls and Dungeons of the Prison, are not throng enough to shut him up; the body that toucheth him and is joyned unto him, cannot hold nor flay him. He that knoweth how to maintain himself in his liberty, and to use and hold his own right, which is not to be thut up, no not in this World, will but laugh at these slight and childish embarments, Christianus etiam extra carcerem seculo renuntiavit : in carcere, etiam carceri : nibil interest ubi sitis in seculo qui extra seculum estis : feramus carceris no nen, feceffum vocemus; & fi corpus includitur, caro detinetur, omnia fpiritui patent, totum bominem animus eircumfert, & quo vult transferi. A Christian man even out of prison, bath renounced the World : in prison also, be bath renounced the prison: it mattereth nothing where thou arrin the world, who art of the world: Let us take away the name of prifon, and call it a quit resiring place, and if the body be included, the flesh is prifoner, but the spirit is free to all things, the mind carriet b about the whole man, and whigher he lift it transporterb bim.

The prison hath gently received into the lap thereof, many great and holy Personages; it hath been the sanctuary, the haven of health, and a fortress to divers that had been utterly undone, if they had had their liberty; yea, that have had recourse thereunto, to be in liberty; have made choice thereof, and esponsed themselves unto it, to the end, they might live at rest, and free themselves from the cares of the world è careere in custodiam translati, Translated from the prison of affairs, to the quiet of 4. mills. That which is shut up under lock and key, is in safest custody: and it is better to be under the safegard of a key, than to be bound and enthralled with those fer-

ters.

Tertul.

ters and flocks, whereof the world is full; that publick places and courts of great Princes, and the tumultuous affairs of this world bring with them, jealoufies, envies, violent humours, and the like. Si recogitemus ipsum magis mundum carcerem effe, exisse nos è carcere Terial. quam in carcerem introife intelligimus, majores tenebras babet mundus que bominum precordia excecant, graviores catenas induit, que ipfin anims; constringunt, pejares immunditias exfigirat, libidines bominum. plures postremo rees continet, universum genus bominum : If we confider. that the world it felf is a prifen, we shall underftand, that we are rather gone out of the world, than entred into prifon; the world hath greater darkness, wherewith the inward cogitations of the hearts of men are blinded; it fettereth with more grievom Irons, wherewith mens very fouls are fackled; it breatbeth forth worfer uncleanneffes in the lufto and fenfualities of men; it containeth more guilty perfons, even whole Mankind. Many have escaped the hands of their enemies, and other great dangers and miseries, by the benefit of imprisonment. Some have there written Books, and have there bettered their knowledge. Plus in carcere Spiritus acquirit quam earo amittit : The Spirit getteth more in prison, than the flesh loseth. Divers there are, whom the prison having kept and preserved for a time, hath re-sent unto their former foveraign dignities, and mounted them to the highest places in the world; others it hath yielded up unto Heaven, and hath not at any time received any that it restoreth not.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Banishment and Exile.

Xile is a change of place that brings no ill withit, but in opinion, it is a complaint and affliction wholly imaginary: for according to reason, there is not any ill in it: In all places, all is after one fashion, which is comprehended in two words, Nature and Virtue. Duo que pulsherrima funt, quocunque nos moverimus, sequentur, natura communis & propria virtus: there are two excellent things, which will follow us, whither foever we go, common Nature, and mans own Virtue.

In all places, we find the felf fame common nature, the fame heavens, the fame elements. In all places, the heavens and the stars appear unto us in the same greatness, extent; and that is it which Nature. principally we are to confider, and not that which is under us, and which we trample underfeet. Again, at a kenning we cannot fee of

the Earth above ten or twelve leagues: Angustus animus quem terrens delectant: The mind is narrow and strait, whom earthly things delight. But the face of the great azured firmament, decked and counserpointed with fo many beautiful and shining Diamonds, doth alwaves thew it felf unto us; and to the end, we may wholly behold it, it continually whirleth about us, It sheweth it self all unto all, and in all respects, in a day and a night. The Earth, which with the Sea, and all that it containeth, is not the hundred and fixtyeth part of the greatness of the Sun, sheweth not it self unto us, but in that small proportion that is about the place where we dwell: yea, and that change of that earthly floor that is under us, is nothing. What matter is it to be born in one place, and to live in another? Our Mother might have layen in elsewhere, and it is a chance, that we are born here or there. Again, all Countries bring forth and nourish men, and furnish them with whatsoever is necessary. All Countries have kindred: nature hath knit us altogether in blood and in charity. All have friends; there is no more to do, but to make friends and to win them by virtue and wisdom. Every land is a wise mans Countrey, or rather no Land is his particular Countrey. For it were to wrong himself, and it were weakness and baseness of heart, to think to carry himself as a wrangler in any place. He must alwayes use his own right and liberty, and live in all places as with himself, and upon his own; Omnes tergas tanquam fuat videre, o fuat tanquam omnium; to fee all Lands as their own, and their own as the Lands of all.

Moreover, what change or discommodity doth the diversity of the place bring with it? Do we not alwaies carry about us one and the same spirit and virtue? Who can forbid saith Brutus, a banished man to carry with him his virtues? The spirit and virtue of a man, is not shut up in any place; but it is every where equally and indifferently. An honest man is a Citizen of the World, free, chearful, and content in all places, alwayes within himself, in his own quarter, and ever one and the same, though his case or scabbard be removed, and carried hither and thither: Animus sace of evernus ubique est diis cognatus, omni mundo & evo par: The sacred and evernal soul is every where, of near affinity with God, alike to all the world, and to all ages. A man in every place, is in his own Countrey, where he is well. Now for a man to be well, it dependeth not upon the place but himself.

How many are there, that for divers confiderations, have willing-

Azamples.

ly banished themselves? How many others banished by the violence of another, being afterwards called home, have resused to return; and have found their exile not only tolerable, but pleasant and delightful; yea, never thought they lived until the time of their banishment, as those noble Romans, Rutilius, Marcellus? How many others have been led by the hand of good fortune out of their Countrey, that they may grow great and puissant in a strange Land.

CHAP. XXV.

Of poverty, want, life of goods,

His complaint, is of the vulgar and miserable sottish fort of people, who place their fovereign good, in the goods of for- poverty rune tune, and think that poverty is a very great evil. But to shew what It fold. is, you must know that there is a two-fold poverty: the one extream, which is the want of things necessary, and requisite unto nature; this doth feldom or never happen to any man, nature being I. Want of fo just, and having formed us in such a fashion, that few things are things neces ; necessary, and those few are not wanting, but are found every Jary. where; Parabile eft qued natura defiderat, & expositum: That which nature defireth is ready and easie to be bad; yea, in such a sufficiency. as being moderately used, may suffice the condition of every one. Ad manum eft, quod fat eft : That which Sufficeib, is ready and at . band. If we will live according to nature and reason, the desire and rule thereof, we shall alwaies find that which is sufficient. If we will live according to opinior, whilest we live. we shall never find its Si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper; si ad opinionem, nunquam dives : exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum : If thou wilt live according to nature, thou shalt never be poor; if according to opinion, never rich : nature defireth little, opinion much, and beyond measure. And therefore, a man that hath an Art or science to slick unto, yea, that hath but his arms at will, is it possible he should either fear, or complain of poverty?

The other is the want of things that are more than sufficient, re- 2. Want of quired for pomp, pleasure and delicacy. This is a kind of medi things super- cerity and frugality: and to say the truth, it is that which we fear, strious- to lose our riches, our moveables, not to have our bed soft enough, our diet well dress, to be deprived of these commodities; and in a word, it is delicateness that holdeth us, This is our true malady.

Now.

Of poverty, want, losse of goods.

Now this complaint is unjust; for such poverty is rather to be defi-

red than feared: and therefore the wife man asked of God; Nec mendicitatem nec divitias, sed necessaria: Neither poverty nor riches, but

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The praife of

fufficieucy.

E.Tim. 6.

Prov. 30.

things necessary. It is far more just, more rich, more peaceable and certain, than abundance, which a man so much desireth. More just; for man came naked, Nemo nascitur dives; Noman is born rich, and he returneth naked out of this world. Can a man term that truly his, that he neither bringeth nor carrieth with him? The goods of this

world, they are as the moveables of an Inne. We are not to be difcontented to long as we are here, that we have need of them. More

rich; It is a large fignory, a Kingdom: Magna divitie lege nature composita paupertas: magnus quastus pietas cum sufficientia: Moderate and quiet poverty by the law of nature, is great riches; Godliness is great

gain with sufficiency. More peaceable and affured; it feareth nothing, and can defend it self against the enemies thereof: Esiam in obsessa

wis paupertas pax est: Poverty baib peace, even in a besieged may. A small body that may cover and gather it self under a Buckler, is in better safety than a great, which lieth open unto every blow. It is never subject to great losses, nor charges of great labour and bur-

then. And therefore they that are in such an estate, are alwayes more chearful and comfortable; for they never have so much care, nor sear such tempests. Such kind of poverty is free, chearful, assured, it

maketh us truly mafters of our own lives; whereof the affairs, complaints, contentions, that do necessarily accompany riches, carry away the better part. Alas! what goods are those, from whence proceed all our evils? They are the cause of all those injuries that

we endure, that make us flaves; trouble the quiet of our fouls, bring with them fo many jealoufies, suspicions, sears, frights, desires? He that vexeth himself for the losse of these goods, is a miserable man;

for together with his goods, he loseth his spirit too. The life of poor men, is like unto those that sail near the shore; that of the rich, like to those that cast themselves into the mane Ocean. These cannot

attain to land, though they defire nothing more, but they must attend the wind and the tide; the other come abroad, passe and repasse, as

the wind and the tide; the other come abroad, passe and often as they will.

Finally, we must endeavour to imitate those great and generous personages, that have made themselves merry with such kind of losses, yea, have made advantage of them, and thanked God for them; as Zenon, after his ship-wrack, Fabricius, Seranus, Curius. It should seem that poverty is some excellent and divine thing.

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fince it agreeth with the gods, who are imagined to be naked; fince the wifest have embraced it, or at least have endured it with great contentment. And to conclude in a word, with such as are not over passionate it is commendable, with others insupportable.

Of infamy.

"His affliction is of divers kinds. If it be loffe of honours and dignities, it is rather a gain than a loffe : Dignities are but honourable servitudes, whereby a man by giving himself to the wealpublick, is deprived of himself. Honours are but the torches of envy, jealousie, and in the end, exile and poverty. If a man shall call to mind the history of all antiquity, he shall find, that all they that have lived, and have carried themselves worthily and virtuously, have ended their course, either by exile, or prison, or some other violent death; witness amongst the Greeks, Aristides, Themistocles, Phocion, Secrates; amongst the Romans, Camillus, Scipio, Cicero, Papinian; among the Hebrews, the Prophets: In fuch fort, that it should feem to be the livery of the more honest men; for it is the ordinary recompence of a publick state. to fuch kind of people. And therefore a man of a gallant and generous spirit, should contemn it, and make small account thereof, for he dishonoureth himself, and shews how little he hath profited in the study of wisdom, that regardeth in any respect, the censures, reports, and speeches of the people, be they good, or evil.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the loffe of friends.

Here comprehend Parents, Children, and whatsoever is near and dear unto a man. First, we must know upon what this pretended complaint or affliction is grounded, whether upon the interests, or good-of our friends, or our own. Upon that of our friends; I doubt we shall say Yea to that, but yet we must not be too credations to believe it. It is an ambitious faining of piety, whereby we make a shew of sorrow and grief for the hurt of another, or the hinderance of the weal-publick; but if we shall withdraw the veil of diffigulation, and sound it to the quick, we shall find that it is

Of the loffe of Friends.

our own particular good that is hid therein, that toucheth us nearest. We complain that our own Candle burneth, and is consumed, or at least is in some danger: This is rather a kind of envy, than true piety; for that which we so much complain of touching the losse of our friends, their absence, distance from us, is their true and great good: Marere hoe eventum, invidi magis quam amici est: to mourn for this event, is rather the part of an envious person than of a friend. The true use of death is, to make an end of our miseries. God had made our life more miserable, if he had made it longer.

And therefore to fay the truth, it is upon our own good, that this complaint and affliction is grounded: now that becommeth us not, it is a kind of injury to be grieved with the rest and quiet of those that love us, because we our selves are hurt thereby. Sais incommodis angi, non amicum, sed seipsum amantis est: to be grieved for bis own dif-

commodities, sheweth a man not to love his friend, but himself.

Again, there is a good remedy for this which fortune cannot take from us; and that is, that surviving our friends, we have meanes to make new friends. Friendship, as it is one of the greatest bleshings of our life, so it is most easily gotten. God makes men, and men make friends. He that wanteth not virtue, shall never want friends. It is the instrument wherewith they are made, and wherewith, when he hath lost his old, he makes new. If fortune hath taken away our friends, let us endeavour to make new; by this means, we shall not lose them, but multiply them.

Of Death.

WE have spoken hereof so much at large, and in all respects in the eleventh and last Chapter of the second book, that there remaineth not any thing else to be spoken; and therefore to that place I refer the Reader.

The second part of inward evils, tedious and troublesom possions.

THE PREFACE.

From all those above-named evils, there spring and arise in us, divers passions and cruel affections: for these being taken and considered

confidered fimply as they are, they breed fear, which apprehendeth evils as yet to come, forrow for present evils, and if they be in another, pitty and compassion. Being considered as comming, and procured by the act of another, they ftir up in us the paffion of choler, hatred, envy, jealousie, despight, revenge, on all those that procure displeafure; or make us to look upon another with an envious eye. Now this virtue of fortitude and valour, confifteth in the government and receit of these evils, according to reason, in the resolute and couragious carriage of a man, and the keeping of himself free and clear from all paffions that fpring thereof. But because they subfift not, but by these evils, if by the means and help of so many advisements and remedies before delivered, a man can vanquish and contemn them all, there can be no more place left unto these passions. And this is the true mean to free himfelf, and to come to the end; as the best way to put out a fire, is to withdraw the fuel that gives it nourishment. Nevertheless, we will yet add some particular counsels against these passions, though they have been in such fort before deciphered, that it is a matter of no difficulty to bring them into hatred and deteffation.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Against fear.

Et no man attend evils before they come, because it may be, they will never come : our fears are as likely to deceive us, as our hopes; and it may be, that those times that we think will bring . most affliction with them, may bring greatest comfort. How many unexpected adventures may happen, that may defend a man from that blow we fear? Lightning is put by with the wind of a mans hat, and the fortunes of the greatest states, with accidents of small moment. The turn of a wheel mounteth him that was of lowest degree, to the highest step of honour; and many times it falleth out, that we are preserved by that, which we thought would have been our overthrow. There is nothing to eafily deceived, as humane forefight. That which it hopeth it wanteth; that which it feareth, vaniffeth; that which it expecteth, hapneth not. God hath his counsel by himself: That which man determineth after one manner, he resolveth after another. Let us not therefore make our selves unfortunate before our time, Nay when perhaps we are never likely to be fo. Time to come which deceiveth :

veth so many, will likewise deceive us as soon in our sears, as in our hopes. It is a maxim commonly received in Physick, that in sharp maladies the predictions are never certain; and even so is it, in the most surfous threatnings of sortune; so long as there is life, there is hope, for hope continues as long in the body as the soul; susm diu

Spiro, Spero.

But forafmuch as this fear proceedeth not alwayes from the disposition of nature, but many times from an over-delicate education (for by the want of exercise and continual travel and labour, even from our youth, we many times apprehend things without reafon) we must by a long practice, accuston our selves unto that, which may most terrifie us, present unto our selves the most fearful dangers that may light upon us, and with chearfulness of heart attempt sometimes casual adventures, the better to try our courage, to prevent evil occurrents, and to feize upon the arms of fortune. It is a matter of leffe difficulty, to refift fortune by affailing it, than by defending our felves against it. For then we have leasure to arm our selves, we take our advantages, we provide for a retrait; whereas when it affaulteth, it furprifeth us unawares, and handleth us at her own pleasure. We mutt then whilest we affail fortune, learn to defend our selves, give unto our selves salse alarums, by proposing unto us, the dangers that other great personages have passed, call to mind, that some have avoided the greatest, because they were not aftonished at them; others have been overthrown by the least, for want of resolution.

CHAP. XXIX.

Against Sorrow.

The remedies against sorrow (set down before as the most tedious, hurtful, and unjust passion) are two sold: some are direct or straight, others oblique. I call those direct, which Philosophy teacheth, which concern the confronting and distaining of evils, accounting them not evils, or at leastwise, very small and light (though they be great and grievous) and that they are not worthy the least motion or alteration of our minds; and that to be forry for them, or to complain of them, is at thing very unjust and illbestiting a man as teach the Stoicks, Peripateticks, and Platonists. This manner of preserving a man from sorrow and melancholick passion, is as rare, as it is excellent; and belongs to spirits of the first rank. There is like

wife another kind of Philosophical remedy, although it be not of fo good a stamp, which is easie, and much more in use, and it is obliques this is by diverting a mans mind and thought to things pleafant and delightful or at least indifferent from that that procureth our forrow: which is to deal cunningly, to decline and avoid an evil, to change the object. It is a remedy very common, and which is used almost in all evils, if a man mark it, as well of the body as of the mind. Phyfitians, when they cannot purge a Rheum, they turn it into some other part leffe dangerous. Such as paffe by ficep and precipitate deeps and downfalls, that have need of lancings, fearing Irons. or fire, thut their eyes, and turn their faces another way. Valiant men in war, do never tafte nor consider of death, their mindes being carried away by the defire of victory; in fo much, that divers have fuffered death gladly, yea, have procured it, and been their own executioners, either for the future glory of their name, as many Greeks and Romans; or for the hope of another life, as Martyrs, the Difciples of Hegelius, and others, after the reading of Plato his book to Antiochus. De morte contemnenda; or to avoid the miseries of this life and for other reasons. All these, are they no divertions? Few there are that confider evils in themselves, that relish them as Socrates did his death; and Flavius condemned by Ners, to die by the hands of Niger. And therefore in finister accidents and misadventures, and in all outward evils, we must divert our thoughts, and turn them another way. The vulgar fort can give this advice, Think not of it. Such as have the charge of those that are any way afflicted, should for their comfort, furnish affrighted spirits, with other objects. Abdrsendus est animus ad alia studia, solicitudines, curas, negotia; loci denique mutatione fape curandus eft. The mind is to be led away to other ftudies. eares, affairs; lastly, by change of place it is often cured.

CHAP. XXX.

Against merey and compassion.

There is a two-fold mercy, the one good, and virtuous, which is in God, and in his Saints, which is in will, and in effect to fuctour the afflicted, not afflicting themselves or diminishing any thing that concerneth honour or equity; the other is a kind of feminine passionate pitty, which proceedeth from two great a tenderness and weak

weakness of the mind, whereof hath been spoken before in the abovenamed passion. Again this wisdom teacheth us to succour the assistant but not to yield and to suffer with him. So is God said to be merciful, as the Phylician to his patient, the advocate to his Client, assorded hall diligence and industry, but yet taketh not their evils and affairs to the heart; so doth a wise man, not entertaining any grief or darkning his spirit with the smoke thereof. God commandeth us to aid, and to have a care of the poor, to defend their cause; and in another place he forbids us to pitty the poor in judgment.

CHAP. XXXI.

Against choler.

He remedies are many and divers, wherewith the mind must before hand be armed and defended, like those that fear to be befieged; for afterwards it is too late. They may be reduced to three heads; the first is to cut off the way, and stop all the passagesunto choler. It is an easier matter to withstand it, and to stay the Passage thereof in the beginning, than when it hath seized upon a man to carry himself well and orderly. He must therefore quit himself from all the causes and occasions of Choler, which heretofore have been produced in the description thereof, that is to say, I. weakness and tenderness, 2. malady of the mind in hardning it felf against whatsoever may happen. 3. too great delicateness, the love of certain things do accustom a man to facility, and simplicity the mother of peace and quietness, Ad omnia comp fui finus: que bona & paratiora, fint nobis meliora & grotiora; Let us be feiled to all things: let the fe things which are good and ready at hand, be better and more acceptable to us. It is the general doctrine of the wife King Cotys, who having received for a prefent many beautiful and rich vessels, yet frail and easie to be broken brake them all, to the end, he might not be stirred to choler and fury, when they should happen to be broken. This was a distrust in himself, and a base kind of fear that provoked him thereunto. 4.- Curiolity; according to the example of Cefar, who being a Conqueror, and having reco. vered the letters, writings, and memorials of his enemies, burnt them all before he faw them. 5. Lightness of belief. 6. And above all, an opinion of being contemned, and wronged by another, which he must chace from him as unworthy a man of spirit :

The first

for though it feem to be a glorious thing, and to proceed from too high effect of himfelf (which nevertheleffe is a great vice) yet it cometh of bafeness and imbecillity. For he that thinkerh himself to be contemped by another, is in some fense his inferiour, judgeth himself or fears that in truth he is fo, or is fo reputed, and diffrutteth himfelf. Nemo non eo, à quo se contemptum judicat, minor est; No man but is leffer than he of whom he thinketh bimfelf to be contemned. A man must therefore think that it proceedeth rather from any thing than contempts that is, fortishness, indifcretion, want of good manners. If this suppofed contempt proceed from his friends, it is too great familiarity: If from his subjects or servants, knowing that their matter hath power to chasten them, it is not to be believed that they had any such thought: If from base and inferiour people, our honour, our dignity or indignity, is not in the power of fuch people: Indignus Cefaris ira: unworthy the wrath of Cafar. Agathocles and Antigonus laughed at those that wronged them, and hurt them not, having them in their power. Cefar excelled all in this point; and Mofes, David, and all the greatest personages of the world have done the like. Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet; agreat mind becometh agreat fortune. The most glorious conquest is for a man to conquer himself, not to be moved by another. To be firred to choler, is to confess the accusation. Convina fi irafcare agnita videntur Spresa exolefcunt : Reproachfull Speeches if thou be angry at them, seem acknowledgeds if thou despise them they vanish to nosbing. He can never be great, that yieldeth himself to the offence of another: if we vanquish not our choler that will vanquish us. Iniuriss & offenfiones Superne despicere : Highly to despise injuries and offences. 2. Hen?.

The second head is of these remedies that a man must employ when the occasions of choler are offered, and that there is a likelihood that we may be moved thereunto; which are first, to keep and contain our bodies in peace and quietness, without motion or agitation; which inflameth the blood and humours, and to keep himself filent and solitary. Secondly, delay in believing and resolving, and giving leisure to the judgment to consider. If we can once discoverit, we shall easily stay the course of this Fever. A wise man counselled Augustus being in choler, not to be moved before he had pronounced the letters of the Alphabet. Whatsoever we say or do in the heat of our blood, ought to be suspected, Nil tibilitees, dam irassent. Suare? Quia via omnia livere. Nobing is law-

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ful for thee whilest thou are angry. Why? because thou will then have all things lamful for thee. We must sear and be doubtful of our selves, for so long as we are moved, we can do nothing to purpose. Reason, when it is hindred by passions, serveth us no more than the wings of a bird being sastened to his seet. We must therefore have recourse unto our friends, and suffer our choler to die in the middest of our discourse. And lastly, diversion to all pleasant occasions, as musick, &c.

3 Hend.

The third head confifteth in those beautiful confiderations. wherewith the mind must long before be seasoned. First, in the confideration of the action and motions of those that are in choler which should breed in us a hatred thereof, so ill do they become a man. This was the manner of the wife, the better to difswade a man from this vice, to counsel him to behold himself in a glaffe. Secondly, and contrarily, of the beauty which is of moderation; Let us consider how much grace there is in a sweet kind of mildness and clemency, how pleasing and acceptable they are unto others, and commodious to our felves: It is the Adamant that draweth unto us the hearts and wills of men. This is Principally required in those whom fortune hath placed in high degree of honour, who ought to have their motions more remisse and temperate; for as their actions are of greatest importance, fo their faults are more hardly repaired. Finally in the confideration of that effeem and love which we should bear to that wistom which we here study, which especially sheweth it self in retaining and commanding it felf, in remaining conftant and invincible; a min must mount his mind from the earth, and frame it to a disposition, like to the highest region of the air, which is never over shaddowed with clouds, nor troubled with thunders, but in a perpetual ferenity: fo our mind must not be darkned with forrow, nor moved with choler, but fly all precipitation, imitate the highest Planets that of all others are carried more flowly. Now all this is to be understood of inward choler, and covered; which endureth being joyped with an ill affection, hatred, defire of revenge: que in finn fultorum requisseit, ut qui reponunt odia; quo ique seve cogitationis indieium eft, secreto suo sationiur : which reft in the bosom of a fuel, as be that layeth up batred; and which is a token of a cruel mind, being inwardly elutted therewish : For the outward and open choler is thort, a fire made of fraw without ill affection which is only to make another to fee his fault, whether inferiours by reprehensions

or in others by flewing the wrong and indifcretion they commit, it is a thing profitable, necessary, and very commendable. It is good and profitable, both for himfelf, and for another, fometimes to be moved

to anger; but it must be with moderation and rule.

There are some that smoother their choler within, to the end it break not forth, and that they may feem wife and moderate; but 20 to angry, they fret themselves inwardly, and offer themselves a greater violence when it is good than the matter is worth. It is better to chide a little, and to vent the out. fire, to the end it be not over ardent and painful within. A man in- For bimfelf. corporateth choler by hiding it. It is better that the point thereof should prick a little without, than that it should be turned against it felf: Omnia vitia in aperto leviora funt, & tune perniciofffima,cum fimulata fanitate subsidunt : All diseases that oppear openly are the lighter, and then are most dangerous when they rest bidden with a counterfeit health.

Moreover, against those that understand not, or seldom suffer themselves to be led by reason, as against those kind of servants that do no- For another, thing but for fear, it is necessary that choler either true or diffembled with condition put life into them, without which there can be no rule or government in a family. But yet it must be with these conditions: First, that it be not often, upon all, or light occasions. For being too common, it grows into contempt, and works no good effect. Secondly, not in the air, murmuring and railing behind their backs, or upon uncertainties. but be fure that he feel the finart that hath committed the offence. Thirdly, that it be speedily, to purpose and seriously, without any mixture of laughter, to the end it may be a profitable chaffifement for what is past, and a warning for that which is to come. To conclude. it must be used as a medicine.

. All these remedies may serve against the following passions.

CHAP. XXXII.

Against Hatred.

T'Hat a man may the better defend himself against hatred, he must hold a rule that is true, that all things have two handles whereby we may take them: by the one they feem to be grievous and burthensome unto us; by the other, casse and light. Let us then receive things by the good handle, and we shall find that there is fomething. formething good and to be beloved, in what soever we accuse and states for there is nothing in the world that is not for the good of man. And in that which offendeth us, we have more cause to complain thereof, than to hate it: for it is the first offence, and receive the greatest dammage because it loseth therein the use of reason the greatest losse that may be. In such an accident then, let us turn our hate into pity, and let us endeavour to make those worthy to be beloved, which we would hate; as Lycurgus did unto him that had put out his eye, whom he made, as a chastisement of that wrong, an honest, virtuous, and modest Citizen by his good instruction.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Gainst this passion, we must consider that which we esteem and envie in another. We willingly envie in others riches, honours, favours; and the reason is, because we know not how dearly they have coft them. He that shall fay, thou shalt have as much at the same prices we would rather refuse his offer, than thank him for it. For before a man can attain unto them, he must flatter, endure afflictions, injuries ; to be brief, lose his liberty, satisfie and accommodate himself to the pleasures and passions of another. Man hath nothing for nothing in this world. To think to attain to goods, honours, states, offices, otherwife, and to pervert the law, or rather custom of the world, is to have the mony and wars too. Thou therefore that makest profession of honour, and of virtue, why dost thou afflict thy felf if thou have not these goods, which are not gotten but by a shameful patience? Do thou therefore rather pity others, than envie them. It it be a true good that is hap. pened to another, we should rejoyce thereat; for we should defire the good of another: To be pleased with another mans prosperity, is to encrease our own.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Against revenge.

A Gainst this cruel passion, we must first remember that there is nothing so honourable, as to know how to pardon. Every man may prosecute the law to right that wrong that he hath received; but to give grace, to remie and torgive, belongeth to a Sovereign.

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foveraign Prince. If then thou wilt be a King, of kings themselves, & do an act that may become a king, pardon freely, be gracious towards him that hath offended thee.

Secondly, there is nothing so great and so victorious, as hardinesse and a couragious insensibility in the suffering of injuries, whereby they return and rebound wholly upon the wrongers, as heavy blows upon a hard and steeled anvil, which do no other but wound and benum the hand and arm of the striker: To meditate revenge is to consels himself wounded; to complain is to acknowledg himself guilty and inferiour. Uliio, doloris consession est magnus an mus quemincurvat injuria: ingens animus & verus estimator sui, non vind cat injuriam, quia non sentit: revenge is a consession of gries: a high and generous mind is not subject to injury; magnanimity and true valous revengeth not an injury, because it feeleth it not.

But some will object, that it is irk some and dishonourable to endure an offence. I agree thereunto, and I am of opinion not to suffer, but vanquish and matter it; but yet after a fair and honourable sashion, by seconing it and him that offered it; nay, more than that, by doing good unto him. In both these, Cesar was excellent. It is a glorious victory to conquer, and make the enemy to stoop by benefits, and of an enemy to make him a friend, be the injury never so great. Yea to think that by how much the greater the wrong is, by so much the more worthy it is to be pardoned; and by how much the more just the revenge is, by so much the more commendable is elemency.

Again, it is no reason that a man should be judge and a party too, as he that revengeth is. He must commit the matter to a third person, or at least take counsel of his friends, and of the wifer fort, not giving credit unto himselt. Jupiter might alone dart out his savourable lightnings; but when there grew a question of sending forth his revenging thunderbolts, he could not do it without the counsel and assistance of the twelve gods. This was a strange case that the greatest of the gods, who of himself had power to do good to the whole world, could not hart a particular person, but after a solemn deliberation. The wisdom of Jupiter himself cared to erre, when there is a question of revenge, and therefore he hash need of a councel to detain him.

We must therefore form unto our selves a moderation of the mind; This is the virtue of elemency, which is a sweet mildness clemency, and graciousness, which tempereth, retaineth, and represent all

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our motions. It armeth us with patience, it perswadeth us that we cannot be offended but with our selves; that of the wrongs of another nothing remaineth in us, but that which we will retain. It winneth unto us the love of the whole world, and furnisheth us with a modest earriage agreeable unto all.

CHAP. XXXV.

Against jealousie.

The onely mean to avoid it; is for a man to make himself wor thy of that he desireth, for jealousie is nothing else but a distrust of our selves, and a testimony of our little desert. The Emperour Aurelius, of whom Faustine his wise demanded, What he would do if his enemy Cassius should obtain the victory against him in battel, answered, I serve not the gods so slenderly as that they will send me so hard a fortune. So they that have any part in the affection of another; if there happen any cause of sear to lose it, should say, I honour not so little his love, that he will deprive me of it. The considence we have in our own merit, is a great gage of the will of another.

He that profecuteth any thing with virtue, is eased by having a companion in the pursuit; for he serveth for a comfort, and a trumpet to his merit. Imbecillity only seareth the encounter, because it thinketh that being compared to another, the impersection thereof will presently appear. Take away emulation, you take away the glory & spur.

of virtue.

My counsel to men against this malady, when it proceedeth from their wives, is, that they remember that the greatest part, and most gallant men of the world have fallen into this missortune, and have been content to bear it without stirring and molestation:

Luculus, Cefar, Pompey, Cato, Angustus, Antonius, and divers others. But thou wilt say, the world knoweth and speaks of it: And of whom speak they not in this sense, from the greatest to the least? how many honest men do every day sall into the same reproach? and if a man stir therein, the women themselves make a jest of it: the frequency of this accident, should moderate the bitterness thereof. Finally, be thou such that men may complain of thy wrong, that thy virtue extinguish thy hard fortune, that honest men may account never, the lesseof thee, but rather curse the occasion.

As touching women; there is no counsel against this evil, for their nature is wholly composed of suspition, vanity, curiosity. It is true, that they cure themselves at the charge of their husbands, turning their evil upon them, and healing it with a greater. But if they were capable of counsel, a man would advise them not to care for it, not to seem to perceive it: which is a sweet mediocrity between this soolish jealousie, and that other opposite custom practifed in the Indies and other nations, where women labour to get friends, and women for their husbands seek above all things their honour and pleasure (for it is a testimony of the virtue, valour, and reputation of a man in those countries to have many wives.) So did Livia to Angustus, Stratonies to King Deiosarus: and for multiplication of stock, Sarab, Leab, Rachel, to Abraham and Jacob.

Of Temperance, the fourth virtue.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of Temperance in general.

TEmperance is taken two ways, generally for a moderation and fweet temper in all things. And so it is not a special virtue, but two-fold. general and common, the seasoning sauce of all the rest; and it is per-General. petually required, especially in those affairs where there is controvertie and contestation, troubles and divisions. For the preservation thereof, there is no better way, than to be free from particular phantasses and opinions, and simply to hold himself to his own devoir. All lawful intentions and opinions are temperate; choler, hatred, are inferiour to duty, and to justice, and serve only those that the not themselves to their duty by simple reason.

Specially, for a bridle and rule in things pleasant, delightful, which tickle our senses, and natural appetites. Habena voluptatis special. inter libidinem & superem natura posita, enjus due partes; verecundia in suga turpium, honestas in observatione decori: The bridle of pleasure, is placed between desire and dulness of nature, of which there is two parts: shamesastness in the avoiding of silthy dishonest things: and honesty, in the observation of comeliness and decency. We will here take it more at large, for a rule and duty in all prosperity associatude is the rule in all advertity; and it shall be the bridle.

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as fortitude the spurr. With these two we shall tame this brutish, savage, untoward part of our passions which is in us, and we shall carry our selves well and wisely in all fortunes and accidents, which is a high

point of wildom.

Temperancy then hath for the subject and general object there-The description of all prosperity, pleasure, and plausible things; but especially and of Temperancy, properly pleasure, whereof it is the razor and the rule; the razor to cut off frange and vicious superfluities; the rule of that which is natural and necessary: Voluptatibus imperat, alias odit & abigit, alias difrenfat & ad fanum modum redigit : nec unquam ad illas propter illas venit : fcit opiimum effe modum cupitorum, non quantum velis, fed quantum debeas. It commandeth our pleasures; some it bateth and chafeth away, others it fetteth in order and bringeth to a found mediccrity: neither doth it ever come unto them for them; it knoweth that the best mean of things to be defired, is not so much as thou wouldest, but so much as thou oughtest. This is the authority and power of reason, over concupifcence and violent affections, which carry our wills to delights and pleasures. It is the bridle of our foul, and the proper inftrument to clear those boyling tempests which arise in us by the heat and intemperancy of our blood, that the foul may be alwaies kept one, and appliant unto reason, that it apply not it felf to fensible objects, but that it rather accommodate them unto it felf, and make them ferve it. By this we wean our foul from the sweet milk of the pleasures of this world, and we make it capable of a more folid and foveraign nourishment. It is a rule that fweetly accommodateth all things unto nature, to necessity, simplicity, facility, health, constancy. These are things that go willingly together, and they are the measures and bounds of wifdom; as contrarily Arts, luft, and superfluity, variety, and multiplicity, difficulty, malady, and delicateness, keep company together following intemperancy and folly. Simplice cara constant necessaria, in deliciis taboratur. Ad pirata nati fumus; nos omnia nibis difficilia facilium fastidio fecimus: There needs no great care for things necessary, the labour is in delicacies. We are birn to things already prepared: but we have made all things that were eafie, difficult unto us though lost bfomenels.

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CHAP. XXXVII.

Of prosperity, and counsell thereupou.

Hat prosperity which sweetly falls upon us, by the common course and ordinary custom of the World, or by our own wisdom and discreet carriage, is far more firm, and affured, and lesseen wied, than that which cometh from Heaven, with same and renown, beyond and against the opinion of all, and the hope even of him that receiveth these bounties.

Prosperity is very dangerous: whatsoever there is that is vain and light in the soul of man, is raised, and carried with the first favourable wind. There is nothing that makes a man so much to lose, and forget himself, as great prosperity, as corn lodgeth by too great abundance, and boughs overcharged with fruit break a sunder, and therefore it is necessary that a man look to himself, and take heed, as if he went in a slippery place, and especially of insolency, pride, and presumption. There be some that swim in a shallow water, and with the least savour of fortune are pussed up, forget themselves, become insupportable, which is the true picture of solly.

From thence it cometh that there is not any thing more frail, and that is of less continuance than an ill advited prosperity, which commonly changeth great and joyfull occurrents into heavy and lamentable, and the fortune of a loving Mother is turned into a cruel step-dam.

Now the best counsell that I can give to a man, to carry himself herein, is, not to esteem too much of all sorts of prosperity and good fortunes, and in any fort not to desire them: if they shall happen to come out of their good grace, and favour, to receive them willingly and cheerfully: but as things strange and no way necessary, but such as without which a man may passe his life, and therefore there is no reason he should make account of them, or think himself the worse or better man for them; Nonest thum, fortuna quod fecit the um. Qui tutam vitam agere volet, ista viscuta beneficia devitet; nil dignum putare quod speres. Quid dignum habet fortuna quod concupiscas? It is not thine, which fortune hath made thine. He that will lead a safe life, let him eschew those alluring benefits, and think nothing wriby that thou shouldst hope for. What worthy thing hath fortune, that thou shouldst covet or desire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Pleasure, and advice thereupon.

and diffination of pleasure.

The description PLeasure is an apprehension and sense of that which is agreeable to nature, it is a pleasant motion and tickling, as contrarily, gricf or forrow, is unwelcome and unpleafing to the fenfes; nevere eleffe, they that place it in the highest degree, and make it the foveraign good, as the Epicures, take it not fo, but for a privation of evil and displeasure, in a word, Indolence. According to their opinion the not having of any evil, is the happiest estate that a man can hope for in this life. Nimium boni est cui nibil est mali: It is too much good which bath no evil. This is as a mid-way or neutrality betwixt Pleasure taken in the first and common sense, and Grief. It is, as sometime the bosom of Abrabam was said to be betwixt paradife, and the hell of the damned. This is a sweet and peaceable state and settling, a true, constant and staied pleasure. which refembleth, in some fort, the tranquility of the soul accounted by Philosophers the cheif and soveraign good': the other first kind of pleasure is active and in motion. And so, there should be three estates: The two extreme opposites, Grief and Pleasure, which are not stable nor durable, and both of them fickly: and that in the middle, stable, firm, found, whereupon the Epicures gave the name of pleasure (as indeed it is in regard of grief and forrow) making it the chief and fovereign good. This is that which hath so much defamed their school, as Seneca hath ingenuoufly acknowledged and faid, that their evil was in the title and words, not in the substance, having never had either doctrine or life more fober, temperate, and enemy to wickedness and vice than theirs. And it is not altogether without reason, that they called this Indolence and peaceable ttate, Pleasure: for that tickling delight which seemeth to mount us above indolence, aimeth at nothing else but indolence, or want of grief, as its proper But; as for Example, that appetite that ravisheth us, with desire of women, seeketh nothing else but to flie that pain, that an ardent and furious defire to fatisfie our lust bringeth with it, to quit our selves of this sever, and to purchase our reft.

Againft it.

Pleasure diversely hath been spoken of, and more briefly and. foaringly than was fit: some have denied it, others detested it as a monfter, and tremble at the very word, taking it alwayes in the

the worfer part. They that do wholly contemn it, fay; first, it is short, a fire of straw, especially if it be lively and active. Secondly, frail and tender, eafily and with nothing corrupted and ended, an ounce of forrow marrs a whole Sea of pleasure: It is called a choaked piece of Artillery. Thirdly, base, shamefull, exercising it self by vile Instruments; in hidden corners, at least for the most part. for there likewise are magnificent, and pompous pleasures. Fourthly quickly subject to fatiety. A man knows not how to continue long in his pleasures; he is impatient as well in his delights, as his griefs, and it is not long ere repentance follow, which many times yields pernicious effects, the overthrow of men, families, commonweals. Fifthly, and above all, they alledge against it, that when it is in his highest strength, it mastereth in such a manner, that reason can have no entertainment.

On the other side, it is said to be naturall, created, and established in the world, for the preservation and continuance thereof, cap. 6. as well by retail, of the individuall parts, as in groffe of the speciall kinds. Nature the Mother of pleasure, in those actions that are for our need and necessity, hath likewise mingled pleasure. Now to live well, is to confent unto Nature. God, faith Mofes, hath created pleasure, plantaverat Dominus paradisum voluptais: The Lord planteth the paradife of pleasure, hath placed, and established man in a pleafant estate, place and condition of life; and in the end, what is the laft, and highest felicity, but certain and perpetuall plasfure? Inebriabuntur ab abertate domus tue & torrente voluptaits tue potabis cos. Suis contenta finibus, res est divina voluptas : They shall be made drunken with the plenty of thy house, and thoushalt make them drink in the Greams of thy pleasure. Divine pleasure is a thing that is content with her bounds. And to fay the truth, the most regular philosophers, and

And therefore this matter is not decided in a word, but we must diffinguish; for pleasures are divers. There are naturall, and not the diffination of naturall: This diffinction, as more important, we will prefently of pleasures. better consider of. There are some that are glorious, arrogant and difficult; others that are obscure, mild, easie, and ready, Though to fay the truth; Pleasure is a quality not greatly ambitious; it is accounted rich enough of it felf, without the addition of any thing

the greatest professous of virtue, Zene, Cato, Scipio, Enaminondas Plate, Socrates himself, have been in effect amorous, and drinkers, dancers, sporters, and have handled, spoken, written of love, and o-

ther pleasures.

to the reputation thereof, and it is loved best in obscurity. They likewise that are so easie, and ready, are cold and frozen, if there be no difficulty in them: which is an inducement, a bait, a four unto them. The ceremony, shame and difficulty that there is in the attainment of the last exploits of love, are the spurs, and matches that give fire unto it, and encrease the price thereof. There are spirituall pleasures and corporall, not (to say the truth) because they are separated: for they all belong to the entire man, and the whole composed Subject: and theo epart of our selves hath not any so proper, but that the other hath a feeling thereof, so long as the marriage, and amorous band of the foul, and body continueth in this world. But yet there are some wherein the foul hath a better part than the body, and therefore they better agree with men than beafts, and are more durable, as those that enter into us by the sense of feeing, and hearing, which are the two gates of the foul, for baving only their passage by them, the foul receiveth them, concodeth and digesteth them, feedeth, and delighteth it felf a long time; the body feeleth little. Others there are wherein the body hath the greater part, as those which belong to the taste, and touch, more groffe, and materiall, wherein the beatts bear us company; such pleafures are handled, tried, used, and ended in the body it self, the soul hath only the affiftance and company, and they are but short, like a fire of straw, soon in, soon out.

Advertisements bereupon.

The chief thing to be confidered herein, is to know how we should carry, and govern our selves in our pleasures, which wisdom will teach us, it is the office of the virtue of temperance. We must first make a great and notable difference between the naturall, and not naturall. By the not naturall, we do not only underfland, those that are against nature, and the true use approved by the laws; but also the naturall themselves, if they degenerate into too great an excesse and superfluity, which is no part of nature, which contenteth it felf with the supply of necessity; whereunto a man may add likewise decency and common honesty. It is naturall pleasure to be covered with a house and garments against the rigour of the Elements, and the injuries of wicked men; but that they should be of Gold, and Silver, of Jasper or Porphyry, it is not naturall: Or if they come unto a man by other means than naturall, as if they be fought and procured by Arl, by medicines, or other unnatural means: Or if they be first forged in the mind, Airred by passion, and afterwards from thence come unto the bo-

Which are na

dy, which is a preposterous order: for the order of nature is, that pleasures enter into the body, and be desired by it, and so from thence afcend unto the mind. And even as that laughter that is procured by tickling the arme-holes, is neither naturall, nor pleafing but rather a kind of convultion; fo that pleasure that is either fought or kindled by the foul, is not naturall.

Now the first rule of wisdome, concerning pleasure is this, to chase away, and altogether to condemn the unnaturall, as vitious, Thefirst and baftardly (for as they that come to a Banquet unbidden, are to be re- generall rule, fused; so that those pleasures without the invitation of nature prefent them selves, are to be rejected) to admit and receive the naturall; but yet with rule and moderation : and this is the office of temperance in generall to drive away the unnaturall, to rule the naturall.

The rule of naturall pleasures consisteth in three points. First Rules for 11 that if it be without the offence, scandall, dammage and prejudice of natural. another.

Secondly, that it be without the prejudice of himself, his honour,

his health, his leifure, his duty, his functions.

Thirdly, that it be with moderation, that he take them no more to the heart, then against the heart, neither cover them, nor fly from them, but take and receive them, as men do honey with the tip of the finger, not with a full hand, not to engage himself in them too far, nor to make them his principal business, and onely work; much less to enthrall himself unto them, and of recreation make them necessities, for that is the greatest milery of all others. Pleasure should be but as an accessary, recreation for the time, that he may the better return to his labour; as fleep which ftrengtheneth the body and giveth us breath to return the more cheerfully to our work. To be thort, a man must use them, not enjoy them ... But above all, he must take heed of their treason: for some there are that whileft we give our selves unto them, and love them over dearly, return evill for good, and more displeature, than delight: but this is treacheroufly, for they go before to befor, and deceive us, and hiding from us their tail, they tickle us and embrace us to strangle us. The pleasure of drinking goes before the pain of the head: fuch are the delights, and pleasures of indifcreet and hery youth, wherewith they are made drunken. We plunge our felves into them, but in our old age they forfake us as it were drowned and overwhelmed, as the Sea in his reflux over-runneth the Sandy Bank?

Of eating and drinking, Abstinence and Sobriety.

That sweetness which we have swallowed so greedily, endeth with bitternels and repentance, and filleth our fouls with a venemous hu-

mour that infecteth and corrupteth it.

ditions.

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Now, as moderation, and rule in pleasures is an excellent and pro-Want of go fitable thing according unto God, nature, reason, so excesse and imvernment in moderate unrulinesse is of all others the most permicious, both to pleasure preju- the publick and private good. Pleasure ill valued, someth, and weakneth the vigour both of foul and body, Debilitatem induxere delitie, blandiffime Domine: Delicacies bave trought in dibility, as a mit aluring Mutrefs, it besotteth, and effeminateth the beit courages that are, witnesse Hinnibal: and therefore the Lacedemonians that made profession of contemning all pleasures, were called men; and the Athenians, foft and delicate women. Xerxes to punish the revolt of the Babylonians, and to affure himself of them in time to come, took from them their arms, forbidding all painfull and difficult exercise, and permitted all pleasures and delicacies whatfoever. Secondly, it banisheth and driveth away the principal virtues, which cannot continue under so idle and effeminate an Empire: Maximas virtutes jacere oportet, voluptate dominante: The chiefeft viriue muft be laid afide, when pleasure beareib all the sway. Thirdly, it degenerateth very suddenly into the contrary thereof, which is grief, forrow, repentance : for as the Rivers of Iweet water run their course to die in the Salt Sea, so the honey of pleasures endeth in the gall of grief. In pracipiti oft, ad dolorem vergit, in contrarium abit, nifi modum teneat. Extrema gaudii lucius oecupat. It is subject to sudden downfall, it enclineth towards grief, is converted into the contrary, unleffe there be kept a mean. Sorrow occupieth extremities of joy. Finally, it is the feminarie of all evils, of all ruine. Malorum, efca voluptar, Pleasure is the habit of evill. From it come those close, and secret intelligences, then treasons, and in the end eversions and ruines of commonweales. Now we will speak of pleasures in particular.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of eating, and drinking, Abstinence and Sobriety ..

VIctuals are for nourishment, to suftain and repair the infirmity of the body; the moderate, naturall, and pleasant use thereof entertaineth it, maketh it a fit and apt instrument for the foul; as contrari y contrarily an unnaturall excesse weakneth, bringeth great and loathsome diseases, which are the natural punishments of intemperancy. Simplex ex simplici canfa valetudo; multos morbos supplicia luxuria, multa fercula fecerunt : A simple bealth proceeds from a fingle cause; many dishes bave caused many diseases, the punishments of excesse. A man complaineth of his brain for sending down so many rheums, the foundation of all dangerous maladies; but the brain may well answer him. Define fundere, & ego definam fluere. Cease to pour in, I will cease to pour out. Be thou sober in pouring down, and I will be sparing in dropping down. But what? the excesse and provision, the multitude, diversity, and exquisite preparation of viands is come into request, and it is our custom even in the greatest and most sumptuous superfluites, to crave pardon for

not providing enough.

How prejudicate both to the mind and to the body a full diet, with diverfity, curiofity, exquifite and artificiall preparation is, every man may find in himfelt. Gluttony and drunkenesse are idle and undecent vices; they bewray themselves sufficiently by the gestures, and countenances of those that are therewith tainted; whereof the best, and more honest is to be dull and drowlie, unprofitable and unfit for any good: for there was never man that loved his belly too well, that did ever perform any great work. Moreover it is the vice of brutish men, and of no worth; especially drunkennesse, which leadeth a man to all unworthy actions; witnesse Alexander, otherwise a great Prince, being overcome with this vice killed his dearest friend Clitus, and being come to himself, would have killed himfelf for killing Clitus. To conclude, it wholly robbeth a man of his sense, and preverteth his understanding. Vinum clavo caret, dementat Sapientes, facit repuer scere fenes : Wine mantetb government, it miketh mife men fools, and old men become children a. gain.

Sobriety though it be mone of the greatest and more difficult virtues; and which is not painfull to any but fools, and madmen, yet sobries, it is a way and a kind of progresse to other virtues: It extinguisheth mended. vice in the cradle, and fliffeth it in the feed : It is the Mother of health and an affured medicine against all maladies, and that. lengtheneth a mans life. Socrates, by sobriety had alwayes a strong body and lived ever in health; Mifiniffa the foberett King of all the rest, got children at 86. years of age, and at 92. vanquished the Carthaginians; whereas Alexander by his drunkennesse died

died in the flower of his age, though he was better born and of a founder constitution than them all. Many, subject to Gouts and other diseases, by Physick incurable, have recovered their health by diet. Neither is it serviceable to the body only, but to the mind too, which thereby is kept pure, capable of wisdome and good counsell. Salubrium consiliorum parens subsitesas: Sobriety is the mother of whole-sime counsels. All the greatest personages of the world have been sober, not only the protessours of singular vertue and austerity of life, but all those that have excelled in any thing, Cyrus, Casar, Julian the Emperor, Mahomet: Epicusus the great Doctor of pleasure, herein excelled all men. The frugality of the Roman Curii, and Fabritii is more extolled than their great victories: the Lacedemonians as valiant as they were made express profession of frugality and sobriety.

But a man must in time and from his youth embrace this part of temperancy, and not stay till the infirmities of old age come upon him, lest that he be utterly cast down with variety of diseases as the Athenians, who were reproached for that they never demanded peace, but in their morning garments after they had lost their kindred and friends in warr, and were able to defend themselves no longer. This is to ask counsell when it is too late; Sera in fundo parsimonia; It is too late to spare when all is spent. It is to play the good husband when there is nothing left but bare walls, to make his mar-

ket when the fair is ended.

It is a good thing for man not to accustom himself to a delicate diet, left when he shall happen to be deprived thereof, his body grow out of order, and his spirit languish and faint; and contrarily to use himself to a grosser kind of sustenance, both because they make a man more strong and healthful, and because they are more easily gotten.

CHAP. XI.

Of riot and excesse in apparrell, and ornaments, and of frugality.

It hath been faid before that garments are not naturall, nor necessary to man; but artificiall, invented, and used only by him in the world. Now inasmuch as they are artificiall, (for it is the manner of things artificial to vary and multiply, without end and measure, simplicity being a friend unto nature) they are extended and multiplied

multiplied into fo many inventions (for to what other end are there so many occupations and traffiques in the world, but sor the covering and decking our bodies?) dissolutions and corruptions, insomuch that it is no more an excuse and covering of our defects and necessities, but a nest of all manner of devices, vexillum superbie, nidus luxurie; The banner of pride, the nest of luxurie, the subject of riot and quarrels: for from hence did first begin the propriety of things, mine, and thine; and in the greatest communities of sellowships that are, apparel is always proper, which is signified by this word, distrobe.

It is a vice very familiar and proper unto women (I mean excess in apparell) a true testimony of their weaknesse, being glad to win credit and commendations by these small and slender accidents, because they know themselves to be too weak and unable to purchase credit and reputation by better means; for such as are vertuous, care least for such vanities. By the Laws of the Lacedemonians, it was not permitted to any towear garments of rich and costly colours, but to common women: that was their part, as virtue, and honour

belonged unto others.

Now the true and lawfull use of apparel, is to cover our selves against wind and weather, and the rigour of the air, and should never be used to other end; and therefore as they should not be excessive nor sumptuous; so should they not be too base and beggerly. Nee affestate forder me exquisite munditie: Neither affested nucleannesse, nor exquisite pickednesse. Caligula was as a laughing-stock to all that beheld him, by reason of the dissolute fashion of his apparent. Augustus was commended for his modesty.

CHAP. XLI. Carnal Pleasure, Chastity, Continency.

Ontinency is a thing very difficult, and must have a carefull and a painfull guard: It is no case matter wholly to resist nature. So the cap. 24.

which in this is most strong and ardent-

And this the greatest commendation that it hath, that there is difficulty in it; as for the rest, it is without action and without fruit, it is a privation, a not-doing, pain without prosit, and therefore sterility is signified by Virginity. I speak here of simple continency, and only in it self, which is a thing altogether barren and unprositable, and hardly commendable, no more than not to play the

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make it a virtue hath two things in it, a deliberate purpose always to keep it, and that it be for Gods cause. Non boe in virginibus predicamus, qued fint virgines sed quid Deo dieate: We praise not this in Virgins, for that they be Virgins, but because they be dedicated unto God: witness the Vestals, and the five foolish Virgins, thut out of doores: and therefore it is a common error, and a vanity, to call continent women, honest women and honourable, as if it were a virtue, and there were an honour due to him that doth no evill, doth nothing against his duty; why should not continent men in like fort have the title of honefty and honour? There is no reason for it, because there is more difficulty, they are more hota more hardy, they have more occasions, better means. Sounlikely is it, Lib.1.Cap.60. that honour should be due unto him that doth no evill, that it is not due unto him that doth good, but only, as hath been faid, to him that is profitable to the weale publick, and where there is labour. difficulty, danger. And how many continent persons are there stuft with other vices, or at least that are not touched with vainglory and prefumption, whereby tickling themselves with a good opinion of themselves, they are ready to judge and condemn others? And by experience we fee in many women how dearly they fell it unto their husbands, for dislodging the devill from that place where they row, and establishing the point of honour as in its proper throne, they make it to mount more high, and to appear in the head to make him believe that it is not any lower elsewhere. If neverthelesse this flattering word, Honour, serve to make them more carefull of their duty, I care not much if I allow of it. Vanity it felf serves for some use, and simple incontinency and sole in it felf is none of the greatest faults, no more than others that are purely corporall, and which nature committeth in her actions either by excess or defect without malice. That which discrediteth it, and makes it more dangerous, is, that it is almost never alone but it is commonly accompanied and followed with other greater faults, infected with the wicked and base circumstances of prohibited persons, times, places; practifed by wicked means, lies, impothures, subornation, treasons, besides the losse of time, distractions of those fractions from whence it proceedeth, by great and grieyous scandals.

And because this violent passion and likewise deceitfull, we Advisoment must arm our selves against it, and be wary in descrying the baits thereof.

thereof, and the more it flattereth us, more distrust it: for it would willingly embrace us to ftrangle us; it pampereth us with honey, to glucus with gall; and therefore let us confider as much, that the beauty of another, is a thing that is without us, and that as foon it turneth to our evil, as our good, that it is but a flower that paffeth. a small thing, and almost nothing but a colour of a body; and acknowledging in beauty the delicate hand of nature, we must prise it as the Sun and Moon, for the excellency that is in it : and coming to the fruition thereof by all honest means, always remember that the immoderate use of this pleasure consumeth the body, effeminateth the foul, weakneth the spirit, and that many by giving themselves overmuch thereunto, have loft, some their life, some their fortunes, Some their spirit, & contrarily, that there is greater pleasure and glory in vanquishing pleasure, than in possessing it; that the continency of Alexander & Scipio hath been more highly commended, than the beautifull countenances of those young damosels that they took captives,

There are many kinds or degrees of continency and incontinency. The conjugall is that which importeth more than all the reft, which is most requisite and necessary, both for the publick and particular good, and therefore should be by all in greatest account. It must be kept and retained with the chaste breast of that party, whom the destinies have given for our companion. He that doth otherwise, doth not only violate his own body, making it a vessel of ordure by all laws; the law of God which commandeth chastity; of Nature, which forbiddeth that to be common which is proper to one, and imposeth upon a man faith and constancy of Countries, which have brought in marriages; of samilies, transferring unjustly the labour of another to a stranger; and lastly Justice it selt, bringing in uncertainties, jealousses, and brawls, amongst kindred, depriving children of the love of their parents, and parents of the piety and duty of their children.

C'HAP. XLII. Of Glory and Ambition.

Ambition, the defire of glory and honour (whereof we have already spoken) is not altogether and in all respects to be condemned. First, it is very prostable to the weal-publick as the world goeth, for it is from thence the greatest of our honourable actions doth rise, that heartneth men to dangerous attempts, as

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we may fee by the greatest part of our ancient heroicall men . who have not all been led by a Philosophicall Spirit, as Socrates, Phocion, Ariftides, Epaminendas, Cate and Scipte, by the onely true, and lively image of virtue; for many, yea the greatest number have been flirred thereunto by the spirit of Themistocles, Alexander, Cefar: and although these honourable atchievements and glorious exploits have not been with their authors and actors, true works of virtue, but ambition; neverthelesse their effects have been very beneficiall to the publick flate. Besides this consideration, according to the opinion of the wifest, it is excusable and allowable in two cases: the one, in good and profitable things but which are inferiour unto virtue, and common both to the good and to the evil; as Arts and Sciences: Hinos alit artes: incenduntur omnes ad studia glorie: Honour nourishesh the Arts: all are inflimed through glery to study. Invention, industry, military valour. The other, in continuing the good will, and opinion of another. The wife do teach, Not to rule our actions by the opinion of another, except it be for the avoiding of fuch inconveniences, as may happen by their contempt of the approbation and judgement of another.

But that a man should be virtuous, and do good for glory, as if that were the salary and recompence thereof is a salse and vain opinion. Much were the state of virtue to be pitied, if she should fetch her commendations and prize from the opinion of another; this coine were but counterfeit, and this pay too base for virtue; She is too noble to beg such recompence. A man must settle his soul, and in such fort compose his actions, that the brightnesse of honour dazell not his reason; and strengthen his mind with brave resolutions, which serve him as barriers against the assaults of ambition.

Me must therefore perswade himself, that virtue seeketh not a more ample and more rich Theater to shew it self than her own conscience: The higher the Sun is, The lesser shadow doth it make: The greater the virtue is, the lesse glory doth it seek. Glory is truly compared to a shadow which followeth those that shy it, and shyeth those that follow it. Again, he must never forget that man commeth into this world as a Comedy, where he chuseth not the part that he is to play, but only bethnks himself how to play that part well that is given unto him: or as a banquet wherein a man seeds upon that that is before him, not reaching to the far slide of the table, or snatching the dishes from the master of the feast. If a

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man commit a charge unto us, which we are capable of, let us accept of it modelly, and exercise it fincerely; making account that God hath placed us there to frand fentinel, to the end that others may reft in fafety under our care. Let us feek no other recompence of our travel, than our own conscience to witness our well doing, and defire that the witness be rather of credit in the Court of our fellow Citizens than in the front of our publick actions. To be thort; let us hold it for a maxime that the fruit of our honourable actions, is to have acted them. Virtue cannot and without it felf, a recompence worthy it felf. To refuse and contemn greatness, is not so great a miracle, it is an attempt of no difficulty. He that loves himself, and judgeth soundly is content with an indifferent fortune. Magistracies very active and paffive are painful, and are not defired but by feeble and fick spirits. Otanes one of the feven that had title to the foveraignty of Perfia, gave over unto his companions his right, upon condition that he and his might live in that Empire free from all subjection and magistracy. except that which the ancient laws did impose, being impatient to command, and to be commanded. Dioclesian renounced the Empire; Celestinus the Popedom. Par beard and it if the live of the

CHAP, XLIII.

Of Temperance in Speech, and of Eloquence. :

This is a great point of wisdom: he that remeth his tongue well in a word, is wise. Qui in verbo non offendit, bie perfessus et: The reason hereos is, because the tongue is all the world; in it is both good and evil, life and death, as hath been said before. Let us now see what advice is to be given to rule it well.

The first rule is, that speech be sober and seldom: To know how to be silent, is a great advantage to speak well; and he that knows not Rules of speech.

well how to do the one, knows not the other.

To speak well and much is not the work of one man; and the best

men are they that speak least, faith a wise man.

They that abound in words, are barren in good speech and good actions; like those trees that are full of leaves and yield little fruit, much chaffe and little corn.

The Lacedemonians, great professors of virtue and valour, did likewise professe silence, and were enemies to much speech: And therefore hath it ever been commendable to be sparing in speech, to

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keep a bridle at the mouth: Pone Domine enfodiam ori meo: O Lord, fet a waseb on my mouth. And in the law of Mofes that veffel that had not his covering fastened to it, was unclean. By speech a man is known and discerned: The wife man hath his tongue in his heart, the fool his heart in his tongue.

The second, that it be true: the use of speech is to affish the truth, and to carry the torch before it, to make it appear; and contrarily, to discover and reject lying. Insomuch, that speech is the instrument whereby we communicate our wills and our thoughts; It had need be true and faithful, fince that our understanding is directed by the only means of speech. He that falsisieth it, betrayeth publick society; and if this mean fail us and deceive us, there is an end of all, there is no living in the world. But of living, we have already spoken.

The third, that it be natural, modest and chast: not accompanied with vehemency and contention, whereby it may seem to proceed from passion; not artificial nor affected; not wicked, immodest, licentious.

The fourth, that it be serious and profitable, not vain and unprofitable. A man must not be too attentive in relating what hath hapned in the market place or theater or, repeating of sonets and meriments, it bewrayes too great and unprofitable leasure, otio abutentis, & abundantis: Of one abounding with ease, and abusing it. Neither is it good to enter into any large discourse of his own actions and fortunes, for others take not so much pleasure to hear them as they to relate them.

But above all, it must never be offensive, for speech is the instrument and forerunner of Charity; and therefore to use it against it; is to abuse it, contrary to the purpose of nature. All kind of soul speech, detraction, mockery, is unworthy a man of wisdome and honour.

The fixth, to be gentle and pleafing, not crabbed, harsh and envious; and therefore in common speech acute and subtile questions must be avoided, which resemble crafishes, where there is more picking work than meat to eat, and their end is nothing else but brawls and contentions.

Lastly, that it be constant, strong, and generous, not loose, effeminate, languishing, whereby we avoid the manner of speech of Pedanties, pleaders, women.

To this point of Temperancy belongeth fecrecy (whereof we have spoken in the Chapter of faith or fidelity) not only that which

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is committed unto us, and given us to keep, but that which wildome

and diferetion telleth us ought to be suppressed.

Now as speech makes a man more excellent than a beast, so Eloquence makes the professors thereof more excellent than other men, Of Eloquene For this is the profession or art of speech, it is a more exquisite com- and the communication of discourse and reason, the stern or roother of our souls, thereof. which disposeth the heart and affections, like certain notes to make a

melodious harmony.

Eloquence is not only a purity, and elegancy of speech, a discreet choice of words properly applied, ended in a true and a just fall, The description but it must likewise be full of ornaments, graces, motions; the words must be lively, first, by a clear and a distinct voice, raising it felf, and falling by little and little; Afterwards, by a grave and natural action, wherein a man may fee the vifage, hands, and members of the Oratour to speak with his mouth, follow with their motion that of the mind, and represent the affections: for an Oratour must first put on those passions which he should stir up in others. As Bracidas drew from his own wound the dart wherewith he flew his enemy: So passion being conceived in our heart, is incontinently formed into our speech, and by it proceeding from us, entereth into another, and there giveth the like impression which we our selves have, by a subtil and lively contagion. Hereby we see that a sweet and a mild nature is not fofit for eloquence, because it cannot conceive strong and couragious passions, such as it ought, to give life unto the Oration; in fuch fort, that when he should display the master sail of eloquence in a great and vehement action, he cometh far short thereof; as Cicero knew well how to reproach Callidius, who accused Gallus with a cold and over mild voice and action, Tu nififingeres, fic ageres? then thy felf wouldest thou do fo, if thou diddest not counterfeit? But being likewise vigorous, and furnished as hath been said, it hath not lesse force and violence than the commands of tyrants, environed with their guards and halberds; It doth not only lead the hearer, but intangle him, it reigneth over the people, and establisheth a violent Empire over our Couls.

A man may fay against Eloquence, that truth is sufficiently maintained and defended by it felt, and that there is nothing more objections and eloquent than it felf: which I confesse is true, where the mind of sweet. men is pure, and free from passions: but the greatest part of the world, either by nature, or art, and ill instruction, is preoccupated, and ill disposed untovirtue and verity, whereby it is necessary that

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men be handled like iron, which a man may foften with fire, befo he temper it with water: So by the fiery motions of Eloquence, they must be made supple and maniable, apt to take the temper of verity. This is that whereunto Eloquence especially tendeth; and the true fruit thereof is to arm virtue against vice, truth against lying and calumnies. The Orator, faith Theophraftus, is the true Phylitian of the foul, to whom it belongeth to cure the biting of Serpents by the mulick of the Pipe, that is, the calumnies of wicked men by the harmony of reason. Now since no man can hinder, but that some there are that seaze upon eloquence, to the end they may execute their pernicious defignments, how can a man do lessthan defend himself with the same arms; for if we present our felves naked to the combat, do we not betray virtue and verity? But many have abused eloquence to wicked purposes, and the ruine of their country. It is true, but that is no reason why Eloquence should be despised, for that is common to it, with all the excellent things of the world, to be used or abused, well or ill applyed, according to the good and bad disposition of those that possesse them: Most men abuse understanding, but yet we must not therefore conclude that understanding is not necessary.

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PERSONAL PROPERTY OF THE PROPE

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